

P R E F A C E.

TH.E History of Commerce, by Mr. Anderson, being out of print, it was proposed to give a corrected edition of that excellent work, and to render it complete by a continuation to the present period. The proposal met with the most flattering encouragement, and by the exertion of great labour, and the application of great expence, we have at length brought it to a conclusion, as we trust, to the honour of the LOGOGRAPHIC PRESS*.

MR. WALTER cannot here omit suggesting to the Public a few observations on his improved mode of printing LOGOGRAPHICALLY.

In all projects for the general benefit, the individual, who conceives that the trade in which he is engaged diminishes in its emoluments from any improvement which another may produce in it, is too much disposed to become its enemy; and, perhaps, the interest of individuals never exerted itself with more inveteracy than has been experienced by Mr. WALTER from many concerned in the trade into which he had entered.

The invention which he brought forward, promised to be of essential service to the Public, by expediting the process and lessening the expence of printing: Dr. FRANKLIN sanctioned it with his approbation, and Sir JOSEPH BANKS encouraged him with the most decided and animated opinion of the great advantages which would arise to Literature from the LOGOGRAPHIC PRESS: nevertheless, Mr. WALTER was left to struggle with the interest of some, and the prejudice of others, and though he was honoured by the protection of several persons of high rank, it happened in his predicament, as it generally happens in predicaments of a similar nature, that his foes were more active than his friends, and he still continued to struggle with every difficulty that could arise from a very determined opposition to, and the most illiberal misrepresentations of the LOGOGRAPHIC IMPROVEMENT.

MR. WALTER, however, has at length triumphed over the falsehood and malignity of his opponents; LOGOGRAPHIC PRINTING, after having produced such a Work as this, which he now presents to the Public, with many excellent publications that he has already printed, can no longer be considered as an idle speculation: on the contrary, it is proved to be a practical improvement, that promises, under a due encouragement, to produce a great national benefit. To advance it to the perfection of which it is capable, Mr. WALTER engages to employ his utmost exertions, and he takes the liberty of expressing his confidence, that he shall not be disappointed in the enjoyment of that public favour which now promises to reward his labours.

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The form of the Work was already before us;—the first edition of it had been so much approved, that it would have argued no small degree of presumption if we had deviated from it: on the contrary, we have adhered closely to the apparent intention of the original Author, and, except in the article of expression, to which he seems to have paid too little regard, we have endeavoured to adopt and arrange our materials as he himself would have done, had he lived to have brought his history down to the time in which we conclude it.

The period which has been the object of our labours, is among the most interesting and important that can be found in the annals of the British Empire; and large as the volume is which we have filled in the relation, it will, we fear, be condemned rather for the compression than the superabundance of its contents. To have brought every commercial arrangement into detail, every commercial event into narration, and every commercial subject into discussion, would have been to write a library instead of a volume. The excellent treatises on commerce which have been written by Mr. CHALMERS, as well as others that manifest in what manner the leisure hours of Lord SHEFFIELD are employed, evidently prove, that distinct commercial subjects, when treated at large, will occupy considerable volumes. Some articles, however, we have ventured to amplify, while others receive nothing more than a bare statement, and many are compressed into partial relation. In making such an arrangement, we have acted to the best of our own judgment, aided by the opinions of those who were well qualified to decide upon our doubts, and in conformity to the engagements we had made with the Public.

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• The historian of times long past, finds his materials in the records of them; and when they are delivered to his possession, or are obtained by his research, he may retire to his bower, and pursue his labours beneath the shade; the work will then depend on himself alone: but he, whose fate it is to relate the events of the day in which he lives, must write in the bustle of it. Much of his information must result from his enquiries among the living world; and, to the toil of solicitation, he has to add the doubts which interest, prejudice and indolence may cast upon the very intelligence which yields to his perseverance.

In a work of this nature, that species of information is essentially necessary, which it is not in the power of a writer to command, or money to purchase. Private individuals are not always to be found with a disposition to employ that time, which is devoted to business or relaxation, in aiding a literary work, however useful to the world; and the cautious, though, perhaps, wise policy of public office, will frequently refuse to open those channels of communication, which flow from no other source. We do not, however, offer these observations from the impulse of discontent, but as they are founded in fact. We have only stood in that predicament, in which any writer of a similar work must inevitably stand; and we are conscious that the defects which may be discovered in the following pages, as far as they depend upon labour and assiduity, could not have found a remedy in the exertions of other men.

P R E F A C E.

After all, we do not hesitate to present this volume to our country as containing a mass of useful information on trade and commerce ; and we are disposed to flatter ourselves, that it will not be found to disappoint reasonable expectation. That part of the history which is written by Mr. Anderson, has deservedly acquired a place in the first rank of useful British Authors ; and we trust, that the volume which is now added to it, will not disgrace the work it is intended to complete.

THE EDITORS.

DEDICATION.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY,

AND CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

SIR,

IT is not in the dedication of this work that you are to look for praise, but in the pages of it that record those commercial arrangements which are the offspring of your administration.—These volumes, I flatter myself, will be found to deserve your protection, as they contain the Commercial History of your Country, and will not dishonour your name. This work is now presented to the public in an enlarged form, at a period when you are furnishing it with a mass of new and important materials, in those modifications with which you are improving the British Commerce.

You were called, Sir, to direct the affairs of Great Britain, at a time when a destructive war had lessened its dominions, exhausted its wealth, and diminished its prosperity. To remedy the evils of that war, whose progress you opposed, you have employed the whole force, and the most uninterrupted exertions of your talents, understanding, and integrity; and the nation at large rejoices on beholding the pleasing prospect of your labours being crowned with success:—that success, it will be the exulting office of this work to perpetuate.

Were I disposed to enter upon that career of applause which your extraordinary character would justify, I might say, that at an age when, in general, men only begin to think, you entered upon the government of this country, the most difficult of all others to govern, oppressed as it was by a complication of difficulties which it had never before known; and your success has been as surprizing, as the abilities that have produced it.

The funded interest, from the load with which it was incumbered, reduced to little more than one half its original value, has, by your well concerted plans, been advanced beyond the most sanguine expectation.

The benefit which must accrue from the commercial treaties lately concluded, is the criterion, that shews the Statesman in the fairest light, and will hand down your name to the latest posterity.

As the mature wisdom of your illustrious father, by conducting a war, raised Great Britain to a pinnacle of prosperity it had never before attained,—the premature understanding of his son, when that country is involved in distress and embarrassment, by pursuing, extending, and confirming the advantages of peace, promises to restore it to its pristine glory.

I am, Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your most faithful, obliged,

And devoted humble servant,

THE EDITOR.

T H E A U T H O R ' s

P R E F A C E.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1763.

W H A T E V E R things may be said to be useful and excellent, either in nature or in art; whether for sensual or for intellectual gratifications; for the ease, convenience, or elegance of life; which some parts of our earth afford, and other parts want, may be truly affirmed to be principally communicated by Commerce, either primarily or mediately.

To the instrumentality of Commerce alone, the Britannic Empire is, most peculiarly, indebted for its opulence and grandeur; its improvements in arts and knowledge; and, in general, for the great bulk of its solid comforts and conveniencies.

May it not therefore well merit our particular enquiry, how, and from what causes and instruments; at what periods of time, and from what various and respective places, or countries, such inestimable benefits have accrued to mankind: more especially, if, at the same time, such enquiry, in our ensuing work, shall be found to convey very many profitable notices and instructions in commercial points, as well as in other interesting concerns therewith connected.

Yet, although it be universally admitted, that Chronology is the very soul of History, a *Chronological and General History of Commerce* is, to this day, quite an untrodden path, as comprehending therein the discoveries, inventions, and improvements, in navigation, colonization, manufactures, agriculture, and their relative arts and branches.

So comprehensive and laborious an undertaking, therefore, it is to be hoped, cannot fail to meet with a favourable reception from both the landed and trading interests of Britain and Ireland, to and for whom the ensuing work is most principally adapted; so much the rather, as there is not extant, in any language, a work of such an extensive and complicated contexture.

Claude Bartholomew Morisot's Latin treatise, in folio, printed at Dijon, in the year 1643, entitled, *Orbis Maritimus*, is indeed sufficiently methodical, but does not, by any means, fully come up even to its title-page alone, though so much short of our much more extensive plan.

Our learned countryman, John Evelyn, Esq. published in the year 1674, a small octavo treatise, entitled, *Navigation and Commerce, their Original, Progress, &c.* tending to illustrate, rather in the manner of an harangue, than of history, that within the last seven hundred years, commerce and navigation have been greatly advanced: but so concise and unchronological an essay could, by no means, answer the expectations of the inquisitive, nor could it be of any, even the least use whatever, to our undertaking.

Mr. Ricard's *Traité General du Commerce*, could afford no material lights into our historico-chronological province, any more than most of the numerous tracts of our own countrymen on merely practical points, relative to particular branches of commerce.

Monsieur Fluet, Bishop of Avranches, during the ministry of the great Colbert in France, published, and dedicated to him, his small octavo treatise, entitled, *Histoire du Commerce & de la Navigation des Anciens*; *i. e.* An History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, but in so unmethodical a manner, as to have paid no sort of regard either to chronology or cosmography: it has therefore supplied us with very few materials for our main purpose.

Beside

• Beside such as may be termed general works, we have carefully gone over almost numberless tracts on particular parts or branches of our complex subject; such, for instance, as Joannis Angelii a Werdenhagen de Rebuspublicis Hanseaticis Tractatus; *i. e.* A Treatise, or History of the Republics of the Hans-towns, in two volumes, in folio, first published almost two hundred years ago: which work, though, in general, but a vague and ill-digested performance, has, nevertheless, been of considerable use to us in the historical part of the once famous Hanseatic Confederacy.

Most of the French writers on commerce, ever since Colbert's ministry, have been lavish, even to considerable exaggeration, on the advantages accruing to other nations from their commerce: some, purely from ignorance, others, for no other purpose but to excite the zeal and emulation of their own countrymen: little, therefore, could be depended on from such kind of writers.

Nevertheless, out of the vast number of tracts on particular branches of both speculative and practical commerce, we could not fail to be here and there supplied with many important materials. Comprehensive, however, as our undertaking is, it is but justice, in this place to remark, that its principal scope has a more especial and immediate regard to the Commercial History of the British Empire, agreeable to our title-page: and, perhaps, we may safely add, that, as a full and complete one of any other nation is not herein to be expected, so neither is it at all practicable, with respect to most of the nations in Christendom. We have, however, indefatigably laboured to accumulate, digest, and exhibit so many materials for that end, as may give a general and sufficiently comprehensive idea thereof, more especially and amply respecting those nations with whom our own country has had the most ancient and intimate correspondence; as our copious alphabetical and chronological Index will abundantly testify, under the general heads or articles of France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Genoa, Venice, Denmark, Sweden, Hans-towns, Flanders, &c.

Intelligent persons generally know, that the dates, and other circumstances of many occurrences of elder times, are variously related by different authors; and we may justly add, that after all possible endeavours for avoiding of mistakes, (such is human frailty) authors, even of good account, are
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not always exempted therefrom: thus, for instance, says good Mr. Fuller, in his History of the Holy War, “ Tyrius, writing of the Holy War, and
 “ of Godfrey of Bouillon, calls Bouillon a town of Champagne, on the Eng-
 “ lish sea; as if” says he, “ any part of Champagne was on the English sea.
 “ and thus,” continues Fuller, “ Canterbury is put for Cambridge, not
 “ only in Sebastian Munster’s Cosmography, but also in our printed Statute-
 “ book, of the twelfth year of King Richard II.”

We shall here also subjoin, from our own observation, a few instances of very important mistakes in the so called science of political arithmetic, so nearly connected with our general subject.

Thomas Campanella, in the twenty-fourth chapter of his Discourse on the Spanish Monarchy, asserted, about two hundred years ago, “ That the
 “ kingdom of France contained one hundred and fifty millions of people.” A number undoubtedly greater than all Christendom at this day contains.— And, although, since Campanella wrote, France has acquired very large additions of territory, yet, even at this day, the most sanguine do not make her present number of people to exceed twenty millions; others, particularly the modern French author of *Les Interets de la France Mal-entendus*, &c. but seventeen millions of people.

More surprising still is the complicated mistake of our own most famous, learned, and, in other respects, most judicious antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton, as being on a subject too of which one would have imagined him a perfect master:—’Tis in a very curious and learned Essay, on the Manner and Means how the Kings of England have, from Time to Time, supported and repaired their Estates: but although it was written in the year 1669, it was not published till the year 1651, after the death of the author, by the once noted Mr. James Howell, together with his other posthumous essays, in a small octavo volume, entitled, *Cottoni Posthuma*; wherein, p. 200, it is asserted, “ That London, which is not a twenty-fourth part of the kingdom
 “ of England, in people, had in it found above eight hundred thousand souls,
 “ by a late enquiry, by order of the late Queen.” In which assertion are three considerable mistakes: For, first, as far as any where appears, there never was any such enquiry directed by Queen Elizabeth; or, if any such was made, it is not in any public history of that reign. Secondly, London, with

all its then suburbs, and including Westminster, did not then probably contain two hundred and fifty thousand souls: and the accurate and most judicious Italian author, Giovanni Botero, who wrote about twenty years before that time, *Of the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities*, does not admit London to contain above one hundred and sixty thousand souls. (See vol. ii. of our work, under the year 1550.) And it is at least doubtful, whether, even in our present age, with all the great additions to its suburbs, it contains quite so many as eight hundred thousand souls, within all the bounds of the weekly mortality-bills. Thirdly, all England did not, in 1609, contain quite six millions of souls, though probably very near that number; whereas, by his computation, it should have contained nineteen millions two hundred thousand souls.

Thus also, the said James Howell, who was clerk of the privy-council of King Charles I. in a thin folio work of his own, entitled, *Londinopolis*, asserts, “That in the year 1536, that King, sending to the lord mayor of London, to know the whole number of Roman Catholics in that city, took thereby occasion to make a census of its people, which were above seven hundred thousand, within the bars.” These great miscomputations are the more surprising, as the above-named small work of Botero’s was translated and published in English, by a gentleman of Lincoln’s-Inn, in the year 1606, and that Botero’s works have, even to the present time, a great reputation. The judicious and accurate Captain Grant, has, however, long since, very justly set this matter right; for, in his *Observations on the Bills of Mortality of London, for the Year 1631*, he makes the number of souls in the several wards and liberties, taken by special command of the privy-council, to have amounted in all but to one hundred and thirty thousand, which number was undoubtedly very near the truth; more especially, as the late Mr. Smart, of the town-clerk’s office, did, in the year 1741, print a catalogue of all the houses within the city, including therein all its privileged parts, for the use of the court of aldermen; which he therein declares, that after his greatest care, he could carry no higher than twenty-one thousand six hundred and forty-nine houses, great and small. Now, if this number be multiplied by six, for each house, it will make the total within the bars of the city to be one hundred and twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-four souls: if by six and a half, it will be one hundred and forty thousand seven hundred and eighteen; and if by seven, it will make one

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hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and forty-three souls. Every one is at liberty to chuse which of those multipliers they most approve of; though some conjecture, that seven persons, on an average, to each house, is rather too high, considering the present state of the city.

By these few remarks, the Author is far from expecting, or even desiring, any greater indulgence, than what all candid and intelligent Readers will naturally allow to an undertaking of this kind, compounded of so great a number of disjunct, and not seldom heterogeneous parts,—collected out of so vast a number of different, distant, and some very dark and remote ages,—of various countries, abilities, biases, and prepossessions,—from various manuscripts also,—and from an almost endless number of smaller tracts and pamphlets, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth downward, and some even further back: in the collecting, extracting, and methodising whereof, all possible care and exactness has been endeavoured; although, for the reasons above-mentioned, it can by no means be expected, that either the diction or the periods should always run so uniformly even or smooth as might otherwise be expected; more especially, as, for the sake of strictly adhering to the most indispensable rule of a chronological succession, matters of a very heterogeneous nature do often mutually succeed each other.

It would have been almost endless, as well as very tiresome and superfluous, to have made quotations for every minute point to which our work is more or less indebted. Yet, with respect to such as are rare, and therefore now confined to the private collections of a few curious persons, we have generally been careful to quote them, and such also as are or may be thought to be of doubtful credit. And, on the other hand, with respect to the statutes of the realm, and also to the truly invaluable treasure of our records, published in twenty folio volumes, commonly known by the name of Rymer's *Fœdera*, to which our undertaking is so much indebted, we have been very careful to quote the respective reign, and the statute, volume, year, and page of the latter, as their authority, beyond doubt, authenticates the many numerous points extracted from them.

To the last named grand collection of records, we are indebted more especially for a very great number of royal grants, patents, and licences,—for new inventions and projects,—for the ancient salaries of offices,—for the daily pay of artificers, soldiers, sailors, and labourers, more or less, for near
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seven hundred years past,—for many important negotiations with foreign nations; also, for the confirmation of several facts, which, before their publication therein, stood on the sole credit of common historians; as well as for the rectification of various mistakes in other less authentic memoirs.

With respect to the particular commerce of our own nation, we have, in this work, taken peculiar and especial cognizance thereof; although, in regard to the duties and customs legally imposed on merchandise, with which every trader is presumed to be perfectly acquainted, little or no notice has, for that reason, been generally taken, unless interwoven with some other important matter, or for some other special reason.

We are also not a little indebted to the many printed collections of treaties of peace and commerce with different nations, and, particularly, to that published in the year 1732, in four octavo volumes.

We are likewise debtors to good Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, for a great number of articles, concerning the various rates or prices of corn, cattle, and other provisions and necessaries, for several centuries past; which he had painfully collected from our old historians, &c. and published in octavo, in 1707.

From all which considerations, it is easy to conceive the labour required; First, In collecting and examining so vast a number of treatises. Secondly, In making extracts therefrom. Thirdly, In digesting and methodising such extracts. And, fourthly, In making the necessary historical and critical remarks and illustrations, wherever found to be absolutely requisite. So that this work may, in a great degree, be said to be not only an historical and Chronological, but, likewise, a systematical and political Survey of Commerce.

With respect to the very numerous and smaller tracts and pamphlets herein made use of, which also have been generally quoted in points of great importance, our Author had long since sorted them, and had bound them up into many volumes, of various sizes, exactly according to their particular subjects; many of which being curious, and long ago out of print, were by him intended for a small beginning to a Mercantile Library, when properly authorised, for the use and honour of the citizens of the first commercial city

in Christendom; being of opinion, that it would not a little redound to the glory and credit of our august metropolis, to set on foot so singularly useful, as well as magnificent a purpose.

As, in the framing of our work, there has been found a superfluity of matter in several points; which redundancies we have, therefore, retrenched; so, on the contrary, in some few other points, there may possibly be found a small deficiency, though, generally, in matters of little importance: such deficiencies are principally owing to the ignorance and negligence of elder times, when commerce was little attended to; and partly, also, to what may justly be termed an unaccountably stupid contempt of Commercial History, testified even by some nations, who, nevertheless, may be justly said to be indebted to commerce alone, not only for their present wealth, but, likewise, for their very existence, as a distinct and independent people. A flagrant instance hereof we find, in one Captain Stevens's English translation of a Portuguese work, in three volumes octavo, intitled, Portuguese-Asia; in the third volume whereof, cap. vi. he makes the Portuguese historian of that nation's conquest in East India, to affirm, "that trade is a subject unbecoming a grave history!"

Commerce is naturally in perpetual fluctuation: *dum spectas fugio*, the motto on some sun dials, alluding to time, may not inaptly be applied to it: which consideration may serve for a caution to the readers of the older authors on commerce, and on subjects nearly connected with it, wherein may be found sundry positions, formerly thought to be so well grounded as to be dogmatically delivered as axioms; some of which, nevertheless, have, in length of time, been found liable to just exception, and others of them have since proved to be absolutely false.

Thus, for instance, the once famous Sir William Petty, in his treatise of Political Arithmetic, first published in the year 1676, in making a comparison between the maritime strength of England and that of France, lays down the following position, by way of axiom, viz. That France, by reason of natural and perpetual impediments, can never arrive at naval greatness. Need we to say, that dear bought experience has since effectually exploded that position? The like may be said of some others of a similar kind, depending much more on the supineness of some nations, and on the more intense

intense application of others, than on any such fancied natural and perpetual impediments.

Even the great Pensionary of Holland, Mr. De Witt, in his otherwise judicious treatise, entitled, *The Interest of Holland*, has laid down a very exceptionable position, by way of general axiom too, that commerce cannot prosper in great arbitrary governments; for, although it be very certain, that most arbitrary governments are obstructive of the freedom of commerce, yet it by no means follows, that they are all so, and at all times, without any exception. France, we know, is undoubtedly a great arbitrary government; yet, by dint of excessive application, more especially ever since Colbert's ministry, attended with steady counsels in her commercial pursuits, she at length arrived to a great and extensive degree of commerce to all parts of the world, till our war with that nation, in 1756, began to interrupt it, which, doubtless, will very soon be retrieved, and again firmly supported: she is now, moreover, and has long been, possessed of many very great and rich manufactures;—has still many lucrative foreign plantations and factories, and will, questionless, very soon also regain her late numerous mercantile shipping, as well as her late very considerable navy royal: France, therefore, must be allowed to have, in our days, been extremely prosperous in commerce, and to have had a very large share of naval greatness; and, even her despotic government, whilst she persists in steady counsels, frequently affords her, and all other arbitrary governments, considerable advantages over the slower and less secret deliberations of free governments: whilst (by way of evident contrast) a certain eminent free-state seems, at present, through the prevalence of faction, &c. to undergo a visible declension, in the before-named respects!

That able and experienced mercantile Author, Sir Josiah Child, fell into a like dogmatical error in saying, “That the French were not much to be feared on account of planting of foreign colonies,” merely because in his time that was partly the case. Yet we have since had the most interesting demonstration of the direct contrary! What improvements have they not made in the sugar colonies? So far, as to have some years since driven us out of our former great re-exportation of sugars; besides the immense increase of their melasses, rum, ginger, coffee, indigo, drugs, gums, &c. from their said isles, and at Cayenne, Bourbon, Senegal, &c. Vain therefore are all such

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dormant, will be shewn to have employed the pens of some of the ablest Authors of the last century on either side, besides others of a lesser rank. But our Author esteems it a felicity, that a learned and judicious summary of that now obsolete subject, was published by Sir Philip Medows, in the year 1689, which, in his preface, he affirms to be the identical essay, which by the command of King Charles II. he prepared for, and presented to that Prince. And as that very curious treatise is long since out of print, and consists of but fifty-six small quarto pages, we imagined it would be an acceptable entertainment to reprint it verbatim; more especially as it comprehends sundry other curious historical memoirs relative to our general plan; and is indeed, when impartially considered, so satisfactory, as probably never more to revive so invidious a subject.

The ensuing work consists of four capital parts, viz.

First, Of a large Introduction, exhibiting a comprehensive view of the primitive origin of commerce in the world;—of its progress,—and of its modern state and condition in the several nations of Christendom,—and more diffusely of that of the British empire;—of the very great importance of our colonies;—of our manufactures;—of the variations in the weight, value, and standard of our coins, from the Norman conquest downward;—and lastly, a succinct critical survey of the geographical, commercial, and nautical knowledge of the Ancients. To which Introduction is annexed its proper alphabetical Index.

Secondly, The main body of our work commences with a succinct historical and chronological series of memoirs, from the earliest accounts down to the final overthrow of the western Roman empire, near the close of the fifth century,—relative to the first discoveries and improvements of the Ancients, in agriculture, domestic and manual arts for the convenience of life; as well as in commerce and navigation;—of ancient migrations and transplantations;—of the origin and revolutions of ancient commercial nations and cities: and occasionally of the dates or times of the flourishing of certain eminent persons in various ages.

Thirdly, From the commencement of the sixth century, the great bulk of our work is divided into distinct centuries, to each of which is briefly prefixed

fixed its peculiar characteristic: and from the eighth downward, each century has also prefixed to it, the chronological succession of the monarchs of the principal nations of Christendom, exclusive of the papacy, and of the old Constantinopolitan or Greek empire. Which last part, being so much more interesting than the preceding ones, has therefore supplied matter for much the greatest part of this work.

Fourthly, To our before-named Appendix we have subjoined what we apprehended would amply complete our plan, and be acceptable to all; viz. the Politico-Commercial Geography of Europe, or a compendious and comparative view of the various productions, trades, manufactures, exportations, populousness, and power of the several potentates, republics, and states thereof; and likewise a brief survey of the commerce, magnitude, and people of their most considerable cities and towns.

Finally, As our very copious and comprehensive chronological and alphabetical Index to the said four parts of the work, is so commodiously framed as to enable the Reader, with ease, and in some measure by a mere instantaneous inspection, to form a just idea of the value, nature, and extent of this entire work, we need only to refer thereto for a convincing proof of its great and general utility! And, for the farther ease of the Reader, we have added two small alphabetical Indexes, viz. one to the annexed Introduction, as already mentioned; and another to the Appendix; as the matters contained in them could not properly be reducible to any chronological order or method, and therefore could not be comprehended in, nor incorporated with the general chronological Index.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the primitive ages of the world, says the learned Grotius, in his *Mare Liberum*, speaking of the origin of commerce, there was not even so much as barter, properly so called; but merely a kind of taking, exchanging, or using mutually, what one nation or family had not, and consequently needed from another. This is related to have been the practice of the ancient Seres, and of some other nations; who, it is said, were wont to leave their merchandize in a private place, on the frontiers of the nation with whom they wanted to deal, and who were to take it away, in exchange for what they should think an equivalent of their own merchandize, relying solely on each other's honour. That method, however, could not hold long; and, if ever practised at all, very soon gave way to a direct commercial correspondence by proper barter.

The discovery of water-carriage, (though at first merely by floats or rafts across rivers and lakes, gradually improved into vessels of such capacity, as emboldened men to launch into the wide ocean) was a principal means of the advancement of commerce, arts, and sciences; and the invention of writing greatly improved the mutual correspondence of nations. Such ancient cities and countries as first acquired the command of the sea by their superior shipping, were sure of being the greatest in wealth and power. *Qui mare tenet, cum necesse est rerum potiri.*—CICERO ad ATTICUM.

At length Rome swallowed up all other commercial states and cities, and thereby gave such a mortal wound to the commerce of the ancients, as never could be healed up by the Romans themselves, who were much more addicted to war and conquest than to commerce; their disinclination to which was more easily compensated by an unparalleled, and almost uninterrupted series of their conquests of the richest provinces of the then known world, whereby immense treasures were continually brought home. Thus, for instance, according to ancient history, Julius Cæsar, upon his conquest of Gaul, Africa, Egypt, and Pontus, is said to have had at one time carried before him; in his triumph, vessels of gold and silver, computed, by modern authors, to be equal in value to twelve millions sterling, brought into the Roman treasury; beside one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two gold diadems, weighing fifteen thousand and twenty-three pounds weight, exclusive of the great treasure he brought home for himself. Thus, from the spoils of the conquered provinces, more especially eastward, their proconsuls, &c. were continually sending or bringing home immense riches, not only in coin, but also in gold and silver vessels, and diadems; in vases also, and fine statues, precious stones, exquisite paintings, and whatever else was rare and excellent, either for their tables, or for furniture, cloathing, equipages, libraries, buildings, &c. In consequence of which, many of their estates and revenues, retinues and palaces, equalled those of monarchs.

Lentulus the Augur, Crassus, and many others, had estates worth three or four millions sterling. Nero's donatives, at different times, are by some computed to amount to seventeen millions seven

hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling ; and he is said to have paid for one single carpet thirty-two thousand pounds. Some are said to have paid to the amount of three thousand pounds for one piece of fine linen ; and a Roman lady, named Lullia Paulina, when dressed in all her jewels, is said to have worn to the value of three hundred and twenty-two thousand pounds sterling. Yet it may be at least a little problematical, whether, after Rome had fleeced her many conquered provinces in such an extortionate manner, and found herself at length unable to hold together, in quiet, any more conquests, (as was the case in the Emperor Adrian's reign) the empire could have long continued to sustain the vast expence of her civil and military establishments, without recurring to the revival of the never-failing resources of commerce, as well at home as in her remoter provinces, as, in part, she had long before Adrian's time begun to do with respect to her province of Egypt, the commerce whereof with East India she had very much cultivated and improved.

Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV. justly observes, " That it is war alone which impoverishes a nation.—Since the time of the ancient Romans," says he, " I know of no nation that has enriched itself by its victories. Italy, in the fourteenth century, owed her wealth entirely to commerce. Holland would have subsisted but a very short time, had she looked no further than the seizure of the Spanish plate-fleets, and had neglected to have laid the foundation of her power in India. England is ever impoverished by war, even when she is most successful against the naval power of France ; and she owes all her grandeur to commerce. The Algerines, who support themselves solely by piracies, are a very wretched people."

At length, the sloth, luxury, and effeminacy of the emperors and people, and the great neglect of military discipline, &c. brought upon the Roman empire many barbarous invaders, who overturned the Western empire, and with it learning, arts, and sciences. In that general desolation, peaceful commerce likewise suffered a long, and almost total suspension in the West ; the revival and increase whereof, and of mercantile, nautical, and manufactural improvements, &c. will be the principal subject of the ensuing work.

Almost every habitable country of the terraqueous globe has a superfluity more or less, of natural product, of some kind or other. Ours, of Britain and Ireland, before we engaged in manufactures, and entered into a general commerce, consisted only of wool, leather, tin, and lead, and of corn only occasionally ; which unmanufactured materials, we, for many ages, contented ourselves to exchange chiefly with the Netherlanders, for their drapery made of our own excellent wool, and for some linen, and French and Rhenish wines. The countries of Flanders and Brabant had originally but very little superfluity of their own natural product for exportation ; which defect obliged them to enter into the manufacture of wool and flax as early as the tenth century ; " before which period," according to the great Pensionary De Witt's Interest of Holland, " there were no merchants in all Europe, excepting a few in the republics of Italy, who traded with the Indian caravans of the Levant : or, possibly, there might have been found some merchants elsewhere, though but in few places, who carried on an inland trade : so that each nation was forced to sow, build, and weave for itself, to the northward and eastward, where there were then neither foreign nor inland merchants. Wherefore, in case of a superfluity of their people, they were compelled by force of arms, for want of provisions, and to prevent the effects of bad seasons, or hunger, to conquer more land. Such circumstances produced the irruptions of the Celtæ, Cimbri, Scythians, Goths, Quadi, Vandals, Huns, Franks, Burgundians, Normans, &c. who, till about the year 1000, were

“ were in their greatest strength : all which people, and, in a word, all that spoke Dutch or German, exchanged their superfluities, not for money, but, as it is related, thus, viz. two hens for a goose, two geese for a hog, three lambs for a sheep, three calves for a cow, such a quantity of oats for barley, barley for rye, and rye for wheat, when they wanted them : so that, excepting for eatables, there was neither barter nor traffic. The Flemings lying nearest to France, were the first that began to earn their livings by weaving, and sold the same in that fruitful land, where the inhabitants were not only able to feed themselves, but also, by the superfluous growth of their country, could put themselves into good apparel ; which Baldwin the Young, Count of Flanders, about the year 960, considerably improved, by establishing yearly fairs or markets in several places, without laying on any toll or duty for goods either imported or exported.” Which judicious account of the west, north, and north-east parts of Europe, before the tenth century, will help to throw much and useful light upon our history of those times.

Somewhat later than the above-named period, the Flemings likewise supplied Germany with their draperies ; and, later still, the countries more northerly, in proportion as they advanced in civilization.

The unmanufactured commodities anciently exported by England, for many centuries before she commenced the manufacture of her own wool, was in those times always sufficient to supply her with whatever she wanted from foreign parts, and also to bring in a yearly balance in cash ; whereby we were enabled to carry on some other small foreign trade, to supply likewise our home trade, and even, in some degree, to acquire a gradual wealth. Yet it was no small disadvantage to us, that the great bulk of our foreign trade was for several centuries engrossed by the German merchants of the Steelyard, in London, and in their own foreign shipping too ; we having, in those times, neither a sufficient number of merchants, nor proper shipping of our own ; until our people, and more especially those of the Cinque Ports, lying opposite to France and Flanders, began, by degrees, to build ships of their own, with which they made a pretty good appearance, particularly in the time of King Edward III. That sagacious Prince was the first of our Kings who clearly discovered the vast benefits accruing to a nation by foreign commerce and manufactures : and we conceive it may here be remarked, to the honour of England, that she was the first great monarchy in Christendom that entered into any considerable foreign trade and home manufactures, whilst the other great monarchies continued to condemn the pursuit of mercantile advantages, which they entirely left to the petty states and free cities of Italy, and those of the Netherlands and Hans-towns. This is finely illustrated by Sir William Temple, speaking of those times, viz.

“ The kingdoms and principalities were in the world like the noblemen and gentlemen in a country ; the free states and cities like the merchants and traders : these, at first, despised by the others ; the others served and revered by them : till, by the various course of events in the world, some of these came to grow rich and powerful, by industry and parsimony, and some of the others poor, by war and luxury ; which made the traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like gentlemen, and the gentlemen begin to take a fancy of falling into trade. The great Monarchs of Christendom, for many centuries, concerned themselves only in the trade of war,—in the quarrels of the Holy Land,—in those between the Popes and Emperors ; (both of the same forge, engaging all Christian Princes, and ending in the greatness of the Ecclesiastical state throughout

“ Christendom) —sometimes in the mighty wars between England and France,—France and Spain,
 “ —Christians and Turks, &c.”

France, at present so potent, was then in a very feeble state; being, as Voltaire not unaptly expresses it, “ rather an aristocracy than a monarchy;” the governors of most of its provinces having rendered their offices hereditary in their own families, whereby they became lords of the countries they governed. It was then, therefore, that England, though without any considerable commerce, and with little wealth or naval greatness, was able not only to maintain an equilibrium in Europe, but even foolishly to be led, by her ambitious Kings, into conquests on the continent, to her great impoverishment and depopulation. France, since those times, has gradually recovered her vigour, and vastly increased her power: for,

First, Charles VII. during our intestine war between the two houses of York and Lancaster, was enabled to re-unite to his crown the great provinces of Guienne, Normandy, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine.

Secondly, His son, Louis XI. got the dutchy of Burgundy, and part of Picardy.

Thirdly, Charles VIII. and Louis XII. gained the noble province of Bretagne.

Fourthly, Henry II. seized on the three noble bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, from the German empire.

Fifthly, Henry IV. brought Bearn and French Navarre.

Sixthly, His son, Louis XIII. seized on the county of Roussillon from Spain.

Seventhly, Louis XIV. seized on a great part of the Netherlands from Spain, as also on the county of Burgundy; and wrested from the German empire the great and noble province of Alsace, with the imperial and then opulent city of Strasburg, and the other ten imperial towns.

Eighthly, and lastly, Louis XV. has got all Lorraine and Barre.

How enormous an increase of power is this! all acquired in the space of about three centuries; and how justly ought it to alarm the rest of Europe; more especially, when the prodigious increase of the commerce of France, in the space of about a century past, is additionally considered; as also its rich and numerous manufactures, and its still extensive foreign colonies and factories.

France also formerly made considerable efforts for new discoveries in America, and for a supposed passage by the great river of St. Lawrence into the East Indian seas; and although the coldness and barrenness of a great part of Canada or New France did at first discourage them, so that they made scarcely any permanent plantation there till the year 1603; and then, and later, all their settlements were on the north and north-west side of that great river, even many years after we had planted Virginia; beyond which river southward all their possessions in Canada were direct encroachments on the boundaries of the English colonies. Besides, the French made no attempts for colonizing

• in the West Indies or Sugar Isles till the year 1625, when they first settled on St. Christophers.— To the East Indies, France made some early voyages; yet they had no settled and regular commerce thither, until the time of their great Colbert, who persuaded Louis XIV. in the year 1664, to establish a company for that end.

Their other island or sugar colonies in the West Indies, though at present so flourishing, are of a later standing than that of Canada, and too much owing to our negligence and wrong measures, as are likewise their later faithless and shameless encroachments behind our chain of continental colonies in North America, (of which they are now justly deprived). Their seating themselves in the Bay of Mexico, behind the Spanish colony of Florida, and thence up the vast river Mississippi, was with a premeditated design of hemming in our said colonies between theirs and the ocean, by a chain of forts; thereby effectually to exclude our people, not only from settling further westward, agreeable to their royal charters, but likewise to cut off all their commerce with the Indians behind them; and thereby also, in effect, to make all North America in the end fall into their hands. At length we saw, though late, their intentions, to which an important check has been put; and we earnestly hope, that a watchful eye will ever be kept upon that part of our possessions, in times of peace, as well as of war. And indeed it may be said, that times of peace, with a perfidious people, are more dangerous than times of open hostilities. Of that French settlement of the Mississippi colony, we had fair warning given us by the ingenious Dr. Davenant, (once Inspector General of the Customs) who, in the second part of his Discourses on the Public Revenues and Trade of England, published in the year 1698, has the following judicious and prophetic remark. “Should the French settle at the disemboguing of the river Mississippi, they would not be long before they made themselves masters of that rich province; which would be an addition to their strength very terrible to Europe; but would more particularly concern England: for, by the opportunity of that settlement, by erecting forts along the several lakes between that river and Canada, they may intercept all the trade of our northern plantations.”

It was in this very year 1698, that France actually began a settlement at or near the mouth of the Mississippi, and although it was and is equally the interest of England and Spain to oppose that dangerous encroachment, yet they were then permitted to nestle there, and they have since gradually planted far up, on and near the banks of that river, behind Carolina, &c. The late judicious Mr. Joshua Gee, who, in the year 1729, published an ingenious discourse on trade, therein earnestly urged ~~our~~ planting westward to the Mississippi, and on the rivers falling into it, within our own undoubted limits, though since disputed with us, till now, that our past success has put an end to future disputes on this point.

There was a time when we supplied France with our woollen manufactures, fish, &c. and in those days, some think, the balance of that trade was in our favour. But, by the management of the two Cardinal Ministers, Richieu and Mazarine, and still more afterwards by the incessant application of the great Colbert, our commerce with France has long been rendered a very disadvantageous one to us. and as we have never been able to obtain a reasonable tariff or treaty of commerce with that crown, it is thought better for us to remain without any commercial treaty at all with a nation which invariably seizes on all advantages from every other state, without giving or returning any at all. Yet too many of our people are still so regardless of our palpable interest, as to take off very great quantities

tities of their wines and brandies, and more clandestinely of their cambrics, gold and silver lace, &c. to a very great value.

France, within about little more than ninety years past, by the vast improvements in her manufactures, colonies, and fisheries, is at length possessed of an active and very extensive commerce; her mercantile shipping is, or lately was, very numerous; and her naval power was, till very lately, become great and formidable, and will, without doubt, soon recover itself by a few years of peace.

From our general and extensive commerce with Holland, there proceeds a large annual balance to us, computed by some at near one million four hundred thousand pounds; (vide *The Importance of the Ostend Company considered*, second edition 1726,) there being scarcely any, or but very few, of our manufactures and productions which the Hollanders do not take off, and for the most part also in great quantities. Yet it is no paradox to say, that their said great trade with us is also very profitable to them; seeing, by means of the various merchandize which we send them, they are enabled to supply the populous and extensive countries behind them of Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, &c. and also countries further off by sea carriage; by which they are said to get a greater annual balance than we get by them. Yet, there is no doubt but the great increase of the Scots and Irish linen manufactures, and our late efforts for the herring and whale fisheries, have lessened the benefits of their trade with us. In general, her commerce, though still a truly active one, and her naval power, (especially the latter) have declined of late years. There are thousands still alive, who remember her in the zenith of glory, not only covering the seas (as she still does in some measure) with her merchant ships, but also striking terror with her potent naval armaments. A reverse, so much lamented by many, can be best accounted for by her own magistrates and party leaders. If this declension should go on to increase, it is too much to be apprehended, that Britain's hereditary foes may chance to be the greatest gainers thereby.

The Hollanders, towards the end of the sixteenth century, made great efforts for a north east passage to China and India: and, though they proved unsuccessful in that project, it led them into the north sea and whale fisheries, and into their commerce with Russia. They have made no discoveries of great importance elsewhere, excepting (what now also is become of small consequence, at least in time of peace) their discovery of a passage into the south sea of America, round Cape Horn. For what the Hollanders have effected on the coast of Guinea, in the East Indies, and at Surinam, Curaçoa, &c. was only the getting possession of what had before been discovered and for the most part improved by others. They also still hold the small isles of Curaçoa, Aruba, and Bonaire, near the coasts of Spanish America, and Eustatia among the Virgin Isles.

Spain's discoveries and possessions are no less than all the continent of America, south and west of the Bay of Mexico; excepting Brasil belonging to Portugal, the Dutch colony of Surinam, and what France has seized and settled on near their isle of Cayenne, where, if they find it worth their keeping, there will infallibly be further encroachments.

Spain also, further north, still holds New Mexico, so famous for its rich silver mines, lying west of the French Louisiana; a terrible neighbour: who, unless narrowly watched, may one day probably find a pretext, sooner or later, of paying a visit to those mines.

Spain also held (till the signing of the preliminaries for peace, on the third of November 1762) what is still called Florida, adjoining to our Georgia on the north, and to Louisiana on the west: she likewise holds the great and most important isle of Cuba; such part of the isle of Hispaniola as France has not as yet thought fit to seize on; and also the isles of St. John de Porto Rico, &c. in that sea, though of little benefit to them. Spain, in short, still holds more possessions in America, than possibly a more industrious people could well manage. She has, however, drained herself of people, by settling colonies, and by expelling of the Moors and Jews, while her people at home, in the judgment of many, do not exceed five millions five hundred thousand souls: and as she has as yet gone no great length in any material manufactures, (though she is at this time making considerable and promising efforts for them;) she has little more than a mere passive commerce, and is still without the proper means of drawing numbers of people to her from foreign countries to supply those drains.

Lastly, Spain holds in the East Indies the very extensive Philippine Isles; with which, however, she holds not (nor by treaties can hold) a direct correspondence from Europe; but two or three large ships from the port of Acapulco in New Spain, carry on the trade annually with these Philippine Isles to a very great profit. From some of Spain's prudent measures of late years, we seem to have had, till very lately, some ground to hope that she would hereafter cease to be the dupe of a restless and aspiring neighbour, and thereby would become sensible of her own solid weight and interest, by keeping in good terms with us, and by such means help to preserve the just equilibrium of Europe.

The enterprising genius of a Prince of Portugal, about three centuries ago, seconded by some of their succeeding Kings, in the fifteenth century, gradually brought on the discovery of a passage by sea from Europe to the East Indies, by which a new and very extensive field for the increase of commerce was opened: whilst, almost at the same instant of time, and as it were by a similar almost wonderful impulse, Spain, as before mentioned, laid open a new and extensive western world, richer in treasure than the old one. Yet Portugal, by her subsequent pride, luxury, and negligence, has lost, to the Hollanders and Indians, by far the greatest part of what she had with such rapacity ravished from the latter; so as at present to have scarcely any thing in the East Indies worth contending for, viz. Goa city on the Malabar coast, and a few less considerable places in the neighbourhood thereof, and Meaco on the coast of China. She however still holds a very considerable territory on the west coast of Africa, of great use for supplying her American colonies with slaves.

Portugal holds also a few forts on the coasts of Zanguebar, of good use for her East India voyages, and from thence also she is said to draw considerable quantities of gold. But her great glory at present centres in her very extensive and immensely rich colony of Brasil in South America; from whence she has her vast treasures of gold and diamonds, beside immense quantities of excellent sugars, hides, drugs, tobacco, fine red wood, &c. Yet Portugal, being but a small country, having little more than a million and an half of people, and wanting manufactures for the supply of that vast country of Brasil, she is in no danger of becoming formidable to the rest of Europe, either by an active commerce, or for naval or land force; even her very independence being purely owing to the mutual jealousy of the neighbouring powers; of which very lately she has experienced the good effects.

She has also the following islands in the Atlantic Ocean, viz. the Azores, the Madeiras, and the Cape de Verd Isles; which are very advantageous both in her and our American and East India voyages; and also one or two other almost insignificant little isles about or near the Equator. Her true interest, therefore, (and which hitherto she has wisely cultivated) is, beyond all other considerations, to keep measures with Great Britain, and to concur in preserving the general balance of power. For, notwithstanding all her extensive possessions in Africa and America, her independence, commerce, and wealth, hang by a very slender thread.

Denmark's foreign commerce and naval power, though not comparable to those of Britain, Holland, or France, are at this time more considerable than those of any other potentate of the north. She has formerly made several attempts for new discoveries; and has been long in possession of the Caribbee Isle of St. Thomas, and of two other less considerable ones amongst the Virgin Isles, where she has some sugar plantations, which are supplied with negroes from her fort of Christianburgh on the coast of Guinea. Those small West India Isles enable her to dispose of some of her manufactures, &c. Yet the greatest benefit she reaps from them is, their being neutral in wars between us and France or Spain, from whence they have too often proved a screen for our enemies ships and merchandize. Denmark has moreover been long in possession of Tranquebar in the East Indies, whither she sends one or two ships annually. Denmark, therefore, (including her kingdom of Norway) may be said to have somewhat more than a mere passive commerce, though not a general active commerce, which, properly speaking, belongs in a national sense solely to Britain, Holland, and France, *i. e.* such a commerce as enables any nation to export, in her own shipping, the great bulk of her own product and manufactures; and, in like manner, to import, mostly in her own shipping, the produce of foreign parts. Yet no nation in Europe can be so totally possessed of such an active commerce, as not to receive at least some part of foreign merchandize from the ships and mariners of foreign nations, or, also, not to permit foreign ships to export some part of her own merchandize. On the other hand, there is no maritime country so entirely passive in a commercial sense, as not to be partly served by their own shipping; although Russia and Turkey both approach very near to that state.

Mr. Burchet, in his Naval History, published in the year 1720, makes "Denmark's navy royal to amount to about thirty-six ships of the line of battle, beside frigates, fireships, &c. all lying in good order," says he, "in the fine basin of Copenhagen;" and it is thought to be considerably increased and improved since he wrote. Had Denmark and Norway any reasonable proportion of people to the great extent of their territory, they would make a much greater figure in commerce; but the want of home consumption for the merchandize which they bring from the East and West Indies, &c. is still like to remain an obstruction to the greatness of that monarchy, as is also their not sufficiently cultivating of home manufactures; in which, however, they are of late making considerable advances. Nevertheless, Denmark, in the scale of Europe, more especially in certain critical conjunctures, is of considerable influence.

Sweden, in a commercial sense, is inferior to Denmark. In the former part of the seventeenth century, she had made some settlements on the north end of what was then deemed Virginia, though since known by the names of New Jersey and New York colonies. Yet they were afterwards obliged to relinquish them to us, leaving there, however, considerable numbers of their posterity under our government to this day. Sweden also had in those days an African Company, and a fort on the

Gold Coast of Guinea, which she has long since abandoned. At present, she has not any one foreign colony, nor other acquisition, without the Baltic Sea; although, of late years, she has carried on a trade to China, from her fine port of Gottenburg, with one or two ships annually, whose cargoes, being a great deal too much for her own consumption, are mostly exported to foreign countries, and too much of them have formerly been said to have been clandestinely run into the British dominions, to the detriment of our own East India Company, and of our King's revenue. Although she does not carry on a great commerce in her own proper shipping, yet her iron and copper mines, and her naval stores, occasion a considerable resort of foreign ships into her ports, but principally to Stockholm. Mr. Burchet before quoted, under the year 1720, makes her navy royal to consist of forty ships, mostly from fifty to one hundred guns each, in her fine port of Carlskrona. Denmark, however, is said to have of late so far improved her navy, manufactures, and general commerce, that Sweden is not at present judged to be a match for her; yet formerly, and at some certain conjunctures, Sweden's naval force has been very considerable. Sweden therefore, upon the whole, has little more than a passive commerce.

On the south shore of the Baltic, the King of Prussia has the ports of Königsberg, Memel, and Pillau; the first extremely well frequented by foreign ships: he has also the likewise well frequented ports of Stettin and Colberg in Pomerania, with some other lesser ports in Prussia and Pomerania, frequented on account of their oak timber, pipe-staves, naval stores, linen, flax, hemp, caviar, amber,urgeon, &c. He has also the considerable port of Embden in East Frisland, commodiously situated for naval commerce on the German ocean, and for his East India trade, of late years established there. Yet that Monarch, having but few merchant ships belonging to his own subjects, has not so much as barely attempted to be a maritime power; neither has he at present any foreign acquisitions, although former Princes of his house have had two forts on the Guinea coast, which were afterwards either alienated or abandoned. All his extensive dominions therefore can pretend to no other than a merely passive commerce.

Of Russia's own proper commerce, in an active sense, little can be said; for that large empire has but barely within the compass of the present century fallen into any worse manner, excepting that at the port of Archangel, though entirely a passive one. Her late Czar, justly styled Peter the Great, made great efforts for establishing an active commerce as well as a naval power in his empire, but failed in both: Russia, however, has some ships of war in her port of Cronstoot, near her new emporium of St. Petersburg, to which last named port there is a great resort of shipping from Britain, Holland, France, the two other northern crowns, and the Hans-towns; whence, as well as at Archangel, and other later conquered ports in Livonia, immense quantities of naval stores, linen and linen yarn, hemp, flax, and their seeds, pot ash, Russia leather, and rhubarb, are exported; and, in peaceable times, also from Persia considerable quantities of raw silk are exported: nevertheless, having so very few mercantile shipping of her own, she has merely a passive commerce, and is therefore as yet unable to make any considerable figure as a naval power, even though possessed of all kinds of naval stores in great plenty.

Poland having properly no maritime port of her own, excepting that of the free city of Dantzic, all her commerce with foreigners by sea may properly be said to centre there; although the ports of Brandenburg-Prussia, and of Courland and Livonia, have a considerable trade with the inland parts of Poland and Lithuania. Poland, therefore, neither is, nor is ever like to be, a maritime power;

notwithstanding the very great resort of foreign ships to Dantzic from most parts of Europe, principally in the trade for her corn; that city being the granary of Poland, the greatest corn country in all Europe. Dantzic is also an eminent emporium for flax, hemp, linen, distillery, timber of various kinds, &c. And the like may partly be said, though in a smaller degree, of the other Hans-towns on the Baltic shores of Germany, viz. Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, and Straelsund, although they have lost much of their ancient lustre, wealth, and commerce.

With respect to the commercial state of the rest of Germany, we may observe, that, after what is already said of the port of Embden, and the last named four ports on the Baltic, there properly remain but two more ports of eminence to treat of, both situated near the German ocean, viz. Hamburg and Bremen. The former is, next after London and Amsterdam, undoubtedly the most frequented by ships from all parts, of any emporium in Europe; her situation on the Elbe enabling her to supply the extensive and rich provinces of Saxony, Brandenburg, Silesia, Bohemia, Hungary, &c. with whatever they want from other countries; as the sugars, tobacco, rice, rum, drugs, &c. of America, from Britain, Holland, and France; woollen cloths in vast quantities, hardware, lead, tin, leather, &c. mostly from Great Britain; spices, silks, cloths, fish, and many other articles, from Holland; wines, brandies, silks, paper, fruits, &c. from France, Spain, and Italy. And Hamburg brings down the Elbe, as well as by land carriage, from the before named countries, immense quantities of linen of many sorts, ~~stained~~ tinned plates, timber, pipe staves, &c. for the use of foreign nations, partly in their own shipping, and partly in foreign shipping.

The same may be said of the city of Bremen, though in a considerably smaller degree, for supplying, by the river Weser, the countries of Westphalia, Hesse, &c.

It is however obvious, that Germany, in general, can never become a maritime power, whilst divided into so many independent sovereignties and free cities.

Of Italy also, in respect of her various independent sovereignties, the same remark may be partly made; where, however, the ports of Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, more especially the two first, are much frequented by foreign shipping, which supply them with woollen goods, fish, hardware, East-India and American merchandize, from England, France, Holland, and from Hamburg, (and other Hans-towns, Sweden and Denmark, with timber, naval stores, linen, &c. Sicily too, generally deemed a part of Italy, has the fine port of Messina, well frequented by foreign shipping. And the returns from all such and other Italian ports into foreign parts, are great quantities of raw and thrown silk, oils, wines, drugs, fruits, &c.

Of all the sovereignties in Italy, the ancient virgin city and republic of Venice most justly merits, in a commercial sense, the first and highest distinction. For, although she has never as yet gained, nor so much as attempted, any remote discovery, settlement, or colony, without the Mediterranean Sea; yet, in more ancient times, she made a first rate figure in the commercial world: and although she has since suffered a two-fold diminution of her commerce and former naval power; first, by the loss of so great a part of her ancient territory to the Turks; and next, from the total deprivation of her entire trade for East-India merchandize, when the route to India by sea was first discovered at the close of the fifteenth century; yet she still prudently supports her ancient dignity and independence, and even at this day retains a considerable share of foreign commerce, with various nations situated

situated as well without as within the Mediterranean Sea, chiefly by means of her many fine and rich manufactures of woollen, silk, linen, glass, gold and silver toys, hardware, gold and silver tissues, military arms and artillery, and also by her drugs, rice, &c. And she has moreover still a regular navy, of whose exertions, she has, in modern times, given sufficient testimony against the Turks.

Our commercial researches being principally limited to Europe, or rather to European Christendom, we shall, in the next place, take a succinct view of the gradual means which have brought about the revival of commerce in the world.

The successful irruptions of the Barbarians having, near the close of the fifth century, split the western Roman empire into several new and separate monarchies, most of which still exist, though with great alterations, unto this day; the first conquerors, being a fierce and warlike people, gave themselves up entirely to military achievements; and, having no other right to their new dominions but that of the longest sword, they remained constantly in a warlike posture, regardless either of arts or commerce.

In that barbarous state of things did the greater part of Christendom remain for several succeeding centuries with little variation; the general history of which is almost entirely taken up with either their foreign or intestine broils, or else with their Monarchs, and ecclesiastical histories, legends, and persecutions. The ignorance and barbarism of those rude times afforded, therefore, very few good historians, and, least of all, any curious records relating to commerce; in times also when scarcely any thing that really deserved that appellation existed any where without or west of the Mediterranean Sea.

To what we have already observed, concerning the definition of an active and of a passive national commerce, we may add, that even inland countries, or such as have no direct communication by sea with other countries, may nevertheless come under the definition of the one or the other of them. For if, like some particular cantons of Switzerland, they export considerably more in value to all other countries of their own product and manufactures, than they import from all other countries, then theirs is, in proportion, as truly an active commerce as that of any of the countries already named; and, in such case, is undoubtedly increasing their national wealth; as, on the other hand, the reverse will decrease the same. Yet we may here likewise remark, in the contemplation even of maritime countries having merely a passive commerce, that although such nations cannot attain to any great degree of naval power, (since nothing can effectually support that but a superior number of practised mariners, which nothing short of an active commerce can permanently supply) yet such countries may nevertheless be gainers on the general balance of their commerce, even with such nations as, in general, may enjoy an active, very great, and gainful commerce; as is plainly the case of Russia, as well as of Sweden and Denmark, with respect to Great Britain, and perhaps also with respect to France; and this is undoubtedly the case with respect to all Europe's trade with India and China, which sends annually to those eastern countries a large balance in bullion. Yet a nation, like Great Britain, enjoying an extensive active commerce, must undoubtedly be a gainer upon the ultimate result or entire balance of all its foreign commerce; as, beside its superior maritime strength and security, (which, to us most especially, is of infinite consideration) much profit will ever accrue, as well from the out-set, freights, &c. of her numerous shipping, as from the vast employment given to her people in their manufactures and product exported; (except in the case of

our King Charles the Second's wilfully shutting his eyes, by an open and ruinous trade with France) whereby, such an active commerce may not unfitly merit the fine character put round the veiges or rims of our beautiful silver crown pieces, viz. *decus et tutamen*, i. e. dignity and safety.

Toward the latter end of the eighteenth century, Charlemagne, King of France, afterwards Emperor, a penetrating and enterprising Prince, having conquered Saxony, then comprehending a greater part of the west and north ends of Germany than at present, founded many new cities therein, most of which remain flourishing even to this day; and, by his compelling the Pagan natives to embrace Christianity, he laid the foundation of their after acquaintance with the rest of Christendom; so that, in little more than a century after his death, Germany was become so greatly improved, that the Emperors, his successors, chose to make that country their constant residence, instead of Italy or of France.

In the mean time, and probably even prior to Charlemagne's conquests, the greater and more ancient cities of Italy, which had not been quite ruined by the Barbarians, as particularly Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and Venice, had opened a commerce with the ports of the Eastern or Greek empire in the Levant seas, from whence they brought home the rich merchandize of Greece, Syria, Persia, Arabia, India and Egypt; which, afterwards, they dispersed into the western parts of Europe, to their own very great enrichment: to which correspondence the great resort of the clergy to Rome, from all parts of the west, did not a little contribute. By the shipping of which Italian cities, what little means for trade England then had, was entirely carried on; before the German merchants had fixed their residence at the Steel-yard in London.

The conversion of Germany to Christianity was, moreover, entirely owing to the introduction of it into Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Poland, though not till the tenth and eleventh centuries; being countries where the Roman arms had never triumphed, so that a communication was afterward thereby gradually opened between those till then barbarous and unknown countries, and the other more civilized parts of Europe, to whom their valuable naval stores, &c. began soon after to be communicated, to the great future advancement of navigation and commerce.

The lands of the several new conquered kingdoms by the Barbarians, were mostly in those times shared between the crown, the nobility, and the clergy, by feudal tenures: the bulk of the common people being thereby in a state of villenage or slavish subjection to them. And so little of independent property had the English commonalty, in particular, that even a considerable time after the Norman conquest, the lay representatives of the nation in Parliament were stiled the Baronage, i. e. the Landed-Interest: all Lords of Manors were then stiled Barons. And Sir Henry Spelman tells us, that even all freeholders were originally called Barons, as to this day in Scotland, until in after times, that the freeholds came to be split into smaller parcels. Moreover, for want of commerce and manufactures, the lands were with difficulty alienable, and were therefore of a very low value for want of purchasers: their owners, therefore, unable to raise portions for their younger children, placed many of them, of both sexes, in convents, so that industry and legal propagation were equally discouraged.

In so dark an age as the ninth century, it is much to be admired, that even our great King Alfred could make such efforts in commerce, navigation, and discoveries, as will, in its place, be seen he actually

actually did. Yet it is much to be lamented, that those lights struck out by him were afterwards so long suffered to be neglected and forgotten.

- The wild, enthusiastical expeditions of the Crusaders, for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Saracens, in the eleventh, and the following centuries;—the introduction of distillery into Europe, in the twelfth century; the conquests of the German Knights of the Cross in Prussia and Livonia, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;—and the establishment of the famous Hanseatic commercial confederacy, much about the same time: all these, and several other concurring circumstances, could not fail to be greatly conducive to the increase of commerce and navigation in the west parts of Europe, as the manufactures of the Netherlands had also before begun to do. All which will be treated of more at large in their proper chronological order.

As for the painful travels of some monks, &c. far eastward, chiefly in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, over-land, such as those of RuBruquis, and of Marco Polo of Venice, it does not appear that they were of any direct or immediate service for the advancement of commerce.—Of what importance is it to us at present, to know for certain, that Marco Polo's great and rich city of Cambalu, or Cambalik, was the very city we now call Peking, the capital of China? Or, that he whom Marco Polo styles the Great Cham, was no other than the King or Emperor of China?—Our geographical writers, so late as the sixteenth century, were strangely misled by the romantic stories of the Great Cham of Tartary, who was no other than the Monarch of China: and we had no certain knowledge of the sea-coasts of China until the Portuguese discovered them, in the former part of that century.

As the feudal constitution was far from being favourable to commerce, its growing gradually into disuse, in after times, in several parts of Europe, and the inhabitants of the maritime towns beginning to have certain peculiar privileges granted to them by their Princes, as particularly in England, in consideration of a stated fee-farm rent, paid in their collective capacities, afterwards named corporations, in lieu of the arbitrary assessments which before were made by the crown's officers on each particular house, mill, field, or garden, in such towns as were called the King's demesne towns; those inhabitants, and particularly of the Cinque Ports, became thereby gradually encouraged to enter further upon fisheries, &c. for exportation; which led them into the building of ships, some burthen; in consequence of which, they began, in length of time, to have real merchants in those towns, who, as Seneca long since observed, “are as beneficial to cities as physicians are to the sick.” (*mercatoribus probest, ut medicus ægrotis.*) Those exclusive privileges, or municipal restraints, granted by our Kings to the freemen, as they were then beginning to be called, of such towns, were certainly, in the infancy of trade, a means of setting it forward; although, since commerce is so generally established, and better understood, they are, in the judgment of almost all wise men, now esteemed a real obstruction to the freedom and extension of commerce.

Yet during all this time, and long afterwards, England was entirely supplied with the merchandize of the Netherlands, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, by the society of German merchants, who had, in very early times, fixed their residence at the place to which they gave the name of the Steelyard, or Staelhoff, in London; and that, too, altogether by their own foreign ships.

The wonderful discovery of the Mariner's Compass, at the close of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth century, though not brought into general use till some time later, undoubtedly, proved

proved greatly conducive to the advancement of foreign commerce ; as will be more fully shewn in its proper place.

The invention of Fire Artillery, occasioning, and even obliging larger ships to be constructed by traders, was not a little conducive to the advancement of commerce, especially for longer voyages ; as did also the great shoal of herrings, which issued forth from their ancient station in the Baltic into the German ocean. The same may, though in a smaller degree, be said of the discovery of the use of hops, for preserving beer at sea ;—of the use of stock-fish, in voyages of great length ;—of the improvement of havens, rivers, and highways ;—of the discovery of new manufactures, mines, &c. most of which will be treated of more fully in their respective places.

But, beyond all, the discovery of the East Indies, and of Brasil, by the Portuguese ; and of the West Indies, Mexico, Peru, Chili, and other parts of America, by the Spaniards, have proved, in the highest degree, conducive to the increase of European commerce, even in the countries which had no share in those first discoveries ; of which more fully also in their proper places. Moreover, since those two grand discoveries, many useful, though lesser and collateral ones, have been consequently made.

Even the abortive or unsuccessful attempts of the English, French, Dutch, and Danes, for the two hitherto impracticable north-west and north-east passages to China and India, have, nevertheless, been productive of several new and considerable sources of commerce, and of the increase of navigation to those northern countries, and to the no small benefit of all the rest of Europe : for to those attempts are owing the Greenland fishery, the Hudson's Bay trade, and the trade to Russia and Lapland. Which naturally brings to mind the following beautiful simile of the poet, though on another subject, viz.

“ So, though the Chymic his great secret miss,
 “ (For neither that in art nor nature is)
 “ Yet things well worth his toil he gains ;
 “ And does his charge and labour pay,
 “ With good unsought experiments by the way.”—*Cowley's Mistress.*

Protestant countries have undoubtedly considerable advantages beyond those of the Popish persuasion, both in their commerce and manufactures, viz.

First, As none of their useful hands are shut up in convents.

Secondly, As they are not obliged to celibacy.

Thirdly, Neither are they interrupted from following their lawful and commendable employments, by superstitious and nonsensical holidays and processions : and,

Fourthly, By the latter having frequently persecuted all of a different religious persuasion from their own, so that multitudes of useful people have been, at different times, prevented from settling in Popish countries.

In England, the church lands have been much better cultivated and improved since they became the property of laymen: since which happy period, many very important improvements have been made by us, as well in agriculture and gardening, as in manufactures, mines, manual arts, &c.

Nevertheless, England has formerly been blameable for some obstructions, overights, or mistakes, relative to her great commercial interests.

The smallest degree whatever, even of negative, as well as of positive discouragements, which may be inflicted on any quiet, sober, and industrious subjects, merely for dissenting from the majority in purely speculative religious opinions, or perhaps senseless ceremonies, not affecting the peace of society, nor the essence of Christianity; and relating merely to human inventions and institutions, about which Divine Revelation is absolutely silent, are undoubtedly so many real obstructions to commerce and industry.

Had Archbishop Laud been permitted to go on in his mad career of bigotry, he would have driven out of England all the industrious Protestant Wallons, who had taken shelter here from D'Alva's persecution, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and who had so greatly improved and increased our manufactures. Laud plainly and insolently told them, "that although the first race who fled hither were connived at in their opinions, yet it was not fit that a schism should be perpetuated: their children, therefore, should and must be educated in the established religion." By the same ill-judged and unchristian spirit, were great numbers of Brownists and Independents, of our own nation, driven to the wildernesses of America; where, however, they and their descendants proved a very great blessing to Britain, by extending its commerce, and in settling and peopling of New England, the most industrious, potent, and hitherto most populous, of all the North American provinces. And the same may be said of the Quakers, who have been so instrumental in finely improving and peopling of the fertile province of Pennsylvania.

It would be almost endless to recount the mischiefs which the persecuting spirit has done in other countries, of even Protestants against Protestants, as in the free cities of Germany and Prussia, Lutherans and Calvinists, by turns, persecuting each other. In Popish countries, indeed, their relentless cruelties to Protestants has been equally hurtful to the persecutors, as beneficial to the Protestant parts to which the persecuted were forced to retire. How much has that ancient, and once most populous city of Cologne, suffered from being guided by the diabolical spirit of their Jesuits, in expelling all their Protestant inhabitants, who thereupon settled mostly at Amsterdam, Bremen, and Hamburg, to the enriching of those cities, and the depopulating as well as impoverishing of Cologne, which now has corn and vines growing within its walls, where formerly stood whole streets of houses. Straßburg also, since surprized by the French, is proportionably deserted by its Protestant merchants and traders. How much has the Austrian dominions of Bohemia, Silesia, Austria, and Hungary, suffered also by the Jesuit councils of a blind and bigotted set of Princes? The ignorant enthusiasts of Poland have been guilty of similar madness. And have not Spain and Portugal more than half unpeopled their dominions by the expulsion of the Moors and Jews? To instance no more, did not Louis XIV. of France force many hundred thousands (some think at least two millions in all) of his Protestant subjects, who were mostly merchants, traders, manufacturers, and artificers, to take shelter in England, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Prussia, &c. to the very great emolument of those countries, the draining of his own kingdom of much wealth

and people, and the transferring into those states many excellent manufactures, which before were peculiar to France.

England has, in former times, made many considerable mistakes in matters relating to good policy and commerce: as,

I. To go no further back,—King Richard the Second's neglecting effectually to support Philip Van Arteville against France and the Earl of Flanders, contrary to the wise conduct of his grandfather, King Edward III. to him and his father James.

II. King Henry the Seventh's not effectually supporting the Dutchess of Bretagne; whereby that great and noble dutchy fell into the hands of France, to our unspeakable loss; as its situation was so convenient for England's commerce, and for keeping France in perpetual awe of England.

III. Oliver Cromwell's joining with France against Spain, already too much depressed, for his own particular interests; as King Charles II. afterwards did, in order to supply his voluptuous appetites, and for the establishment of arbitrary power.

IV. And, beyond all, that most pernicious, scandalous, and never to be enough lamented sale of Dunkirk, by King Charles II.

V. With respect to oversights relative to our American colonies, some would add, our not planting, in the beginning, further southward on the continent, and also westward, on and beyond the great river Mississippi; and our too long neglecting to put a due value on our sugar islands. Yet to this it may be answered, that as the circumstances of England, as well as those of other nations, were then widely different from what they are at present, many points seem now to be practicable, which were not so in more early times.

VI. The yielding to France, by the treaty of Utrecht, the isle of Cape Breton, and the granting also to that nation the privilege of erecting stages on our island of Newfoundland, for the curing of their fish, were great mistakes, could we then have possibly prevented it.

VII. Our not as yet buying out the rest of the proprietary colonies on the continent of North America, of which we have so lately felt the inconvenience; the further delaying whereof, will occasion it every year to become more difficult, for many obvious reasons.

Other mistakes at home not yet rectified, nor, it is to be feared, likely to be soon rectified, in the temper in which too many people still remain; viz.

VIII. Our exclusive or coercive powers, not only vested in the collective bodies of cities and towns corporate, but even in the subordinate mechanical corporation societies within those cities and towns corporate; by which the most ingenious and industrious artisans are often excluded, unless they pay large fines for their freedom; the members or freemen of those, not improperly styled monopolies, being thereby enabled to impose on the rest of the King's subjects.

IX. As, in the opinion of many wise and thoughtful men, Britain is not as yet above one-third part (some even go so far as to say not one-fifth part) so populous as it can well bear, support, or maintain; it is thought to be a point of state policy well becoming the regard of the legislature, to make the naturalization of all foreign Protestants as early as is consistent with the full employment of our own people; more especially as both our land and naval wars, our mercantile navigation, and our foreign plantations, also,

X. It is a melancholy consideration, that although so many able pens have been so often engaged in proposing plans for effectually employing all our able poor, and at the same time removing the scandalous nuisances in our streets and roads, by supporting all the disabled; both which great points, it is thought, might be effected, with the great additional benefit of saving, according to some, about half a million of money, part of more than double that sum, annually raised on the people to so little good effect; yet nothing has effectually been done therein by those who alone have it in their power to set about it, especially in time of peace and tranquillity.

XI. If all the Christian states would jointly agree to have but one and the same weight and measure, and possibly too, the same coins in stamp, standard, and weight, with their sub-divisions, it would greatly facilitate the correspondences and commerce between the different nations of Europe; more especially if all the sub-divisions thereof were to be decimal. But, as such an harmonious agreement is rather to be wished for than expected, how much soever it may be all Europe's commercial interest to have it so, we shall content ourselves with justly blaming the negligence of the British nation, in not having one only weight and measure throughout all parts of Great Britain, Ireland, and our foreign plantations, the want of which has been, and ever will be, attended with great inconveniences. Sir James Ware, in his *Annals of Ireland*, observes, under the year 1498, that in Ireland every county had a different measure, not without evident detriment to the public: hereupon he quotes Budelius de Monetis, in behalf of the above-mentioned regulation.

“Una fides, pondus, mensura, moneta, sit una,

“Et status illæsus totius orbis erit.” i. e.

“One faith, one weight, one measure, and one coin,

“Would all the world in harmony conjoin.”

Almost ever since the revival of commerce in Europe, there has been a great deal written upon the general annual balance of a whole nation's commerce; a point but little understood, and very difficult, if not in some respects impracticable to be precisely ascertained, either from custom-house entries, or from the rates of exchange between nations.

I. Our exports, some say, should be valued as they sell in foreign parts; and our imports according to their cost beyond-sea.

II. All articles of merchandize imported merely for re-exportation, and also such as we use or work up in our own manufactures, are far from being hurtful to our commerce; and may even, in many respects, be deemed of equal benefit with our own native commodities. Such merchandize, therefore, ought to be left out in the contemplation of a general balance being against such a nation.

III. False entries, for reputation's sake, and possibly sometimes for worse ends, render custom-house books an uncertain guide.

IV. Even the course of exchange may, from certain particular intervening circumstances, seem to be against a country in its commerce to several foreign parts, although, nevertheless, a trade, profitable upon the whole, may be carried on by that country. Thus, for instance, in England's exchange with Holland, much of the treasure received by the Dutch merchants in Spain and Portugal, to answer the balance of trade, which is greatly in their favour with respect to both those nations, is often brought thence in our ships to London, and transmitted to Holland, making a mutual demand for gold and silver from England to Holland. This must necessarily contribute to keep the par of exchange against us, although our people get much more for freight and commission than they lose by the course of exchange:—The dividends of foreigners in our national funds;—our subsidies to foreign Princes, and our appointments to our ministers at foreign courts;—the drafts of our nobility and gentry on their foreign travels;—and, what may possibly be beyond all the rest together, the demands on us from the northern crowns, Russia, the Hans-towns, and indeed from all other countries to whom we usually pay an annual balance. These, and other similar causes occasionally occurring, may, and do frequently, turn against us the exchange with Amsterdam, the centre of exchange for all Europe, even although it may be universally allowed, as already observed, that we carry on a very profitable commerce with Holland itself, separately considered, as well as with several other parts of Europe.

It is therefore an excess of importations alone, either for mere luxury or mere necessity, or for both together, which is disadvantageous to, and will, in the end, bring on poverty on any country; and not such importations as, like many of ours, consist of raw silk, Spanish wool, cotton wool and yarn, mohair, flax and hemp, and their seeds, oils, pot-ashes, dying stuffs, naval stores, &c. either used in our ship building, or worked up in our manufactures, and mostly also for exportation:—Neither are our importations of East India and Plantation goods, designed to be re-exported, nor the foreign linens, &c. for supplying our own American plantations, and our African trade, to be deemed unprofitable, but are, on the contrary, quite beneficial to us.

Although, therefore, we can never, perhaps, be able precisely to determine or ascertain the quantum of any annual balance in our, or any other nation's favour, as some of our writers pretend to do, and more especially as certain French authors do, who, of late, have vainly pretended to ascertain, and thereby have greatly exaggerated their nation's annual gain by its foreign commerce;—yet there are so many strongly concurring evidences of our being very considerable gainers by our general foreign commerce, as, in effect, amount to demonstration. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that had we not so vast a national debt, occasioning a terrible load of heavy taxes and burdens on trade and manufactures, as well as on almost all the necessaries of life, our national wealth would increase much faster than it can possibly be expected to do in such circumstances: which general observation undoubtedly ought to be extended to Scotland and Ireland, both which countries are at present in a very prosperous state, in respect to their general commerce, and their peculiar manufactures.

Whoever reads attentively our elder writers on commerce, before our heavy customs, excises, and other taxes were laid on, and particularly the judicious essays of Sir Josiah Child, will with pleasure see the large strides we formerly took in the increase of commerce and wealth, more especially from

the year 1640, downwards. It is true, the extirpation of tyranny, and the firm establishment of the nation's liberties, civil and sacred, which could never be bought too dear, have, since the ever memorable Revolution, in the year 1688, occasioned several very expensive foreign wars, which have very much retarded the rapid increase of our wealth. Nevertheless, we must strangely and wilfully shut our eyes, not plainly to perceive, by various infallible marks, a gradual increase of our commerce, wealth, and people, since that most happy period, viz.

I. As, first, by the accession of great numbers of industrious foreigners, chiefly from France, since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in the year 1685, as well as by the natural augmentation of our own people.

II. Our trading cities and manufacturing towns are generally, and most of them greatly increased in magnitude and splendour.

III. At London, the number of our quays, wharfs, warehouses, and docks below bridge, and also the shipping of London, as well as of most of the out-ports, are considerably increased, as is also the number of real merchants, as well as of wholesale and retail dealers; our shops and warehouses more numerous, and much better filled; and the suburbs of London are continually expanding themselves every way, by new and finer built streets.

IV. Money is in greater plenty; and, as an infallible consequence thereof, its interest lower than ever.

V. The great increase of the number and splendour of equipages,—of plate, jewels, pictures, household furniture, &c.—greater stocks of cattle,—lands better improved,—as are also mines and fisheries,—and the like still more in respect of our manufactures;—greater portions given by all ranks to children;—and, in general, people of all degrees, both in town and country, live much better than formerly.

VI. Our royal navy at least doubled in number, and of greater magnitude and weight of metal in each of its rates than at the Revolution, in 1688.

All which, and numerous other instances, that, for brevity's sake, we omit, have not been sudden, but gradual, and therefore solid and rational marks of prosperity, not proceeding merely or solely from an increase of luxury or prodigality; both which we must however allow, will ever increase in some proportion to the influx of national wealth. England, therefore, is now undoubtedly in possession of an extensively active and very gainful commerce, beyond what any nation in Europe at present has, or perhaps ever had.

To all which, some will nevertheless plausibly, as they think, object, that our immense paper credit is a principal cause of the specious appearance of wealth, more especially in our great metropolis; where, say they, there is not so great a plenty of real money or coin as many would have us believe. By which the objectors would seem to insinuate, that paper credit may be arbitrarily, and perhaps some might go so far as to say unlimitedly, created in any nation: than which nothing is more absurd and false in fact. For, were there no other demonstrative evidence thereof than the

famous, or rather infamous year 1720, both with regard to the transactions in England and in France, that alone is sufficient to evince, that the national paper credit in every country, that is, its public assignable debts or funds, as well as that of every bank and banker, in order to its permanent duration and support, must ever bear, at least, a due proportion to the real intrinsic ability or wealth of such nation, bank, or banker. Or, in other words, with particular regard to national credit, that such paper credit can no longer possess a solid duration than whilst men are persuaded that proportionable or sufficient realities exist or remain for circulating or answering the same. Or, again, that such a nation must ever be able, not only duly and punctually to pay the interest of such paper credit, but must likewise be in a condition gradually to discharge the principal. This, thanks be to God, is still our own present happiness: but, were several of the other kingdoms of Europe, that could be named, to contract so large a public debt as ours, their whole revenue would not suffice merely for paying the annual interest of even a fourth part of it: wherefore, there would, in such a kingdom, remain no public credit at all, but every thing would soon tend to a general national bankruptcy.

National, or public paper credit, therefore, is not the cause, but purely the effect of national ability or wealth: which position will equally hold good with respect to the paper credit of banks, and also of private bankers; who must ever have, if they would always be safe, a real and solid bottom, for answering, in a reasonable time, all demands from their paper creditors, in case of what is usually styled a run upon them. Will any one, for instance, imagine, that the two incorporated banks at Edinburgh, each of whose capitals does little exceed one hundred thousand pounds sterling, would, or durst prudently or safely venture to issue cash-notes, to the amount of a bank, suppose our bank of England, having a capital of ten millions sterling? Since, probably, even the whole cash of Scotland would scarcely be sufficient to circulate the notes of the last named bank; yet both the said Edinburgh banks are, and ever have been, in great credit over all that of the united kingdom; and do make, and ever have made, considerable annual dividends of their profits by banking. Both they, and likewise our private London bankers, very well know their own strength, and that their issued paper credit must ever bear a certain due proportion to the quantum of their existing capital.

Thus, a national paper credit may be fitly enough compared to that of a more private bank or banker; and that although both the one and the other may be, and have been, often brought into distress in calamitous times, so that the credit of the former has sometimes sunk so far in the market price, as to hurt very considerably such proprietors as had immediate occasion for realizing; and the creditors of the latter, on such an occasion, by a temporary stop of payment, have been obliged to wait some time for their money; yet both having, as supposed, a solid foundation, have soon recovered their former credit: whereas the French Royal Bank and Mississippi stocks, and the English South Sea stock, screwed up, in 1720, to the enormous price of one thousand per cent. suddenly shrunk; the former to nothing, in effect, and the latter to less than one-tenth part of the nominal value it had attained: and the same, or worse, at that time, befell such private bankers as ventured far out of their depth, and lost sight of the necessary precaution of keeping within the limits of their capitals.

National, as well as more private paper credit, therefore, doing the office of real money or coin, is in that respect so far from being a misfortune, as some have insinuated, that it is a real and very considerable

considerable benefit to commerce: but this can never be the case for any considerable duration, or in any eminent degree, but in opulent commercial countries, and in such only where the liberties of the whole people are inviolably established.

Next to the woollen manufacture of England, which is still the noblest in the universe, her metallic manufactures of iron, steel, tin, copper, lead, and brass, are of later times so vastly improved and increased, as justly to be esteemed the second to it, and are also the finest in the world, being exported to almost every part, in immense quantities: so that some think they employ half a million of people. The mines of those metals also, and those of lead and coals are greatly improved of late years; as are also our fisheries; which last, we hope, may in the end be crowned with success, notwithstanding such unpromising appearances. The linen manufactures and fine fabrics of Scotland and Ireland are also of late years become immense, and may probably employ in those parts near as many hands as our metallic manufactures in England.

Our unmanufactured wool alone, of one year's produce or growth, has been estimated to be worth two millions sterling; and when manufactured it costs or is valued at six millions more; and is thought to employ upwards of one million of our people in its manufacture; whereas in former times all our wool was exported unmanufactured, and our own people remained unemployed.

Even but about two hundred and sixty years ago, or little more, the whole rental of England in lands and houses did not exceed five millions; but, by the increase of commerce and manufactures, the rental is now increased to about fourteen millions, and some think considerably higher: of which vast benefit to the landed interest our nobility and gentry begin to be fully sensible, and consequently of the immense increase of the full value or fee-simple of all their land; as by the following computation, viz.

I. The old five millions of land rent would, three hundred years ago, have scarcely yielded ten years purchase, or	50
II. But the said fourteen millions may, at this time, be estimated, viz. ten millions in lands, (copyholds, &c. included) on an average, at or near twenty years purchase	200
III. And four millions in houses, now so vastly improved and increased, at eight years purchase, on a medium,	32
Total value of our present rental	232
Deduct the value of the rental three hundred years ago	50
Total increased rental in three hundred years space	182

It is quite immaterial whether this increased computation be minutely exact: for, as it is not probably very wide from the mark, it will well enough serve for the illustration of our general position, which is all that is intended by it.

Yet this so vast an increase of our rental is far from being all the benefit accruing from our increased commerce. The immense increase of our personal estates arising therefrom, in plate, jewels, furniture, paintings, equipages, libraries, medals, coins, shipping, horses, and other cattle, &c. These may at least be supposed to have kept pace with the increasing value of our rents. To these
may

may be justly added the vast increase of all kinds of merchandize, with which our warehouses and shops are always filled; so universally visible to all.

As to the money out at interest, either due by private persons or in the public funds; it may probably be objected, that it is only one hand owing to another: and therefore we shall not take it into our computation: and yet its increase, could it be discovered, would be a collateral proof of our increased riches.

Now, as the enlargement of our commerce has thus so vastly increased the value of our lands as well as of our general riches, it is no less certain and self-evident, that any sensible decrease of our commerce would infallibly sink the value and rents of lands in a similar proportion. Our cities and manufacturing towns which do now consume such immense quantities of the product of our lands, being then depopulated, our farms would thereby be deserted, and perhaps even the entire rents might in time scarcely be sufficient to support the numberless poor, then destitute of employment. In which lamentable situation, it is no exaggeration to assert, that the landed interest would be more sensibly affected than even the merchants, traders, and manufacturers themselves; as the latter could, at the worst, and doubtless would mostly remove to other countries; whilst the former must necessarily stick to their lands, which then would find but very few purchasers, and at low rates. The bare possibility of so sad a declension ought surely to keep us perpetually watchful; more especially as almost every nation in Europe is at this time earnestly striving to rival us either in our staple manufactures, our fisheries, our plantations, or our naval power.

So long ago as the year 1680, Sir William Temple, in his Miscellanies, observes, that "trade is grown the design of all the nations in Europe that are possessed of any maritime provinces; as being the only unexhausted mine, and out of whose treasures all greatness at sea naturally arises." And Lord Verulam, (that great glory of our isle) treating, in his Advancement of Learning, of the advantages of maritime greatness, finely observes, (one hundred and fifty years ago), that "he that commands at sea, is at great liberty, and may take as much or as little of the war as he shall judge proper: whereas, Potentates who are merely strong at land, are, notwithstanding their land superiority, frequently reduced to great difficulties: and the riches of both the Indies seem in a great degree but the consequence of the command of the sea." It is almost unnecessary to observe, how strongly that great man's just remark has been confirmed in the years 1759, 1760, 1761, and 1762.

Our great rivals on the continent, it is true, think themselves obliged to keep up vast standing armies, in time of peace as well as in war; but then, being surrounded on every side by a double or treble chain of strong fortresses, they have thereby sufficient time and means to prevent a surprize. This is far from being our case, whose great resource for safety is, to be constantly and very considerably superior in maritime strength to every other nation whatever. This superiority of naval power, necessarily requiring or implying a proportionable superiority of maritime commerce, sets before us in the strongest light the indispensable necessity of our cultivating what tends to increase our shipping and mariners: and it should ever be uppermost in our thoughts, that, without such a constant superiority on the ocean, it will be absolutely impossible for Britain to preserve its external independence, and, in consequence, its internal free constitution. And, by way of corollary, let us add, that, if ever Britain's external independence should be lost, that of the rest of the nations of Europe that shall dare to oppose any over-grown tyrant, will be also soon at an end.

With

With respect to the product and manufactures of Britain, we must allow, that our own people are, without doubt, by far the greatest consumers of them. If, for instance, or illustration, Great Britain (as has generally been said, and nearly proved) contains above (but we will now only suppose that number) eight millions of souls; and that, as is also thought, every soul, one with another, or rich and poor, young and old, on an average, spends annually seven pounds; then their whole annual expence will be at least fifty-six millions.

		<i>Millions.</i>
Thus proportioned; viz.		
I. House rents,	— — — — —	4
II. Of foreign wares imported they may spend	— — — — —	4
III. And of our own product and manufactures they may probably consume and spend (exportations included) to the value of	— — — — —	48
IV. It is moreover usually computed, that the total amount of our said annual exports to all foreign countries does not exceed, in our own product and manufactures, and those of our plantations and foreign factories,	— — — — —	8
V. And, consequently, the remainder of our product and manufactures, consumed at home, is	— — — — —	40

In the year 1753, there happened to be a learned dispute between two gentlemen of Edinburgh, (Mr. Wallace and Mr. Hume) upon a question, Whether the ancient world was or was not more populous than the modern world. That controversy soon reached foreign parts; which dispute occasioned Monsieur Deslandes to write a letter from Stockholm to France; wherein he states the number of people, at this time, in the several countries of Europe, &c. viz.

		<i>Millions.</i>
I. In Spain and Portugal	— — — — —	6
II. In France	— — — — —	20
(The most modern French author of <i>Les Interêts de la France mal-entendus</i> , makes the people of France but seventeen millions).		
III. In Germany and Hungary	— — — — —	20
IV. In the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands	— — — — —	5
V. In Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Russia	— — — — —	16
(Lord Whitworth's account of Russia, as it was in the year 1710, makes the people of all Russia to be only six millions five hundred and forty thousand. If so, then Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, are over-rated considerably).		
VI. In Italy and the isles adjacent, <i>i. e.</i> Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, &c.	— — — — —	11
VII. In England	— — — — —	8
(If he includes Scotland and Ireland, he is at least two millions short).		
VIII. In Turkey in Europe	— — — — —	16
IX. In Poland and Prussia	— — — — —	7
Total people in all Europe, by this Frenchman's random computations,		109
In all Asia,		400
In all Africa,		100
In all America,		120

Total number of people in all the earth	— — — — —	729
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With respect to Great Britain and Ireland, jointly considered, surely Deslandes is mistaken, and probably in other countries too, many being of opinion, that they contain at least ten and a half millions of people: which probably may be thus distributed, viz.

Many conjecture, that England alone, since the reformation from Popery, is increased two millions of people. Dr. Davenant, however, in his Essay on the balance of Trade, published in the year 1699, quotes a manuscript of one, whom he styles the ingenious Mr. Gregory King, exhibiting the numbers of people in England, at the following periods, viz.

These vague and uncertain conjectures, for they are merely no other, might easily be called at by others, with perhaps as plausible an authority: we shall, however, only here remark, that, by the Bishop's survey, in 1676, the people of England were reckoned near six millions, eight-hundred-thousand, and fifty years ago.

The commerce of the world being in perpetual fluctuation, we can never be too watchful, not only for preserving what we are in possession of, but for availing ourselves of the mistakes or negligences of other nations, in order to acquire new branches thereof. Who could have imagined three hundred years ago, that those ports of the Levant from whence, by means of the Venetians, England, and almost all the rest of Christendom, were supplied with the spices, drugs, &c. of India and China, should one day come themselves to be supplied with those and other articles by the remote countries of England and Holland, at an easier rate than they were used to have them directly from the

the East: or, that Venice should afterward lose to Lisbon the lucrative trade of supplying the rest of Europe with them: or, lastly, that Lisbon should afterward lose the same to Amsterdam: or that Amsterdam and Haerlem should gradually lose (as in part has already happened, and likely more and more to happen) their famous and fine linen manufactures, to Scotland and Ireland.

We need not add, the various removes of the staple for the woollen manufacture, which was first at Venice, Florence, Pisa, and Lucca, upon the early revival of commerce after the fall of the western empire; from whence the bulk of it removed, about eight hundred years ago, to the Netherlands; and from the Netherlands, about two hundred years ago, into England; or that the great supply of sugars to all Europe should go from Lisbon to London; and since, in too great a degree, from London to the ports of France; fine toys, haberdashery, jewels, watches, hardware, hats, stockings, &c. from France and Germany into England. The various removes of the hosiery, also, are remarkable, as will be seen in its place. These, and many more instances, which, were it necessary, might be given, render several of the axioms and dogmatical opinions of some of our older writers upon commerce unsafe to be relied on, as more fully remarked in our preface. Even that excellent treatise of Sir Josiah Child, is already somewhat liable to this caution; especially when writing on the Dutch commerce, then in its full perfection, though since considerably eclipsed.

The old republics and free cities of Italy, which were the first revivers of commerce in the South, as the Hans-towns were in the North, are almost all declining from their pristine commercial greatness, without one single exception, (but Leghorn, a modern free town) with regard to those of Italy, and few or none with regard to the Hans-towns, Hamburg excepted. Such changes have indeed also happened in very ancient times, even so far back as Herodotus, three hundred years before the founding of Rome, who observes, “ that several of the cities of Phenicia, which were formerly great, were, in his time, become inconsiderable; and some other cities, which, in his time, were large, had formerly been little.”

In the middle ages, we shall see, that a similar declension happened to the famous commercial port of Wisbny and of Julin, and to the mercantile cities of Bardewick, and also of great Novogrod in Russia—the only crimes of most of which places, in Germany, seeming to have been their great wealth, and their unhappy vicinity to some all-availing tyrant.

The before-mentioned present declension of certain free commercial cities may possibly be nearly accounted for, from the general turn of the great monarchical countries, of late years more than formerly, to commerce, navigation, and manufactures.

Before England had foreign colonies and factories, our general commerce was comparatively inconsiderable. The great bulk of our exportations consisted of our woollen drapery, lead, and tin; in the times, more especially, before France had engaged in the woollen manufacture, and Holland but very little; and that Florence and Venice were chiefly confined to the supplying the countries within the Mediterranean with that important article. So that, in effect, we enjoyed almost a monopoly of that manufacture for the west and north parts of Europe before the year 1640; Spain and Portugal being then almost entirely supplied by us with light draperies, as well for their home consumption, as for that of their extensive colonies; from whence, in return, we were, in those days, supplied

supplied with the sugars, tobacco, drugs, &c. which we now have from our own plantations. For this reason, our old commercial writers are almost wholly taken up with the importance of our wool and woollen manufactures, which, with our tin, lead, leather, coals, and some other smaller articles, were all we pretended to call our staple commodities.

With respect to our importations, Venice first, and Lisbon next, supplied us with the merchandize of the East Indies, &c.—The Hans-towns with naval stores, copper, iron, linen, and even with the best of our shipping—Germany also, with linen, tin plates, and hardware, even so low as to nails themselves.—France supplied us, in great abundance, with silks, linen, wines, brandies, paper, toys, and frippery. How happy then is the change in our national circumstances, since we have had American plantations, the demand from whence, of all kinds of merchandize, having so greatly excited our people at home to the improvement and increase of our old manufactures, and to the introduction of new ones: whereby, and likewise by the vast increase of the productions of our American plantations, we have got rid, for the most part, though not as yet entirely, of a precarious dependence on other nations, for what we now either manufacture much better at home, or else are supplied with from our own plantations and foreign settlements, in exchange for our native commodities, instead of our formerly sending out much of our treasure for the same: how greatly are our customs thereby increased, from thirty-six thousand pounds at Queen Elizabeth's death, to four hundred thousand pounds at the Restoration of King Charles II.; and to four times this last sum at the present time. How vastly is our great metropolis increased, from little above two hundred thousand souls, with all its suburbs on both sides the Thames, at that Queen's death, to about four times as many at present.

Our American plantations, therefore, by the vast increase of their people, and of the commodities by them raised for our own use, for our manufactures and re-exportations, and more especially by the perpetually increasing demands from thence of all kinds of our manufactures, productions, &c. in immense quantities; (whereby probably about or near a million of our people are employed at home, many hundreds of stout ships, and many thousands of mariners, constantly employed; much wealth, and considerable quantities of bullion of both gold and silver, continually brought home to us) do undoubtedly, at present more than ever, demand of us the first and highest regard, preferably to any other commercial consideration whatever: more especially, if we do but duly consider, that, by the additional wealth, power, territory, and influence thereby now thrown into our scale, we are enabled to preserve our dearest independence with regard to the other potentates of Europe; some of whom are, in little more than one century past, so increased in power and territory, as to have long since given alarming apprehensions to all their neighbours.

The commerce we now carry on with our American plantations is so vast, as probably already to equal in quantity, and to exceed in profit, all the other commerce we have with the rest of the world. And it being incessantly increasing, in proportion to the increase of white people there, they are perpetually increasing their useful productions, cultivating new plantations, and successfully attempting new materials for commerce; as silk, indigo, coffee, potash, drugs for physic, dyers, painters, &c. more especially in the fine continental colonies of Carolina and Georgia; which, in the opinion of very knowing persons, are capable, with proper industry, of raising the finest productions of all the three divisions of the old world, as well as that of the new one.

In Colonel John Purry's memorial to the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State, in the reign of King George I. and which he afterwards printed, in 1724, upon his application for carrying into Carolina a colony of Protestant Switzers, he lays it down as a *postulatum*, "That there is a certain latitude on our globe, so happily tempered between the extremes of heat and cold, as to be more peculiarly adapted than any other for all the said rich productions: and he seems, with judgment, to have fixed on the latitude of thirty-three degrees, whether south or north, being that of Carolina, as the identical one for that peculiar character."

That sensible man, a native of Switzerland, whom the author of this work once conversed with, had before printed at London a memorial, which he had formerly presented to the directors of the Dutch East India Company, in the year 1718, on his return from their service in India; wherein he endeavoured to persuade them to plant new colonies on the coast of Caffres, near their colony at the Cape of Good Hope, and also on the land of Nuyts, on the southern hitherto unplanted continent called New Holland, not far south from their island of Java, both lying near the said latitude of thirty-three degrees: "a latitude," says he, "most fit for vines, and other excellent fruits and plants; whereby the Company would be enabled to supply their East India settlements with wines, fruits, oils, and corn, which now cost them so great an expence bought of and from the Europeans." But in this memorial, Purry, it seems, touched on some points which the Company judged improper to be published, and which constrained him to leave Holland. His next application was to the French Ministry, by adapting his scheme to some of the foreign settlements of France. But their reference to the French Academy of Sciences produced the following cold answer, viz. That they could not judge of countries which they had never seen.

Last of all, he presented the above-named memorial, in 1721; wherein he sets forth, from indisputable facts, "That the identical latitude of South Carolina, which then comprehended the country since named Georgia, or that of thirty-three degrees, either north or south of the equator, will ever be found to be productive of the richest plants, fruits, drugs, &c. of any part whatever on the terraqueous globe, all other things being supposed equal, *i. e.* provided there be no natural impediments, such as rocks, marshes, sandy deserts, &c. A latitude," says he, "which, by the moderation of its heat, and temperature of its air, sheds fruitfulness on the earth, and happiness on mankind in general; who, the further they are distant from this degree, are only so much the less happy: and that the nearer any country is to that latitude, the more happy is their situation. Thus Barbary, Egypt, Syria, Persia, India, China, Japan, and, in short, all other countries are found to excel, in proportion, the nearer they approach to this degree of latitude. Upon this principle, Carolina and New Mexico on the north side of the equator, as Chili and Rio de la Plata on its south side, must be countries preferable to any in all America, as being all situated about or near the said thirty-third degree. It is," continued he, "a consequence that never fails. Thus Andalusia is the best of all the provinces of Spain, as coming near to our thirty-third degree: so are, for the same reason, Languedoc and Provence the best in France, and Naples and Sicily of all the Italian dominions." He next shews, "that Carolina is proper for producing the best silk in the world, as being fitter for the breeding of silk worms, than either France, Spain, or Italy; as it is also for wines, oils, cotton, indigo, wax, fruits, cocoa nuts, timber, tur, flax, hemp, rice, wheat, &c." The Preface of the English translation of the said Memorial alleges, that our great Sir Isaac Newton did, in general, agree to the principles of this same opinion.

What he then foretold concerning silk and indigo, has since been verified abundantly already in Carolina; as have also been the excellent productions of the wines and fruits since raised on the coast of Caffres, under the Dutch government of the Cape of Good Hope. Rice was a little before begun to be raised in Carolina; and has since been so far increased as to have produced, in some years, from eighty thousand to one hundred and four thousand barrels for exportation; so that it grew to be more than could be vended to advantage; which, it seems, was one occasion of their engaging in the cultivation of indigo, now also brought to a great degree of perfection. The production of rice at Carolina was as accidental as was that of sugar long before at Barbadoes, (of which in its place) and therefore deserves likewise to be commemorated for the encouragement of similar attempts in future. It seems, the captain of a ship from Madagascar, touching at Carolina, in the reign of the late Queen Anne, left, with a planter there, a small bag, not exceeding a peck of seed rice, by way of experiment: and, soon after, Mr. Du Bois, then Treasurer of our East India Company, sent thither from hence, for the same experiment, a bag of another sort of seed rice: and, after several trials of both those sorts, the planters at length found out the true method of cultivating and dressing them to perfection.

Their silk, though more slowly, increases in quantity every year, and is in quality, on the strictest examination, found to be excellent. Their pitch and tar are not hitherto quite so good as what is brought from Sweden; yet, by a further continuance of the bounties thereon, and on some other new productions, they may probably be brought to perfection in a reasonable time.

Colonel Purry, whom I have already mentioned, some years after, settled, with a colony of his country-people, on the river Savannah, which parts Carolina from Georgia; where he has perpetuated his name, by founding the town of Purrysburg, in which the posterity of those Protestant Switzers remain at this time.

Our planters in those and our other colonies are said to be diligent in procuring and transplanting, from Italy, Barbary, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and other eastern parts, many kinds of new seeds, plants and roots: in Carolina and Virginia, they have found several excellent originally-native productions or aborigines, such as snake-root, sassafras, and, of late years, also the famous root called ginseng, so highly celebrated in China.

In Carolina too, they have now got plenty of lemons and oranges, which are said to surpass any growing in Europe. And the late judicious Mr. Joshua Gee, in his small but excellent treatise, published in 1729, entitled, The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, assures us, that the hemp of Virginia has, upon trial, been found to equal, in goodness and strength, that of Ancona in Italy, allowed to exceed any other hemp in Europe.

The fine provinces of Virginia and Maryland produce the best tobacco in the world for general use, of which, it is said, above the value of six hundred thousand pounds sterling is yearly brought to Europe, in near three hundred sail of our own shipping, bringing in a revenue of about or near two hundred thousand pounds by the customs on it. About three-fourths of which tobacco is annually re-exported to other European countries. Iron also is now brought from thence in considerable quantities; in consequence of which, in time, we may save above two hundred thousand pounds in ready money annually sent to Sweden, for what we may have from our own fellow subjects, in exchange

• **exchange** for British manufactures, which Sweden neither will nor can take of us. For, since we have not cord wood in England, either at a reasonable price or in a sufficient quantity, for refining, as it is said, above one third part of the iron we use; and as Sweden may some time or other take the same unreasonable advantage of us in this commodity, as they did in the article of tar, in the year 1703, it is therefore surely the highest wisdom, to have all such commodities entirely from our own colonies.

“ It is almost impossible,” says the said ingenious Mr. Gee, “ to find out five such necessary articles as hemp, flax, silk, iron, and potash, for carrying on the manufactures of this kingdom, that can be done with so little trouble. Money ought to be advanced by the nation, for the propagation of such useful materials.—And, if they come to be raised in sufficient quantities in our plantations, there needs not to be one idle person in Great Britain and Ireland; though, it is said, there is now near one million idle, of one sort or other.—Not one fourth part,” continues he, “ of the product of our plantations redounds to the profit of the planters themselves: for, out of all that comes hither, they only carry back cloathing and other accommodations for their families, all of the manufacture or merchandize of this kingdom; and, if they have any thing to spare, it is laid up here; and their children are sent hither for education. There are very few trading or manufacturing towns in the kingdom, but have some dependence on the plantation trade.” Mr. Gee also thought, “ that tea, coffee, and cochineal might be produced in Carolina;” see the premiums of the truly honourable society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, in the years 1759, 1760, and 1761, “ which, with wild olive trees, rosin, turpentine, iron-stone, boards, lumber, pipe-staves, masts, yards, hides, tallow, furs, beef, pork, butter, cheese, buckwheat, oats, barley, and the other before-named productions of our several colonies, is such a catalogue of most excellent and useful merchandize as cannot easily be matched in any cultivated country of Christendom. By all which means together, we might save above two millions annually, which we now pay to foreign nations, and to our own poor.”

North America is at length become an immense market for our woollen, silk, linen, and metallic manufactures; for household furniture of all sorts, apparel, plate, pictures, jewels, books, armory, medicines, some materials for buildings, toys, and other curiosities.

All which benefits are greatly enhanced to us, by this most important consideration, viz. That the trade with them is not like those carried on with foreign nations, which undoubtedly may, from various causes, be utterly lost or quite diverted: but our said fellow-subjects of America do not only look upon Britain as their mother country, but are moreover absolutely restrained by law from admitting the ships of foreign nations into their ports, fleets of weather excepted, and also from taking off any foreign product or manufactures: some few stipulated and limited cases excepted.

The sagacious Sir Josiah Child, many years since, observed, that every white man in our colonies finds employment for four times as many at home. Now, supposing that, since his time, there may be two hundred and fifty thousand white men in all our colonies, (exclusive of women and children, and also of negro-slaves, and including about twelve thousand sailors, employed as well in their own fisheries as in the coasting trade, and in that also between the continent and island colonies, in two thousand vessels of their own, great and small) then is employment given to no less than one million of our own people at home. And, as all our commerce with America, including the negro trade, may

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may probably employ ~~one~~ thousand two hundred sail more of our own British shipping, and ~~twenty~~ thousand sailers, it is easy to conceive how vastly profitable our plantations are to us in every view ; whether by setting on work such immense numbers of our manufacturers and artificers of all kinds, or employing our sailers, ship-builders, and all the trades depending thereon. How tenacious, then, ought we ever to be for the preservation of every foot of ground of such invaluable possessions ? Yet how supine and negligent have we too often formerly been in asserting and supporting our just claims in that part of the world. Did not the late Captain Thomas Ceram, though a plain man, in the year 1735, in a memorial and petition to the privy council, clearly, though in a blunt manner, represent the then unsettled and very hazardous condition of Nova Scotia, and its imminent danger from the French ; which, however, was disregarded, till after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, when his plan was pursued, by which delay, our enemies had so many more years of leisure to make further encroachments on a province, since universally allowed to be the important key of all North America, not by its fertility, but situation ; and how much blood and treasure has that fatal neglect since cost us.

Had not a number of private gentlemen, in the year 1732, joined by some noble persons, most disinterestedly undertaken to ascertain and set out the just south boundaries of Carolina, by soliciting a charter for appointing them trustees for planting the new colony of Georgia, on the south extremity of that province ; who can say, or rather who can doubt, whether either Spain from Florida, or France from Mississippi, might not, before this time, have settled and fortified where at present the British ensigns are displayed.

How watchful ought we also to be of our island of Newfoundland : for, although, through its natural and incurable sterility, it does not promise to be rendered considerable merely as a plantation ; yet, for the sake of its good ports, and of our great fishery on its banks, valued at three hundred thousand pounds sterling, added annually to the national balance or stock in our favour, it is of very great and universally acknowledged importance to us.

The same might have been said of the vast countries within the strait and bay of Hudson, before we were possessed of Canada, where, although, for similar reasons, plantations may never take place, it is nevertheless our solid interest, notwithstanding our stipulated possessions of Canada, the best part of Louisiana, and all the country of Florida, to protect our Company's forts, and their trade and boundaries ; whither also, in the opinion of some intelligent people, a more extensive commerce with the savages might be carried on with our coarser woollen, metallic, and linen manufactures, &c. in exchange for their furs, peltry, bed-feathers, whale-bone and oil ; and that possibly thrice the present Company's capital stock of little more than one hundred thousand pounds might be thereby employed, and perhaps four times the number of ships now annually sent thither, being at most but four ships hitherto ; were another company to make up a proportionable capital, with the sanction of an act of Parliament, and a royal charter, which, without doubt, his Majesty, for the benefit of commerce, would be graciously pleased to grant : for the present Hudson's Bay Company is not an exclusive one. Yet at this Company's forts, such as they are, were erected at their own expence, they have an undoubted right to exclude all others from taking the benefit of their protection, without their leave first obtained : wherefore, such proposed new Company might erect forts of their own, in other parts of the widely-extended countries round that vast bay, and might trade with the savages thereof, without interfering with the present company ; or else might be enabled, for a valu-

able consideration, to purchase, and take under its management, all the present Company's forts, and also to erect additional ones in other parts; which, by a small duty on that commerce, might well be supported, for all his Majesty's subjects freely to traffic in that Bay, and up into the adjoining inland parts; private or separate traders being universally known to take more pains, and to manage more frugally, than companies can or will ever be able to do.

Such separate traders also, in trading far up into the country westward, might possibly be more likely to find the so much and so long sought for north-west passage to China and Japan, than the Company itself. But of that supposed passage, more will be said in its historical places. Yet we may here observe, that our late kind neighbours the French of Canada have formerly encroached on our undoubted boundaries, by advancing their frontier forts too near to ours on the south boundaries of the Hudson's Bay countries, contrary to the limits settled, though too carelessly, in consequence of the treaty of Utrecht; which boundaries, it is to be hoped, there will not now be any more occasion exactly to ascertain.

The ensuing history will but too plainly shew, how careless some of our former Kings have been of their remote American territories and conquests; and how easily they, in early times, gave up provinces and forts to the French, which have been since found to be of very great importance: such, particularly, as the whole province of Canada, with the town and fort of Quebec; and also the isle of Cape Breton, then esteemed of very little value.

The Bermudas or Sommers Isles, are some of our earliest possessions in the Western Seas, far removed from any continent or island: they scarcely contain above twenty thousand acres of good land, now almost worn out; which maintains about five thousand white people, and some negroes. They have little or nothing of their own product to export, excepting their fine and strong cedar wood, of which they build good brigantines and light sloops, to be employed between North America and our Sugar Islands, to both which countries they are certainly useful, though in other respects of but small advantage to their mother-country, any further than our supplying them with what manufactures, &c. they want, which so far is profitable to us, as we take little or nothing from them but what they pick up among our Sugar Islands. Yet as it would be very dangerous to Britain for any other nation to possess them, it is therefore our interest to protect them, and to grant them any reasonable encouragement.

Britain claims all the Bahama Isles, said by some to be five hundred in number, though many of them are no other than mere rocks; and although others of them be large and fruitful, yet they are almost all uninhabited by us, except the Isle of Providence, where we have two forts, which our nation needs their account in supporting, as they prove a curb to pirates in time of peace, and commodious in time of war, on account of prizes brought in thither. It has, however, very little of product for exportation, except some ambergris, certain fine timbers, oranges, and some other fruits, for the use of our continental colonies. And, to say the truth, its greatest value to us is its situation, and that it would be dangerous to be in any other nation's hands.

We cannot quite leave the subject of our continental colonies in America, without making some further observations on their benefits and importance to the British empire.

The newly re-planted colony of Nova Scotia's great importance consists,

First, In being a barrier to New England, by its happy situation; it is now well understood to be not only a bridle against Canada, if ever that should again become French, but may also in effect be said to be a curb on all other nations sailing in those seas.

Secondly, It is also very happily situated for the fishery.

Thirdly, It is extremely happy for us, that it is so well stocked with timber, masts, &c. for the use of the royal navy; more especially as it becomes every year more difficult to be supplied with those articles elsewhere.

The four provinces of New England, more especially those of the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, are of great benefit to the mother-country, by their hitherto supplying masts, yards, &c. for the royal dock yards, and timber for the building of many good merchant ships.

New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey may be said to be long since become indispensably necessary to the very existence of our Sugar-colonies, by the supplying our said islands with salted flesh and fish, flour, biscuit, peas, Indian corn and house timber, and with horses for their sugar mills, and also pipe staves, lumber, &c. for that end. For all which, the islanders pay them in sugar, melasses, rum, and Spanish coin; with which, again, those continental colonies pay Great Britain and Ireland for every thing they want from us, and with what they get from the French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies, as also with what they get from Portugal, Spain, Italy, and sometimes as far as from the Levant, whom they supply, in their own shipping, with fish caught in the American seas, and occasionally likewise with their corn.

The two first named provinces, indeed, are properly corn colonies, and have already testified the great benefit they may be of, by having sometimes seasonably supplied Britain itself with corn in a scarcity; and, by their future increase, may hereafter be much more so: which happy circumstance is hitherto peculiar to us; there being as yet no other European nation whatever that has colonies in America capable of supplying their mother-country with the corn, and other excellent provisions, which ours, in case of necessity, can do, as well as with naval stores; with which last-named great article, it is now earnestly to be hoped, we shall, by all possible means, endeavour to supply ourselves entirely from them, and our vast new acquisitions on the same continent of America, and thereby save the immense sums hitherto paid to the Danes, Swedes, Poles, and Russians.

What has been already observed of the product and great benefits of the provinces of Virginia and Maryland is sufficient to illustrate their vast importance; and, particularly, the very great employment they give to our ships, mariners, and manufacturers, and to almost all other branches of business.

Since seven undivided eighth parts of North and South Carolina were made regal governments, in the year 1728, they have prospered exceedingly; more especially South Carolina; for whose ex-
ports,

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ports, so long ago as the year 1753, we are indebted to a treatise, in two octavo volumes, on our American colonies, published in 1757, as follows, viz.

Rice,	—	—	—	—	104,682 barrels.
Pitch,	—	—	—	—	5,869 ———
Tar,	—	—	—	—	2,943 ———
Turpentine,	—	—	—	—	759 ———
Beef,	—	—	—	—	416 ———
Pork,	—	—	—	—	1,560 ———
Deer skins,	—	—	—	—	460 hogheads.
Tanned leather,	—	—	—	—	4,196 hides.
Hides in the hair,	—	—	—	—	1,200 ———
Indian corn,	—	—	—	—	16,428 bushels.
Peas,	—	—	—	—	9,112 ———
Shingles,	—	—	—	—	1,114,000 in number.
Cask staves,	—	—	—	—	206,000 ———
Lumber,	—	—	—	—	395,000 feet.
Indigo, in 1753,	—	—	—	—	210,924 pounds weight.
Ditto, in 1756, about	—	—	—	—	500,000

Besides a great number of live cattle and horses; also cedar-wood, cypresses, walnut-plank, bees-wax, myrtle, some raw silk and cotton.

NORTH CAROLINA exported in the year 1753.

Tar,	—	—	—	—	61,525 Barrels.
Pitch,	—	—	—	—	12,055 ———
Turpentine,	—	—	—	—	10,429 ———
Indian corn,	—	—	—	—	61,580 bushels.
Peas, about	—	—	—	—	10,000 ———
Pork and beef,	—	—	—	—	3,300 barrels.
Tobacco,	—	—	—	—	100 hogheads.
Shingles,	—	—	—	—	2,500,000 in number.
Lumber,	—	—	—	—	2,000,647 feet.
Deer skins, about	—	—	—	—	30,000
Tanned leather, about	—	—	—	—	1,000 hundred weight.

Besides much wheat, rice, bread, potatoes, wax, tallow-candles, bacon, timber, some cotton, indigo, and furs.

Lastly, Georgia, though still but thinly inhabited, begins to raise some rice, indigo, and raw silk, and to export some corn and lumber to the West Indies. They have also some trade with the Indians for peltry; all which will naturally augment with the increase of their planters. These are very comfortable accounts for our nation, even at present, and afford a most promising prospect for future generations.

With respect to our West Indies, or Sugar isles, notwithstanding the small number of their white people, compared to those in our continental colonies, we must admit them to be extremely beneficial to us; not only as having from us alone every kind of manufacture, &c. which they and their much more numerous negroes need, but likewise on account of the vast quantity of the very rich returns they make us in sugars, rum, melasses, cotton, ginger, pimento, coffee, drugs of various kinds, and mahogany timber; thereby greatly augmenting his Majesty's customs, and employing great numbers of our ships, mariners, manufacturers, &c.

Some have made the annual value of all the said imported sugars, &c. from those isles, to amount to no less than one million three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and that, till the French supplanted us in the re-exportation of our sugars, we annually re-exported one third part thereof. But the exactness of this computation cannot be absolutely depended on.

Since the use of tea, coffee, chocolate, and punch, and that made-wines, or sweets, have become so general almost over all Europe, the consumption of sugar has so greatly increased, that it is, at this day, one of the greatest articles in commerce.

Sugar has been in great estimation in Europe, even long before America was discovered, though in old times much scarcer and dearer than at present. As far as appears, none of it was found, or at least known in America, till transplanted thither by the Europeans. Its origin was from the inland continent of Asia, very probably as far east as China, where it still greatly abounds. It was from that continent first transplanted to Cyprus; and thence, according to various authors, into Sicily, where no footsteps of it now remains; thence it was transplanted to the Madeira and Canary isles; and from the latter, by Portugal, into Brasil: though others think, that the Portuguese, before they discovered, or at least planted in Brasil, being in possession of the coast of Angola, in Africa, where the sugar-cane was found spontaneously to grow, first transplanted it from Angola to Brasil.—From Brasil it was transplanted, as we shall see, first to our isle of Barbadoes, and thence to our other West India isles; as from Brasil also it was carried to the Spanish West India isles, and also to the Spanish dominions in Mexico, Peru, and Chili; and, lastly, to the French, Dutch, and Danish colonies. More of the history and transplantations of this most universal merchandize will be found in the progress of our work.

Some think that all our annual exports to America amount to above one million in value; which may be probable enough, if what Dr. Clark of Boston, in New England, affirms be true, in his judicious Observations on the conduct of the French, and their Encroachments on our American Colonies:—(Boston printed, and London re-printed, in 1755) viz. “That our annual exports to New England alone, amount to four hundred thousand pounds sterling: and that near half the shipping of Great Britain is employed in the commerce carried on with her American plantations. Which trade,” he justly adds, “will, in time, employ a much greater quantity of shipping than all the present shipping of Great Britain. Besides, that this trade will enable her, with greater advantage, to extend her commerce with other countries.” Our annual imports from all our American plantations, are conjectured to amount to near thrice the value of our said exports, which, contrary to the nature of our imports from foreign nations, constitutes a real balance in our favour at home of probably near two millions sterling yearly; and our great re-exportations of our plantation goods to foreign parts, viz. of tobacco, rice, sugar, peltry, &c. is one very great, if not the greatest, means of bringing the general annual balance of trade to be so much in our favour.

For a considerable time after our first settling in America, the undertakers at home were much discouraged, being great losers by their yearly embarkations thither, as appears by the histories of Virginia, Barbadoes, Bermudas, &c. which were indeed, for a long time, mere unprofitable drains of our people and substance, until, by patience and perseverance, they had cleared and planted those countries; when they gradually became, as above, a real and great benefit, and the means of employing, encreasing, and enriching their fellow-subjects at home: so that, if for our sins, any great calamity should befall us at home, we may then bless God that we have another vastly more extensive empire to retire to, where our kindred and fellow-subjects have paved the way for the comfortable settlement of many more millions of people than the whole British empire now contains. Neither can it be justly said to be carrying our conjectures too far to observe, that a time may come when our continental colonies may, by due encouragement, prove so potent and populous, as to be well able to succour their mother country, both with troops and shipping, in case of an unequal war with our enemies, even in Europe itself; as indeed they very lately and successfully supported us against encroachments in America. A time too, we hope, is still more likely to come, and less remote, when we shall no longer depend on the northern nations of Europe for even any part of our naval stores,—on Italy and Turkey for raw silk, oils, &c.—on Russia for pot-ash, hemp, flax, &c.—nor perhaps on any other European country for wine, drugs, or dried fruits.

In the mean time, let us summarily take a view of the present strength of our colonies, in point of the numbers of their white people, as we find them in Dr. William Douglas's Account of New England, in the year 1751, and in that of an anonymous author of An Account of the European Settlements in America; published by Mr. Doddsley, in 1757. In two octavo volumes, viz.

New England's four provinces contain,

White people.

354,000

[The English translator's preface, in the year 1758, to Don Antonio de Ulloa's Voyage to South America, by command of the King of Spain, between the years 1735 and 1746, quotes a memorial drawn from the papers of the Marquis de la Maisonforte, a prisoner at Boston, after our first taking of Cape Breton, wherein it is said, "That in the space of a single century, the people of New England will be as numerous as as those of Old England, and in a condition to give law to all the nations in North America."]

Pennsylvania, the youngest colony but Georgia and Nova Scotia, above	250,000
New York,	80,000
Virginia, the oldest English colony on the continent,	70,000
New Jersey, much improved since become a regal colony,	60,000
Maryland,	40,000

And, although those authors have omitted the numbers in the now flourishing provinces of South and North Carolina, and in Georgia, we shall suppose all the three to contain, at least,	60,000
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Total white people on the continent,	914,000
And Nova Scotia, though not computed, may contain about	30,000

And then the total amount will be about	944,000
h 2	There

There is neither colony nor plantation in Hudson's Bay, and only a few men in their four small ports, remaining there for keeping the Company's goods, &c. during the winter season.

Others are so sanguine, as to insist that our continental colonies contain above one million one hundred thousand white inhabitants, exclusive of our new and very important acquisition of Canada, which gives us possession of the entire trade of the very valuable furs and peltry of that vast continent, and may possibly also contain at least forty thousand white Canadians, or French inhabitants; and of Florida, and a great part of Louisiana.

In our West India, or sugar isles, the white people are thus computed, according to the above-quoted anonymous author.

	Whites.
Jamaica, though some accounts make them fewer, contains about	25,000
Barbadoes,	20,000
St. Christopher's, about	9,000
Antigua,	7,000
Nevis,	5,000
Montserrat,	5,000
Total whites in the sugar isles,	71,000
And in the island of Bermudas,	5,000
Total white persons in all our American isles,	76,000

Barbuda, though amongst the sugar isles, has no direct trade with Britain, being purely employed in husbandry, and in raising fresh provisions for the other colonies.

Providencia is the only island of all the Bahamas which is considerably inhabited; upon which, however, beside the two small garrisons, we have but very few white people.

And of Newfoundland the same may be said. As for our acquisitions of the isles of Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica, we have good ground to hope they will all be soon planted and cultivated, and become very useful sugar islands.

It is much wished by some, that means could be found, without endangering our sovereignty in America, and also without injuring private property and liberty, for uniting all the continental colonies into one kind of government or constitution, so as the public exigencies, in time of common danger, might be more effectually supplied than has hitherto been the case, they being at present extremely various in their internal state.

First, Some, for instance, are entirely regal governments, as Georgia, South and North Carolina, Virginia, New York, New Hampshire, (being part of what is usually called New England) and Nova Scotia; in all which provinces, both the government and also the property of the lands, or *Dominum directum*, (i. e. of the quit-rents) are in the crown, excepting Earl Granville's undivided eighth part of Carolina, and Lord Fairfax's North Creek district in Virginia.

Secondly,

Secondly, In others, viz. in Maryland and Pennsylvania, both the government and property of the lands are in the original grantees from the crown, called lords-proprietors; who are, the Lord Baltimore for the first-named province, and the descendants of William Penn, Esq. for the latter.

Thirdly, In Connecticut and Rhode Island, two other of the New England provinces, both the government and property (*i. e.* the quit-rents) are in the representatives of the people.

Fourthly, In the best peopled and best cultivated province, called Massachuset's Bay, more peculiarly named New England, the government is in the crown, but the property in the representatives of the people.

Lastly, In New Jersey, the government is now also in the crown, although the property remains still in a certain select body of proprietors.

Were all these thirteen provinces uniformly under the crown, consistently with safety, and the retaining their absolute dependence on their mother country, they might undoubtedly be rendered much more powerful, and also more beneficial to us than they have hitherto been; consisting of upwards of a million of white people, and perhaps of near half a million of negroes and dependent Indians; a number of subjects superior to that of some entire kingdoms in Europe; possessed also of a territory extended in length for at least fifteen hundred miles, Florida included, along the Deucaledonian ocean, from south-west to north-east; and which, by good management, might have been already extended and settled more than perhaps half as many miles in breadth, backward towards the South or Indian ocean, instead of suffering themselves to be barbarously insulted and ravaged by a handful of closely united enemies. All which is, and must be solely submitted to those in whose power alone it is to rectify, as far as is possible, whatever has been thus formerly so supinely neglected.

Of all the follies that any nation can be guilty of with respect to its colonies, that of even the least degree of restraint, and much more of persecution for mere religious differences, is the most destructive to their prosperity, more especially in such colonies as ours mostly are on the continent, consisting of persons of all persuasions of Protestants, who all undoubtedly have an equal and natural right peaceably to profess what they like best, and freely and openly to enjoy their own ministry and modes of worship: but, with respect to Roman Catholics, who have a foreign head, and often foreign hearts and inclinations, it were much better they were not at all tolerated there, more especially considering the near neighbourhood of those active zealots, the French and Spanish missionaries.

Since the invention of fire-artillery and ammunition, and of the huge modern ships of war, one of which, of the first or second rate, in our days, exceeds the cost of perhaps an hundred of the best of those in our King Edward the Third's fleet before Calais, the expence of modern wars is become so excessive, that the potentates of Europe are indispensibly obliged to endeavour at an increase of their revenues, by all possible means; money, and not merely multitudes of men, as in old times, being now the measure of power. And as there are but two national means for peaceably obtaining of money or riches, viz. either by having mines of the precious metals, as in Spain and Portugal, or else by manufactures, joined to such an extensive foreign commerce as may bring in an adequate

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cles from the American plantations, and from the East Indies, as well as with woollen and metallic, &c. manufactures, tin, lead, fish, corn, &c. On the other hand, we take of them the velvets and brocades, fine Genoa paper, Florence and other wines, oils, raw and thrown silk, drug, & fruits, &c. all or most of them in considerable quantities; so that perhaps it is not very easy to determine on which side the balance lies. Yet, as we trade thither almost entirely in our own shipping, and as many of the most considerable articles we have from thence are absolutely necessary for the completing of our own manufacture, we must therefore allow the trade to Italy and Sicily to be, upon the whole, a beneficial one to us.

Although our general and declared intention in this work be limited mostly to the commercial affairs of Christendom alone, excepting what relates to our Turkey or Levant Company, we may, however, here briefly and properly remark, That, notwithstanding the Grand Seignior's vast dominions extend to and comprehend many of the finest countries upon earth, and which are excellently well adapted to commerce and manufactures, viz. ancient Greece, almost all the countries round the shores of the Black Sea, Lesser Asia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Barca; yet the Turks have very little commerce but what is entirely passive, brought to their ports by the shipping of Christendom; which bring back from thence various excellent raw materials for commerce, viz. raw silk, program yarn, galls, and other dyeing drugs, &c. as also medicinal drugs, coffee, carpets, &c. in which trade we, the Dutch, and the Venetians, have still a considerable share; although the French from Marseilles have greatly gained ground on us, and all others, of late years, in that trade, by the vast quantities of their fine woollen cloths, stuffs, &c. and their American and East India goods, carried to Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, Alexandria, and other ports. We, however, still carry on a considerable trade thither, both with respect to the before-mentioned exported, imported, and other merchandize: and although, by the immense quantities of raw silk, &c. which we import from Turkey, the balance may be probably, in a literal sense, against us; yet the greatest part of our said imports being employed in our own silk, &c. manufactures, we can by no means, upon the whole, call the Turkey trade an unprofitable one to Great Britain.

The Barbary Turks, or rather Moors, are as little addicted to commerce as the Levantine Turks: and as, while we retain our superiority on the Mediterranean Seas, we shall generally be able to compel all the Barbary piratical states to be at peace with us; it is, therefore, evidently advantageous to us, that they remain, as at present, at war with other Christian powers, in consequence of which we not only undisturbedly carry on our own commerce in those seas, but are moreover become, in some measure, the carriers of both the merchandize and treasure of other states at enmity with them. The product of Barbary, viz. bees-wax, copper, almonds, dates, Morocco leather, various drugs, &c. is now mostly lodged in warehouses at our port of Gibraltar, from whence those goods are said to be sent home to Britain and Ireland, nearly on as easy terms as they were formerly brought directly from the ports of Barbary; yet our trade thither with our own manufactures and product is scarcely thought considerable enough to bring the balance in our favour.

On the west coast of Africa, our commerce is principally for the slave trade of Guinea and Benin; where, however, we have neither colony nor plantation; but merely a number of inconsiderable forts on its shores, for the protection of our trade with its wretched natives; which indeed would be of little importance to us, were it not for the great and constant supplies we get from thence of negro slaves for our American plantations, purchased entirely with our own British produce and manufactures

manufactures of coarse woollen, linen, cotton, iron, brass, copper, pewter, and glass; also armoury, tools, lead, and some East India articles; with which also we purchase some gold dust, gums, ivory, and Guinea pepper; being in effect all the product to be had on that barbarous coast. So far, therefore, this trade may be said to be beneficial to us. The Legislature, of late years, has laid this African trade in some sort open, under certain regulations; wherefore it is to be hoped, that it may in time be brought to flourish more than ever.

With respect to the history of the general trade to the East Indies, more particularly of our own nation, its former and later alterations and fluctuations have taken up more room in our ensuing work, than perhaps any other single branch of our commerce. We shall therefore refer the reader thither, after just remarking, what many have done before, That, although our own present East India Company enjoys an extensive trade, and is seemingly in a very prosperous condition, having many fine forts and factories, and a considerable territorial property, in India; making also at home considerable dividends, and such immense sales, too, as were never known in former times; having also, of late years, adorned even the city of London itself, not only with a fine office, but with such spacious and numerous warehouses as perhaps are scarcely equalled in any other nation: all which are likewise their own property. Yet, with respect to all Europe complexly taken, it seems to be universally agreed to be a pernicious trade; a trade, draining it of all or most of the silver which America brings to it.

If all Europe, therefore, could be supposed jointly to agree in dropping the East India trade entirely, it would be better for the whole, as well as every particular nation in it: for, unless it be the single, though indeed great, article of saltpetre, and some medicinal, dyers, and painters drugs, all or most of which also America can supply, we can hardly recollect any necessarily-useful commodity imported from thence, some gold from China, &c. likewise excepted, which does not interfere with the better manufactures and product of Europe.

But as such a general agreement is not to be expected; and as other European nations would undoubtedly, in our stead, supply all the neighbouring nations with East India merchandize, should we now at any time drop that trade, to their own very great advantage; and as, by our laws, all the rich and numerous Indian manufactures, directly interfering with our silk, woollen, and linen, must necessarily be re-exported to foreign countries, by which, and by various other articles exported, it is now conjectured, by impartial and very competent judges, that a considerable balance is annually gained to this kingdom; which, on supposition of dropping all commerce to India would be lost to us: upon this very probable presumption, which is submitted to every reader's impartial judgment, and also as saltpetre is so absolutely necessary for our national and private magazines for gunpowder, for which we must otherwise be at the mercy of dangerous rivals; we must ever be of opinion, that our East India trade, under its present circumstances, is really a beneficial one for Great Britain; and that, moreover, on the same supposition, it is highly for the nation's as well as for the company's interest, to support, improve, and increase our East India commerce as much as is possible.

In discoursing of the general product and manufactures of all the foregoing countries, with whom Great Britain has any commerce, we think it, in this place, necessary to obviate what some might think a plausible objection, viz. our not enumerating every minute article of them. But this, we apprehend,

apprehend, in so general a work as ours, would be both tiresome and superfluous. We have therefore judged it sufficient for our purpose, solely to specify what may be properly termed the governing articles, *i. e.* such as most materially conduce to constitute the general bulk of trade in any nation, in respect to its dealings with all other nations with whom they have any commerce. Thus, for instance, in the northern countries and Russia before treated of, the governing articles are naval stores, (*i. e.* ship timber, pitch, tar, hemp, sail cloth, and cordage) house timber, copper, flax, corn, iron, linen, and potash. In England, the woollen and hardware manufactures, with tin and lead, together with our American productions and East India re-exportations. In Ireland, as well as Scotland, the linen now governs. In Holland, linen, woollen and silk manufactures, fish, and East India merchandize. In France, wines, brandies, the woollen, silk, and linen manufactures, and their East India and American merchandize. In Spain and Portugal, their wines and fruits, their American productions, and more especially their gold and silver from thence, beside diamonds and pearls. In Italy, their raw and thrown silk, velvets, oils, wines, fruits, and drugs. In Germany, and the Austrian Netherlands, linen, timber, metals, Rhenish, Moselle, and Hungarian wines. In Poland, corn. And, if we must name Turkey, its raw silk, grogram yarn, galls, carpets, coffee, and drugs, are the governing and predominant articles.

The advancement of national commerce and manufactures has long been a point of state policy in all the councils of Europe, and has, of later times, taken up not a little room in the general treaties between nations. Men are now fully convinced, That nations are more or less opulent and potent, in proportion to their greater or lesser application to commerce; and that a small country, though lying even under some natural disadvantages, and with very little product of its own, (like Holland) may, by an unwearied application to every possible branch of commerce, acquire much more wealth, as well as a superior power and influence in the great affairs of the world, than another certain country, (like Poland) which, though blessed with many natural advantages in point of climate, soil, and fertility; of people, and of variety of excellent materials for commerce, and of perhaps twenty times the extent of the other, shall nevertheless supinely neglect the improvement of those great advantages.

The increase of commerce within the last three centuries, has introduced a very great increase of elegance in buildings, furniture, equipages, tables, dresses, &c. throughout all Europe. Until the reign of our King Henry VII. the houses in England were generally very mean in comparison of our times. They had very few stone, or even brick buildings, excepting most great churches, many of the great mens houses, and of the greater monasteries: the generality of houses not only in London, and other cities, but of many capital country seats, were of timber with clay or plaster intermixed; and those of most farmers, and in villages, were of mud and clay.

Vassalage and servile tenures also, or the feudal system, from many purchases and grants, began to grow gradually into disuse, in England much earlier than in Scotland: and our King Henry VII.'s law, for enabling the nobility to split their baronies or manors, without paying fines for alienation, gradually brought much of the landed interest into the scale of the Commons, and greatly multiplied the number of our freeholds; as did also the succeeding wild extravagance of our Kings, in squandering away their own numerous baronies and demesne lands, most happily for their subjects; so that they became at length entirely dependent, for their support, on the purses of their subjects.

By these and other preceding as well as succeeding alterations, the face of things, in almost all Europe, became strangely changed for the better; which alterations were rendered much more visible in those countries that engaged the earliest in trade and manufactures; for the greater advancement of which, these countries granted exclusive privileges to certain voluntary associations or companies of merchants and traders, who, with united endeavours, and some at length with joint stocks, were, without doubt, greatly serviceable for the advancement of national commerce in the earliest times, until by the encrease and extension of it, private or separate traders began to make loud complaints against such companies, comparing them not unfitly to crutches, which a wise man will gladly lay aside when he can better walk without them.

The judicious Sir Josiah Child was of opinion, above eighty years ago, "That all restrictions on trade are naught; and that no company whatever, whether they trade in a joint stock, or under regulations, called regulated Companies, can be for public good, except it may be easy for all or any of his Majesty's subjects to be admitted into them, at any time, for a very inconsiderable fine; and that, if the fine exceeds twenty pounds it is too much." Yet, in another place, he admits, "That, for countries with which his Majesty has no alliance, nor can have any, by reason of their distance or barbarity, or non-communication with the Princes of Christendom, and where there is a necessity of maintaining forces and forts, such as the East India and Guinea Companies, it seems evident to me, that the greatest part of these two trades ought, for public good, to be managed by a joint stock." He was himself an eminent director of the East India Company.

That author inveighs against the Eastland Company, which, we have shewn, in this work, was afterwards abolished, and for what reason, viz. "for excluding others from the trade within their limits; whereby," says he, "the Dutch have been enabled to supply Denmark, Sweden, and all parts of the Baltic, with most of the commodities usually sent thither; and that the Dutch, who have no Eastland Company, have ten times the trade to the Eastland parts that we have. And for Russia and Greenland, where we also have companies," the English Greenland Company is long since down, "our trade is, in effect, wholly lost; while the Dutch, without companies, have forty times what we have of trade in those parts."

Here it is necessary again to offer a caution to readers of books on commerce, written so far back as this otherwise great author's time, viz. the reign of King Charles II.; for, since his time, our Russia trade is very much increased, and the trade of Holland is visibly declining. France, in his days, very little interfered with England and Holland, comparatively speaking, in foreign commerce; and Holland's commerce was in its very zenith of prosperity. The case is at present widely different, the French now thrusting themselves into every corner of the commercial world, to the great detriment of both England and Holland.

Our regulated companies are at present four, viz.

I. That anciently called the Merchant Adventurers, but now usually named the Hamburg Company.

II. The Russia Company.

III. The Levant or Turkey Company. And,

IV. The New African Company.

Our exclusive joint stock companies are, according to seniority,

I. The East India Company.

II. The Hudson's Bay Company.

III. The South Sea Company. And,

IV. The Bank of England is so far an exclusive joint-stock Company, that no other company can deal in banking, nor any private partnership exceeding six persons in number. With respect to the English regulated companies, it is proper to remark, for the sake of some of our readers, that a regulated company always implies such a one as does not trade in one joint or united stock, but every member trades on his own separate bottom, under such regulations and bye-laws as the company's charter impowers them to make. With regard to our said joint-stock Companies, one of them, viz. the South Sea Company, has entered on no foreign commerce since it was excluded, by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, from the Spanish Asiento trade. And another of them, viz. the Hudson's Bay Company, is not, as elsewhere noted, a legally exclusive company.

Another joint-stock corporation, the Bank of England, though not directly engaged in any foreign commerce, is nevertheless of very great benefit and convenience to commerce both foreign and domestic; in the business of banking,—of discounting bills of exchange,—and in dealing in foreign coin and bullion: besides being at all times extremely subservient for the support of national credit.

Other joint-stock companies, though not directly engaged in either foreign or domestic commerce, are consequently beneficial to both, as the two London corporations for insuring of ships and merchandize from losses at sea, and of houses and goods from damage by fire, well known by the names of The Royal Exchange Assurance, and of The London Assurance, Companies, and they are also impowered to lend money on bottomree. Also, the two incorporated and joint-stock banks at Edinburgh are greatly beneficial, in that part of Britain, both to the mercantile and landed interests. Moreover, the English Copper Company of London; and the Corporations for Mines, and for the Linen Manufacture, in Scotland;—the Mine-adventure Company of London, such as it is, and the Linen Company of Dublin, are all joint-stock companies, and are, more or less, beneficial to the public; as are also the Lead-smelting Company, and certain companies for supplying of London with fresh water. The Equivalent Company is also a corporation, with a joint-stock, by no way concerned in commerce, as we have elsewhere shewn: but the Million Bank Company is no corporation, though it has a joint-stock, being only a legal partnership entered into in the reign of King William III. for dealing in irredeemable government securities.

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don, in 1723, in octavo, entitled, *The Payment of old Debts without new Taxes*. “One hundred red pounds,” says our anonymous author, “laid out in wool, and that wool manufactured into goods for the Turkey market, and raw silk brought home in return, and manufactured here, will increase that one hundred pounds to five thousand pounds; which quantity of silk manufactures being sent to New Spain, would return ten thousand pounds: which vast improvement of the first hundred pounds, becomes, in a few years, dispersed amongst all orders and degrees, from the prince to the peasant. Thus, again, a parcel of iron-stone, which, when first taken from its natural bed, was not worth five shillings, when made into iron and steel, and thence into various manufactures for foreign markets, may probably bring home to the value of ten thousand pounds.

“Steel may be made near three hundred times dearer than standard gold, weight for weight:—For six of the finest steel wire springs, for watch pendulums, shall weigh but one grain; and, when applied by our greatest artists, they shall be worth seven shillings and six-pence each, or two pounds five shillings for the six, or two hundred and seventy two-pences; whereas one grain of gold is worth but two-pence.

“Twenty acres of fine flax, when manufactured into the dearest and most proper goods for foreign markets, may, in return thereof, bring home thence what may be worth ten thousand pounds: for one ounce of the finest Flanders thread has been sold in London for four pounds; and such an ounce made in Flanders into the best lace, may be here sold for forty pounds; which is above ten times the price of standard gold, weight for weight.

“That fine thread is spun by little children, whose feeling is nicer than that of grown-up people, whereby they are capable of spinning such a thread, which is smaller than the finest hair; and one ounce of that thread is said to reach in length sixteen thousand yards.”

We may here just cursorily remark, that a certain gradation may be met usually, though not universally observed in the various occupations, relative to the point of profit or super-lucration.—Thus, for instance, husbandry or agriculture is often less profitable, though more laborious, and even frequently more hazardous, than retail business in cities;—manufacturers than retailers,—wholesale dealers than manufacturers,—and merchants than wholesale dealers: all other things being supposed to be equal.

/ Before we close this Introduction, it will be absolutely requisite to adjust one very considerable and important preliminary respecting our commercial history, viz. the variations in the weight, purity, and value of England's silver coins, from the Norman Conquest downward. By this alone we shall be enabled to form a nearly exact judgment of the true rate or cheapness of living, or of provisions, and all other necessaries, through all their different variations and periods;—of the modern values of the ancient salaries of state-officers;—the pay of artificers, labourers, soldiers, sailors, &c. • A subject frequently brought into conversation, though seldom understood. Thus, we often hear a sum of money mentioned to have been paid some hundreds of years backward; and, at random, pronounced to be equal to perhaps twenty or thirty times as much in value as the same sum in modern money; by which they would mean, that it would then have purchased as many times the quantity of necessaries, or would have gone as many more times toward the maintenance of any person

III. The Levant or Turkey Company. And,

IV. The New African Company.

. Our exclusive joint stock companies are, according to seniority,

I. The East India Company.

II. The Hudson's Bay Company.

III. The South Sea Company. And,

IV. The Bank of England is so far an exclusive Joint-stock Company, that no other company can deal in banking, nor any private partnership exceeding six persons in number. With respect to the English regulated companies, it is proper to remark, for the sake of some of our readers, that a regulated company always implies such a one as does not trade in one joint or united stock, but every member trades on his own separate bottom, under such regulations and bye-laws as the company's charter impowers them to make. With regard to our said Joint-stock Companies, one of them, viz. the South Sea Company, has carried on no foreign commerce since it was excluded, by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, from the Spanish Assiento trade. And another of them, viz. the Hudson's Bay Company, is not, as elsewhere noted, a legally exclusive company.

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person than such a sum would now do, without rightly considering the just quantity and purity of the bullion contained in those ancient coins.

Our ancient Britons, when first invaded by the Romans, had no other kind of money but iron and tin-plates and rings, (copper not being then, nor long after found in our island) which, with barter, might well enough answer the purposes of the inconsiderable transactions in those rude times, when they had neither arts nor manufactures of any kind.

In such circumstances, when they had properly no adequate or universal medium for great transactions, the estates in land must have remained absolutely and for ever unalienable, their owners being obliged to content themselves with making the most of their annual produce.

The necessity, however, of an universal medium in commerce, which we call money, was in much earlier times discovered in the more eastern parts of the world; and both gold and silver money were very early in use in Egypt and Asia, and from thence soon after introduced into Carthage and Greece: from Greece it was brought to Rome, and so, by degrees, westward into all the Roman provinces.

Silver, on account of its beauty, cleanness, and moderate plenty, was, by the general consent of all civilized nations, deemed the most proper for the universal medium of commerce; although, at first, and for many ages, by weight only. At length, for saving the cutting, weighing, and assaying thereof at every particular transaction, princes and states fell into the most convenient expedient of coins, by stamping pieces of it, of a determined weight and fineness, to pass current by their authority in all payments; and thereby transactions and bargains being rendered much easier, as well as safer, became consequently more numerous, and commerce grew to be much more extended, lands also thereby became more alienable, and were likewise rendered more improvable than before.

Gold had indeed all the properties of silver for such a general medium, even in an higher degree it was less diminishable by fire, more ductile, durable, and beautiful; but its greater scarcity, more especially in Europe, rendered it unfit for an universal medium of commerce; although its portableness for large payments, and its most generally determined value in proportion to silver, will ever render its coins extremely useful in commerce. On the other hand, copper, by reason of its fouler and baser nature, and its greater plenty, could not so well be used in large transactions, though extremely useful in small ones, and for making up even and entire sums; although it was probably the earliest metal in most countries for coins, and we know was certainly so in the first times of ancient Rome.

Whilst the Romans held Britain, they there coined gold, silver, and copper; of all which coins, as well as of those brought from Rome itself, considerable quantities have been dug up in various parts of this island.

When the Saxons first conquered a part of England, in the middle of the fifth century, they were savages and pagans, and probably had no sort of coins in their own country of Germany; but when they became more civilized and christianized, they coined silver money, of which some pieces are to be still found in the cabinets of the curious.

As far as certainly appears, the largest silver coin in England, not only before, but for some centuries after the Norman Conquest, was called a *penny*; which, till King Edward the Third's reign, contained as much silver as about three-pence of our money: and as this penny was, in their manner of coining, cut almost through, cross-wise, it could with ease be divided into halfpence and farthings, or fourthings, and some say into half-farthings, though surely too small for circulation.

Bishop Fleetwood, in his very useful and judicious *Chronicon Preciosum*, published in 1707, thinks it doubtful whether the Anglo-Saxon pound of silver was of equal weight with the Anglo-Norman pound. The former was however divided into forty-eight merely nominal shillings, and each shilling into five real pence; so that their pound, as ours at present, contained two hundred and forty pence. "Probably," says the bishop, "the Saxons had such a real coin as a mark, called "by them *mancufs*, *mancusa*, and *meare*, being thirty of their pence, or six of their nominal shillings." (Here, however, the bishop differs from most other authors, who seem to agree, as before, that a penny was their largest coin.) "But, since the Norman Conquest, a mark has been only a denomination; and, early after that period, was, as at present, thirteen shillings and four-pence. From the Norman Conquest, downwards, the pound weight of silver contained twenty merely nominal shillings, and two hundred and forty real pence." Yet, he thinks, "that sometimes their nominal shilling contained sixteen pence in the earlier times, but lower down always but twelve-pence. A penny was so much the whole of the current coin of England, long after the Conquest, that *denarius*, the Latin name for a penny, was the same thing with *nummus*, or money; and when it is any determined sum that is spoken of, *nummus* does generally signify a penny; for neither groats nor half-groats were coined in England till the year 1351, nor any shillings till 1504, and even then but very few of the latter; a shilling till then having been merely a denomination, or ideal manner of counting, as pounds and marks are still with us. A penny was also frequently called a sterling. We find silver halfpence as far back as King Henry I. and they were then also called mails: and there were also silver farthings."

From the time of the Emperor Charlemagne, according to the French authors, a nominal silver livre was also a real livre, or pound Troy weight of silver; and so it seems probably to have remained till the crusades, or expeditions to the Holy Land, which draining France more than any other western country of its money, put that nation upon the fatal expedient of increasing the numerical or nominal value of their coins.

I. So likewise in England, from the Norman Conquest, and probably also some time before, a pound of silver by tale was a pound by Troy weight, and their silver penny was thrice the weight and value of ours; and so it held, with some gradual diminution, carefully noted by Bishop Fleetwood from period to period, down to the eighteenth year of King Edward III. in the year 1344; and from thence to Henry the Eighth's time, it was not only further lessened, but in his reign, and also in that of his innocent son's first five years, shamefully debased; but in the last year of Edward the Sixth its purity was restored, and its weight reduced to the state it is in at this present time.

Thus, it should seem, that France, the busiest of any nation of Europe in those crusades, was the first nation that began to diminish the real value, or to raise the nominal value of its coins, which it also continued to do much more immoderately than our English Kings did; for its King Charles V. who died in the year 1327, had, in his time, already coined seven numerical livres out

of their real livre, or pound weight of silver. Mr. Voltaire thinks, that a similar scarcity and enhancement of money was in those times in England, Germany, and Spain, proceeding principally from the same cause, viz. by their being drained by their holy expeditions, and also partly, we may add, from their neglect of commerce and manufactures; in consequence of which, the free cities of Italy drew to themselves a great part of the money and wealth of the four before-named nations.

II. To be more particular in regard to England:—From the before-mentioned year 1344, to the eighth year of our King Henry the Fifth, which was the year of our Lord 1420, the English silver penny on an average, for we have no occasion for mathematical exactness, weighed very near two and a half of our money.

III. From the ninth of our King Henry the Fifth, in 1421, to the first year of King Henry the Eighth, in the year 1509, the silver penny, on an average, was worth very near two-pence of our modern money.

IV. From the second year of King Henry VIII. 1510, to his thirty-third year, 1542, a pound of fine silver was coined into forty-five shillings, being three shillings and nine-pence per ounce. so that their nine-pence was equal to our shilling.

Hitherto, our silver coins preserved their credit, and exceeded in value our modern ones of the same denomination, but succeeding ministers brought both disreputation to their sovereigns, and loss to the kingdom, by their short-sighted and wicked measures, in debasing our coins, at length, to a shameful degree. For,

V. In the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth years of King Henry VIII. in the years 1543 and 1544, the silver coin first began to be debased to ten ounces of fine silver, and two ounces of alloy, per pound weight; out of which pound they coined forty-eight shillings; yet still four-pence of their coin was equal to five-pence of ours.

VI. But in the following year, 1545, that King suffered his silver coin to be debased so far as to six ounces fine, and six ounces alloy; in such sort, that eight-pence of their money was but equal to five-pence of ours.

VII. And in the three following years, 1546-7-8, his coin was still further debased to four ounces fine, and eight ounces alloy; and they coined forty-eight shillings of this base metal in the pound so that their shilling, or twelve-pence, was worth but five-pence of our modern money; whereby they made the people pay after the rate of twelve shillings for an ounce of pure silver.

VIII. In the third year of King Edward VI. 1549, the coin was brought back to the fineness of the year 1545, viz. six ounces fine, and six ounces alloy; so that their eight-pence was, as above, equal to our five-pence.

IX. Yet they still remained infatuated, as if foreigners, as well as our own people, would, in bills of exchange, and all other money transactions with us, put any greater value on our coins than they actually contained of fine silver; for out of a pound of silver of the last-named fineness, they

coined seventy-two shillings, in the year 1550; whereby an ounce of fine silver was valued at twelve of their shillings, as in the before-named years 1546-7-8.

X. And most scandalously for the nation, says the good bishop, in the fifth year of King Edward the Sixth, 1551, the silver coin was debased so low as to three ounces fine, and nine ounces alloy; and out of a pound thereof they coined seventy-two shillings: at which rate, fine silver was worth one pound four shillings of their coin per ounce; so that twelve-pence of their money was not worth three-pence of ours.

XI. In the following year, 1552, King Edward the Sixth's ministers at length saw this their great error; wherefore they now restored the fineness of the silver coin to eleven ounces and one pennyweight fine, and coined sixty shillings out of the pound; nearly the same as in our days.

XII. In the first year of Queen Mary, 1553, they coined a pound of silver of eleven ounces fine, into sixty shillings, and a pound of gold into thirty-six pounds in silver; being sovereigns, of thirty shillings, and angels, of ten shillings; also half-sovereigns, and half-angels.

XIII. And so it continued to the second year of Queen Elizabeth, when that excellent Princess coined sixty shillings out of a pound of silver of eleven ounces two pennyweights fine: and thus it has continued till now (*i. e.* to 1706, when the bishop wrote): so that the variation of the value of our silver coin, from the year 1552, above-named, down to the present time, has been so inconsiderable as not to be worth regarding.

Thus, more briefly, by way of recapitulation:—

First, When we read or speak of any sum of money in our histories, from the Saxon times, down to the year 1344, we are ever to consider it, on an average, as about thrice the weight and value of the like sum in our time.

Secondly, From 1345 to 1420, their money or coins, on an average, contained about two and a half times the quantity of silver which is in ours of the same denomination; that is, their penny weighed near about two-pence halfpenny of our money.

Thirdly, From 1421 to 1509, their penny, on an average, was worth near two-pence of our money.

Fourthly, From 1510 to 1542, on a like average, their nine-pence was near equal to our shilling.

Fifthly, And in the years 1543 and 1544, their four-pence might be nearly equal to our five-pence.

So that, disregarding the eight following shamefully debasing years, which doubtless occasioned much confusion in business for the time, down to the year 1552, when our silver coin was first reduced or settled to near upon its present purity, it is in these five periods alone, that the consideration of the different weight and value of our silver coins is to take place, exact enough for our general purpose of making a near judgment of the rate of living, from the prices of provisions, and other

necessaries, the quantum of salaries, and the pay of workmen, soldiers, sailors, &c. Yet, for the further satisfaction of the more curious, we shall subjoin the following table, first exhibited by the great Mr. Locke, in his *Further Considerations concerning the raising the Value of Money*, published in 1695, in answer to Mr. Lowndes's Report concerning the Silver Coin : viz.

A TABLE, containing the quantity of fine silver, to a grain, which was in a shilling, in every alteration of our money, from the twenty-eighth year of King Edward I. in the year 1300, down to 1695, viz.

<i>Years.</i>		<i>Grains.</i>	<i>Grains.</i>	
1300	Twenty-eighth of Edward I.	264	_____	} may be deemed near thrice the weight of ours.
1345	Eighteenth of Edward III.	236	28 less than before,	
1354	Twenty-seventh _____	213	23 _____	
1421	Ninth of Henry V. -	176	37 _____	
1422	First of Henry VI. -	142	34 _____	- near about $2\frac{1}{2}$
1426	Fourth _____ -	176	34 more than before,	- about $2\frac{1}{4}$
1461	Thirty-ninth _____ -	142	34 less, _____	- about $1\frac{1}{2}$
1509	First of Henry VIII. -	118	24 _____	- about $1\frac{1}{3}$
1543	Thirty-fourth _____ -	100	18 _____	- about $1\frac{1}{6}$
1545	Thirty-sixth _____ -	60	40 _____	} base alloy.
1546	Thirty-seventh _____ -	40	20 _____	
1550	Third of Edward VI. -	40	_____	
1553	Sixth _____ -	88	68 more than before,	} equal weight with our mo- dern coin.
1560	Second of Elizabeth -	89	1 _____	
1601	Forty-third _____ -	86	3 less, and nearly as now,	

“ Thus, for instance,” continues Bishop Fleetwood, “ if, in the year 1314, a grass-fed ox cost sixteen shillings, when their shilling weighed thrice as much as ours, they paid two pounds eight shillings of our money for it; and a fat ox now,” *i. e.* in the year 1706, when he wrote, “ costs perhaps ten pounds, at least, I conclude, the flesh-meat of that year was four times, or more, as cheap as at present.”—He might have fairly said five times as cheap.

“ But, as provisions of all kinds, both for men and beasts, varied much more in price in those times than now, occasioned, I presume, more from farmers, &c. being less skilled, and, perhaps, less industrious and provident, than from any supposed difference in the seasons then and now, I conceive it will be a more certain rule to judge of the dearth and cheapness of living, formerly and now, to compare the salaries of priests, judges, &c. Thus, in the year 1332, the maintenance of a chaplain, for all necessaries, for lodging, diet, and robes, was six marks, or four pounds per annum; that is, twelve pounds of our money: so possibly he could not now live as well under forty-eight pounds per annum. So that in 1439, above one hundred years later, a single clergyman might live cleanly and decently on five pounds per annum; and the money then being twice the weight of ours, he had ten pounds of our money; but now, he might possibly require forty pounds,” or rather fifty pounds, “ to live as decently. But you must always remember, that the priests were single men in those times.

“ The

“ The injudicious, if not worse, advisers of King Henry VIII. in the four last years, but more especially in the very last year of his reign, and also of King Edward VI. an innocent minor, in all but the last year of his reign, might possibly imagine that they merited much by so shamefully adulterating the silver coin, because they thereby brought such considerable gains to their respective sovereigns, but they did not consider the great opportunity thereby afforded for the counterfeiting of those debased coins : and it was very well their eyes were at length opened ; for, had this fore calamity continued much longer, the nation must have been greatly impoverished.”

As, in the course of the ensuing work, the prices and rates of provisions, salaries of officers, and the daily pay of artificers, soldiers, sailors, &c. will very frequently occur, the above exhibited view of our silver coins in various periods, will sufficiently illustrate the true proportion of, or difference between the expence of living then and now.

With respect to our gold coins, the standard of them in old times was twenty-three carats and three grains and a half of fine gold, and half a grain of alloy, the alloy being either silver or copper. The pound of gold being divided into twenty-four carats, and each carat into four grains.

The proportional values of gold and silver coins in England have always kept pace pretty nearly with each other : for the pound of gold, which, in the year 1344, when gold was first coined in England, was worth from thirteen pounds to fifteen pounds in silver, is, by degrees, risen to forty-four pounds ten shillings, and the gold at present not so fine. Now, as a silver penny was then worth our three-pence, and twenty shillings then was worth our sixty shillings ; then gold and silver have kept pretty near the same proportion to each other. But as silver has always been more current in buying and selling than gold, because always more plenty or easier to acquire, so the quantity of coin in an ounce of silver is more immediately for our purpose in this enquiry into the different rates of living, than that of of gold coin.

“ Whenever,” continues Bishop Fleetwood, “ we meet with obolus, farthing, or ferling of gold, in our old histories, it has always a reference to the integer or higher denominations of some gold coin, as an angel, a noble, &c. So, when in the reign of King Edward III. nobles, oboluses, or halfpence, and farthings of gold were coined, the obolus is here half a noble, and the farthing the quarter of a noble, and the like of other gold coins.—Crowns of gold are of great antiquity.—There never were any silver coins named nobles nor angels, florens nor ryals, or royals ; sovereigns nor units, Britain-crowns, thistle-crowns, nor double-crowns ; (the three last coined by King James I.) pieces of three shillings and four-pence, coined by King Henry the Eighth, &c. all these being always gold. Yet no gold coins older than Edward the Sixth’s reign can be found now, excepting very rare ones, as far back as King Edward III. Though, from the minuteness of the then silver coins, it is highly probable that most of the great payments were made in gold. The Danes, as in Doomſday-book, had introduced a way of reckoning by oras ores, twenty of which made two marks ; but it is not known whether there ever was such a coin, or whether it was only a method of reckoning.” Yet Mr. Blount, in his *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, printed in octavo, in the year 1679, says, “ That ore was a Saxon coin worth sixteen-pence, and by the variation of the standard, was afterwards valued at twenty-pence ”—He quotes a custom in the manor of Berkholt, in Suffolk, “ That, in a plea of the crown, in the thirteenth

“ seventh year of King Henry III. in his grandfather’s time, (that is, King Henry II.) the men of that manor, when they married a daughter, were to pay two ores, (*duas oras*) which were worth thirty-two pence: which,” adds Mr. Blount, “ was without doubt in lieu of the *marcheta mulierum*, or first night’s lodgings with the bride, which the lords of some manors anciently claimed.”

“ As for the bezant,” says the bishop again, “ supposed to be so named from Byzantium, that is, Constantinople, the value of it was forgot even in Richard the Third’s time; and probably never was an English coin.

“ In the last year of King Edward VI. in 1553, silver crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and six-pences, were first coined in England, excepting only the few shillings which had been coined in the year 1504. I weighed those crowns, &c. and found them of the same weight, and much the same fineness as ours.

In the year 1561, Queen Elizabeth coined six-pences, four-pences, three-pences, two-pences, pennies, three-farthings, and half-pence, all of silver; for there were then no national copper coins. She, at the same time, called in all the base coin, and set our coin on the noble foot it now stands on. There have been no silver farthings coined since those of the thirty-sixth year of King Henry VIII. which were very bad, or otherwise they must have been too small for currency.

“ Queen Elizabeth coined in her whole reign, viz. from 1558 to 1602, in

“ sterling silver money,	—	—	—	4,632,932	3	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
And in base money for Ireland, of three ounces fine,	—	—	—	85,646	19	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>						
				4,718,579	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ And in gold,	—	—	—	795,138	8	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>						
“ Total of silver and gold,	—	—	—	5,513,717	11	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

“ The present proportion of gold to silver was not exactly effected till the reign of King James the First, when a pound weight of gold was coined into forty-four pounds ten shillings by tale; viz. into pieces of five pounds value, of two pounds, one pound, and of ten shillings: and the pound weight of silver was coined into sixty-two shillings, viz. into pieces of five shillings, two shillings and six-pence, one shilling and six-pence, four-pence, two-pence, and one penny.”

From all the accounts we can find of the word *livre* in France, or pound Flemish for the Netherlands, and, most undoubtedly, of a pound sterling for England, it does not appear that they ever were real coins in those countries, but that they were merely a certain weight of silver, and an ideal computation of money. Whether there ever was such a real coin, in old times, as a mark in foreign parts, or any other than a certain quantity of silver or gold by weight, as at this day in France, &c. seems doubtful; though, at present, there is a small silver coin of Lubeck, and other Hans-towns, called a *Mark Lubs*. In England, there probably never was such a coin.

- We shall close this dissertation on coin with a most pertinent remark of the late worthy prelate, so often quoted, to whom we are so much indebted for his labours on this subject, viz. “That the observation of such *little* things, as some would call them, may be of good use in the consideration of *great* affairs: and that many a *single line* of this treatise,” *i. e.* his *Chronicon Preciosum*, “has cost the looking over a *great book*. And if any ancient Greek or Latin writer had taken the like pains, and had left us such a collection, we should have had the Salmasiuses, the Græviuses, and the Gronovii almost out of their wits for very joy.” How far this just remark may be applied to very many important articles in the ensuing work, must be left to the impartial judgment of our judicious and candid readers.

A N E N Q U I R Y

INTO THE EXTENT OF THE

GEOGRAPHICAL AND NAUTICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENTS, AND OF THEIR COMMERCE AND SHIPPING.

BEFORE we proceed to the chronological series of our history, we shall exhibit a compendious view of the knowledge of the ancients in the above-named points; by which will be clearly seen how far they have been surpassed by the moderns.

In point of geographical and cosmographical knowledge, the ancients undoubtedly were greatly deficient; as Varennius and many others have remarked. They were indeed almost totally ignorant of their most necessary and important requisites; such as, the flux and reflux of the sea,—the true nature, diversity, &c. of winds,—the habitableness of the frigid and torrid zones,—the true frame, shape, and dimensions of the earth and seas; and that the former might be circumnavigated, and was consequently encompassed by the latter. They were ignorant of there being any such thing as the Antipodes, and of the true situation of various remote countries and seas; of which both Greeks and Romans gave very fabulous relations, being quite unacquainted even with a great part of the lands and seas of their own hemisphere. Neither Thucydides, Herodotus, nor any other contemporary Greek author, have so much as once named the Romans, though then growing into considerable power in Italy; being about three hundred years after the building of Rome. Budæus observes, that the Greeks were so utterly unacquainted with Spain, that Ephorus, one of their most accurate geographers, took Iberia, *i. e.* Spain, to be a city. And even after they had ventured a little way without the Fretum Gaditanum, *i. e.* the Streights of Gibraltar or Cadiz, they deemed the latter (Cadiz) to be the most western place or port of the known world.

To crown all, the ancients were utterly ignorant of the polar property of the magnet, *i. e.* of the mariner's compass, and without which most excellent guide, they durst not, without great hazard, venture far out of sight of land, since, in case of being overtaken by a tempest, they must have been left in the utmost uncertainty, when deprived of the sun by day, and of the moon and stars by night. And, although bold adventurers did now and then run such hazards for gain; yet, as they often paid

very dear for it, the crossing of any wide sea was seldom performed with safety, as partly appears from the incorrectness of their best charts, whereon far distant lands and seas are laid down very erroneously.

“ There were, however,” according to Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, “ geographical maps of the earth and seas early amongst the ancients. Strabo quotes Eratosthenes, in saying, That Anaximander was the first that framed such maps, about the fiftieth olympiad,” *i. e.* about five hundred and eighty years before the Incarnation : “ that Herodotus exhibits a map, from a copper-plate,” *Tabella Ærea*, “ of the compass of all the earth, seas, and rivers ; which map was brought to Cleomenes King of Sparta, and must have happened before the seventy-fifth olympiad, or about four hundred and eighty years before the birth of Christ.”

Lastly, he quotes Aristophanes, in *Socrates in Nebulis*, to shew that there were geographical maps in the time of Socrates, who lived at the close of the eightieth olympiad, or about four hundred and sixty years before the Incarnation. All which knowledge or skill of some of the ancients, and perhaps much more, was utterly forgotten for a very long series of years : for there were no geographical maps in England till the reign of King Henry VII. about the year 1490 ; and even so late as the learned Sebastian Munster's time, the maps of his *Geographia vetuset Nova*, printed at Basil, in the year 1540, are wretchedly performed, and very erroneous. This subject is likewise judiciously handled by the author of the second edition of an octavo treatise, entitled, *Reflections upon Learning*, chap. xii. printed in 1727. “ Parts of the world,” says he, “ thought by the ancients uninhabitable, have since been found to be inhabited ; the torrid zone to be temperate enough, by refreshing showers, constant breezes, and cool nights, by the direct setting of the sun, and the interposition of the whole body of the earth. Antipodes, who have been the subject of so much controversy amongst the ancients, are to us matter of fact : and the globe itself has been encompassed with less noise by Magellan, Drake, &c. than the Phenicians and Greeks could coast upon the Mediterranean.”

The ancients being thus so greatly deficient in point of geographical and naval skill, and being therefore obliged to creep along the shores as much as possible, that, in case of storms, they might have the chance of getting into some safe port or creek ; their voyages, from one remote country to another, were thereby rendered extremely dangerous as well as tedious : dangerous, when near the shore in stormy weather ; and, if driven to a remote coast, or a far distant ocean, the danger, delay, and difficulty of getting back, were still much greater.

Under such disadvantages, it can be no wonder that the ancients were so ignorant of the extent and limits of each of the three great divisions of the old world ; nor that they could not discover the new one ; nor, indeed, that the reverend fathers of the church, Saint Austin and Lactantius, and our own venerable Bede, did not only disbelieve but ridicule the existence of the Antipodes.

In Europe northward, the ancients knew nothing beyond the sixty-third degree of latitude, and even so far very obscurely : further than which degree of latitude even Ptolemy of Alexandria, the latest and best of the ancient geographers, has not set down the names of any country or sea. Neither was the discovery so far north said to have been made until the reign of the Emperor Augustus, when a Roman fleet sailed a considerable way beyond the entrance into the Baltic sea, along the

coast of Norway, as far as the haven of Bergen, mentioned by Pliny under the name of Bergos, but solely for mere discovery, they having never had any commerce, nor scarcely any correspondence on that coast. Strabo, an able historian and geographer, who flourished at that time, relates, that the ships which traded from the ports of Gaul never ventured further north than Ireland, as believing all places more northerly to be uninhabitable, by reason of intense cold. Until the fourth year of the Emperor Domitian, in the year of our Lord 84, Britain was not perfectly known to be an island, in which year the Roman fleet first sailed round it.

Within the Baltic Sea, where, as far as appears, neither the Phenicians, Carthaginians, nor Greeks had scarcely ever been, the Romans made some discovery, but seem not to have had any commerce, nor constant correspondence therein: they had indeed sailed up into that sea, as far eastward as what they named the Sinus Venedicus, near the coast of modern Livonia; and, somewhat further on, finding two great gulphs or inlets of the sea, viz. that now called of Finland, stretching eastward, and that of Bothnia shooting northward; they thereupon concluded, that those openings communicated with what they called the Icy or Hyperborean Ocean; thence, picturing to themselves two vast islands, the easternmost of which they named Finningia, comprehending modern Finland and Russian Lapland, and to the more westerly one they gave the several names of Scandinavia, Scandia, and Baltia, comprehending modern Sweden, Norway, and the rest of Lapland. Ptolemy has also laid down four smaller islands very near each other, to which he gives no other or more particular names than that of *Scandiae Insulae quatuor*, the four Isles of Scandia; and they, indeed, in point of situation, nearly enough answer to the modern isles of Zealand, Fuhnen, Langland, and Laland; but in none of them has he marked any single place or town.

On all the northern shores of the Baltic sea, the ancients seem to have had no sort of acquaintance at all, from the south point of Norway quite to Finland; which countries, even so late as Pliny, were so much unknown as to be by him termed (*alter orbis*) another world; and which, probably, in those times, had no correspondence at all without the Baltic sea southward.

Neither indeed had the ancients any need of going so far for naval stores, as the Phenicians, Greeks, and Romans were supplied with them nearer home: and the copper mines of Sweden, as well as the silver mines of Norway, are of a much later discovery. The Romans always deemed the river Vistula to be the eastern boundary of Germany; and all the rest of Europe east of that river, they termed *Sarmatia Europea*.

A Roman fleet might possibly have been driven by storm so far west from the Norwegian coasts as to discover Iceland, and, on that supposition, some have conjectured that island to have been their *ultima Thule*; which the Romans deemed the furthest known place or land northward. Yet our learned Camden, and many others, with more seeming probability, think their *ultima Thule* to have been the largest of our Shetland Isles, as lying more directly in their way; whereas Iceland lies a great way west from the coast of Norway, and likewise almost two degrees further north than it appears the Romans had ever sailed.

In Asia, the ancients seem to have known very little of the vast countries bordering on the north coasts of the Euxine sea, to which they gave the general name of Scythia. Even in Pliny's time, it was thought doubtful, whether the *Palus Meotis*, now called the sea of Zabachy or of Crim Tarty,

tary did not communicate with the Hyperborean or Scythian Ocean. Yet Theodosia (since named Caffa, in the adjoining peninsula of the Taurica Chersonesus, since called Crimea) was then deemed a frequented port of commerce.

From the reign of the Emperor Augustus, the Romans traded from Egypt to the hither India: yet, even by Ptolemy, who flourished about the year of our Lord 140, we find all the coasts beyond the river Indus, and much more so beyond the Ganges, very erroneously laid down; as are also most of the Indian islands, excepting Taprobana alone, generally thought to be the isle of Ceylon, with which they seem to have been best acquainted. And, to demonstrate how little they knew eastward or north-eastward of the Aurea Chersonesus, *i. e.* probably the promontory of Malacca, Ptolemy has placed thereabout the three fabulous isles of the Satyrs, wherein they supposed the inhabitants to have tails like beasts; and that ships having any iron nails fastened in them, were stopped in the neighbouring seas of those isles, and could not proceed, on account of the rocks of loadstone or magnet at the bottom of the sea: and, instead of an open sea from thence along the coasts of Cochinchina, Tonquin, and China, that geographer makes the sea to terminate at the bottom of a vast bay, which he calls Sinus Magnus, making the last-named three countries to form the west and north sides thereof, and the supposed east side of that Sinus Magnus to be where the isles of Japan and the Philippines are situated, which he feigns to be a vast continent running very far south, where the modern Molucca Isles, &c. should be placed. And, to crown all, he makes this supposed continent to turn directly west, across the great southern ocean, until it joined the continent of Africa, at or very near the Præsum Promontorium, now about or near Mozambique, in fifteen degrees of south latitude; so that the vast Indian ocean was made to be no other than a huge lake.

It is very evident, that Ptolemy, who can scarcely be supposed to have been ignorant of what former authors had written, did not believe that any passage was practicable from the Red Sea, round Africa, to the Mediterranean sea, notwithstanding what Herodotus and Pliny had related concerning such supposed voyages; as, particularly, that Hanno, a great Carthaginian captain, had sailed from Carthage round Africa to the Red Sea, and back again the same way to Carthage. Yet some French authors, (as Morisotus, and Huet, Bishop of Avranches) speak of the reality of such voyages as a matter quite certain; although Ptolemy, in lib. IV. cap. ix. tab. 4. of Africa, in treating of Ethiopia Interior, even to the furthest part of it south-westward to the ocean called Agisymba, which answers, on our maps, to the coast of Angola, names the adjoining land southward, towards our modern Cape of Good Hope, *Terra incognita, i. e.* utterly unknown. The famous historian Polybius, who wrote at Rome, in Greek, about three hundred years before Ptolemy, speaks doubtfully of this matter; *viz.* “None can say positively to this day, whether Africa be a continent running to the south, or whether it be encompassed by the sea.” And yet Herodotus, who wrote near three hundred years before Polybius, says expressly, that “Africa is an island, excepting where it touches upon Asia; and that Nechus King of Egypt first discovered it to be so, having caused several Phenicians to sail from the Red Sea round Africa, which took up three years.”

Upon the whole, although such a voyage might be barely possible, even in such uninstructed times, yet we conceive it was not extremely probable. Possibly Ptolemy looked on so hazardous an adventure in the same light as he seems to have done Diodorus Siculus’s account of the great island, said to have been discovered by the famous Carthaginian captains, Hanno and Himilca, or Himilco,

situated directly and very far west of the *Fretum Gaditanum*, i. e. the Streight of Gibraltar, and also Plato's *Insula Atlantis*, described in much the same situation; which are by some supposed to be America: a voyage perhaps harder to be accounted for than even the two round Africa.

Ptolemy was undoubtedly the first ancient author who discovered the Caspian sea to be no other than a vast lake. It was so little known before his time, and still less the countries north and east of it, that some thought it had a communication with the great Scythian or Hyperborean ocean; and others thought it had some sort of communication with the Indian ocean. Munster, so late as 1540, in his note on the Caspian sea, says, "*Hyrcanum sive Caspium mare, quod Ptolemæus lacum facit, Plinius, Solinus, Strabo, et Priscianus, Sinum Oceani ad boream esse tradunt; sed nos Ptolemæo subscribimus.*" i. e. the Hyrcanian or Caspian sea, which Ptolemy makes to be a lake, Pliny, Solinus, Strabo, and Priscian, make to be a gulph or arm of the Northern Ocean; but we are of Ptolemy's opinion. Yet the true shape and dimensions of this huge Caspian lake were not perfectly discovered until the late Czar of Muscovy, Peter the Great, caused it to be more accurately surveyed in the years 1719, 1720, and 1721.

Lastly, with respect to the rest of Asia, all that vast country which we call Great Tartary, beyond the sixty-second degree of north latitude, was utterly unknown to the ancients even so late as Ptolemy's time, quite to the Chinese ocean; which huge track of country the ancients divided into *Sarmatia Europea* and *Asiatica*, and into *Scythia intra et extra Imaum*; the greatest part of which track, indeed, still remains unknown to us, by reason of its inhospitable climate, &c. And here, by way of digression, we may briefly observe, that there seems to be much probability that the Tartarian sea, or north-east frozen ocean, extends south-eastward till it joins the sea of China and Japan; more especially, if what has been asserted by some may be credited, viz. that whales have been killed on the north part of the Chinese coast, in the bodies of which were found stuck harpoons, having English and Dutch letters, and other European marks on them, with which harpoons those whales had been slightly struck in the Spitzbergen seas; which supposition, however, may be true; although, nevertheless, the said Tartarian sea may be unnavigable by shipping, as neither by Nova Zembla, nor by the Streight of Weygatz, has any ship hitherto been able to pass far eastward, by reason of the huge quantities or mountains of ice in those seas.

As Africa, even in our own days, is the least known of any of the three parts of the old world, the same may be said in some respects with regard to the times of the ancients. Nevertheless, its far-extended west coast southward was better known and discovered in Ptolemy's time, one thousand six hundred years ago, than it was in the former part of the fifteenth century, about three hundred years ago, when the Portuguese commenced their discoveries southward on that coast. For the Carthaginians had discovered, probably about two thousand years ago, as far southward on that coast as Cape Formosa, in five degrees of north latitude. Moreover, the Phenicians and Egyptians from the Red Sea, and probably also the Arabians, Persians, and Indians, had discovered a great way south westward on the African shores, along what is now called the coasts of Ajan and Zanguebar, as far as to fifteen degrees of south latitude; in which voyages they made some sort of discovery of a great island which they named Menuthias, and sometimes Cerne, now called Madagascar, which seemed to be as little regarded of old, as it is in our days, though now much better known. The entire north shores of Africa, from the streights mouth down to Egypt, and till it joins to Asia,

were not only better known, but also much better peopled and cultivated in ancient times than even at this day. As for the before-mentioned far-extended west coast, of which probably the Carthaginians had made maps as well as they could, the ancient charts of it handed down to us are far from being exact, either in the shape, windings, or trendings of those mostly inhospitable shores.

From this brief view of ancient Europe, Asia, and Africa, it plainly appears, that scarcely half the terraqueous globe was so much as barely or superficially known to the ancients; and that scarce the half of that half was traded to by them, even so far down as the second century, when the Roman empire was in its zenith of power and extent of dominion and discovery.

Before the noble mercantile cities of Tyre and Carthage were destroyed, those industrious people ventured far and wide with infinite hazard on the ocean for gain, even without the Mediterranean, both to the south and north of it,

Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes.

HORAT.

i. e. I fled poverty, through oceans, rocks, and fires.

So that it was probably much more owing to them, than to the Greeks and Romans, that the principal discoveries were anciently made.

It is also plain, that the Romans, who, in Ptolemy's time, were masters of all the civilized parts of Europe, had no commerce, neither found they any, either in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the greatest part of Germany, Poland, (beyond the Vistula) or Russia; to which two last-named countries they were indeed utterly strangers. Mere discovery alone, and that mostly an imperfect one, was all that they could pretend to.

Even in Germany they had no permanent or solid dominion further than the territories protected by their strong holds on the Rhine and Danube, notwithstanding their frequent boastings of their conquests as far as the Elbe, and sometimes even to the shores of the Baltic.

With respect to the Netherlands, anciently known by the name of Lower Germany and Belgium, authors are not at all agreed, whether they were not originally much overflowed in some parts, and woody in other parts of them; or that, as Sir William Temple thinks, "they were only reduced to that bad state by the ravages of the Barbarians after the fall of the western empire, when, through want of people, their grounds remained uncultivated, and so became forests and woods if higher grounds, and marshy if lower, the two natural soils of all deserted lands in temperate regions; and that they remained in that condition till Charlemagne's time." As for their ancient commerce, there is little or nothing recorded concerning it, excepting what little they had with Britain. The isles along the coast of Holland, and those now constituting the province of Zealand, are, by various authors, thought to have been mere barren banks of sand, formed by inundations cutting them off from the continent, and scarcely inhabited but by a few fishermen, till about the seventh or eighth century; yet, with respect to Zealand particularly, all authors are not herein agreed.

The Romans, in Britain, undoubtedly introduced many and great improvements in the cultivation of their lands, in cloth making, and shipping. They taught them also to build houses, and regular towns and cities, with various other domestic and mechanical arts. Tacitus, even so early as Nero's reign, speaks of London, as well frequented by ships and merchants. Their chief commerce then, and long after, was in corn, lead, wool, tin, horses, and other cattle, with Gaul and Belgium. It is generally thought, that the Britons had worked their tin mines of Devonshire and Cornwall long before the first Roman invasion; and that the Phenicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks traded hither for that useful metal, of which they are said to have had none in those times in their own countries. Yet Camden thinks, that Britain was not directly known to the ancient Greeks, though he admits that the other two nations, in very ancient times, resorted to the Cassiterides for tin, *i. e.* to the Scilly Isles, &c. on the coast of Cornwall, as is generally believed. But although the Greeks might not directly trade thither themselves, they probably purchased our tin of the Phenicians, who, having named those isles Baratanac, which in their language signified Tin Isles, the Greeks, probably for that reason, gave them the appellation of Cassiterides, signifying the same in their language. The verses of Orpheus, written in the time of Pisistratus, are quoted to prove the resort of the Phenicians to the Cassiterides: and Festus Avienus relates, that Himilco was sent thither by the senate of Carthage, about eight hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, according to the learned Bochart in his *Canaan*. Nevertheless, Thuanus, in lib. lxxv. speaking of the Azores Isles, says, "*et Cassiterides olim, ut quidam putant, cognominatae,*" *i. e.* some conjecture they were anciently named the Cassiterides. Concerning which opinion there surely seems very little probability,

First, because it does not appear, that the Azores Isles were at all known to the ancients; neither are they found on the maps of Ptolemy, the latest geographer of the ancients: and,

Secondly, Because, as far as we have ever heard or read, there is no tin to be found in any of those isles, which, as we shall relate in its place, were first found by the Portuguese, without any inhabitants, in the fifteenth century.

Although it be uncertain how far precisely southward the Carthaginians regularly traded by sea along the vastly-extensive west coast of Africa, yet it is plain from Ptolemy, that they traded, not only over land southward of their own dominions, which are said to have extended three hundred English miles south of the Mediterranean coast, as far as the great river Niger, now Senegal, but likewise by sea to the said river, and also a vast way up into and south of that river, and eastward into the very heart of Africa, even as far as the confines of Ethiopia sub Ægypto, in which vast track of country, Ptolemy, who, living in Egypt, must needs have been well acquainted therewith, has placed very many towns where now we know of none, nor of the countries they were in. So that the Carthaginians, above two thousand years ago, had discovered and traded to a much greater part of the inland countries of Africa, than any have done since. The Romans, it is true, after they conquered Carthage, did at one time push their conquests as far south as the said great river Niger; which, however, seems to have been more for glory than for any permanent settlement so far south: and they seem gradually to have dropped, soon after, all commerce and correspondence with those far inland parts of Africa along the Niger, &c. which parts, some at this day are of opinion, will sooner or later be discovered to be the finest and most populous countries of Africa, and wherein also will be found many of the noblest materials for commerce.

After

After the Romans conquered Gaul, Spain, and Britain, it does not appear they gave much attention to commerce in those fine countries so plentifully stored with the means for it; much less did they attempt any commerce to parts whither their arms had never reached or triumphed; so that, after the destruction of the ancient commercial cities, commerce became principally more circumscribed within the Mediterranean, excepting chiefly the before-named neighbouring trade between Gaul, Belgium, and Britain.

We must likewise except the East India trade carried on from the time of Augustus, and long after, in consequence of his conquest of Egypt.

With respect to the ancient commerce of other parts of Asia, we shall not enlarge on the once famous ports of Tyre, Sidon, and many more, on the coasts of Syria and Lesser Asia, and on the shores of the Egean, Euxine, and Red Seas; in all or most of which parts there was a very considerable commerce carried on with the richest and most excellent merchandize of the universe.—Those famous cities, more especially those of Lesser Asia and Syria, were the first and most renowned trading ports of the ancient world, long before the Romans had a name; and so excellent were their productions and manufactures, that they maintained a great commerce with Greece, Italy, Egypt, and Barbary, as well as with Persia, Arabia, and India.

Although the ancients had no maritime commerce so far as Serica, generally, and in all probability, justly believed to have been the country now called China, yet it is evident that travellers had gone to it over land by the way of Tartary, Persia, and India; and the accounts brought from thence of the immense quantities of silk it produced, beyond any other country whatever, occasioned silk to be called Sericum; from which country, probably, India and Persia were first supplied with the silk worm's eggs; unless we suppose them to have been likewise originally natives there. Ptolemy places Sera, its ancient metropolis, in much the same latitude with its modern one of Peking, and also with the Cambalu or Cambalik of Marco-Polo.

The south part of that country is, on the maps of the ancients, called the country of Sinæ, from whence possibly the modern name of China might come.

With respect to the shipping of the ancients, they were, in general, much less substantial than those of modern times: and, as almost all their great naval affairs, both of war and commerce, were transacted within the Mediterranean, Egean, and Euxine seas; most of their ships were probably much like what the row galleys in those milder seas now generally are; as partly appears from the descriptions of many of their naval combats, wherein we frequently find several hundred ships or galleys engaged on each side; and yet, for confirmation of our above conjecture, when in such battles most of their vessels have been destroyed, they could frequently, in a very few weeks, re-build others from their very keels. This was eminently the case in the first Punic war, when they tell us, that a Roman fleet of one hundred and twenty vessels was built and rigged out in the space of sixty days, reckoning even from the very day that the timber of them was felled in the woods: which ships were sent out, and successfully too, against a state then very powerful at sea.

Afterwards, we find fleets of one thousand sail, and upwards, engaged on each side, in the desperate contests between Rome and Carthage; many of which vessels, indeed, were large enough to carry •

carry some hundreds of soldiers and mariners. Yet, when several hundreds of such ships were destroyed in war, a similar number has been constructed again in a few months; which seems sufficiently to evince the slightness or slenderness of those vessels, in comparison with our strong and lofty ships of war in modern times, or even of our best merchant-ships. There are, however, some few eminent instances of war-gallies of a prodigious size and capacity, suited to their then manner of sea-fights. Such was that mentioned in the ancient history of Bithynia, which was sent out by the city of Heraclea, on the Euxine Sea, to the assistance of Ptolemy Ceraunus, which is said to have required eight hundred rowers on each side, and carried, besides, twelve hundred soldiers; if history, or rather possibly transcribers, has not much exaggerated that matter. Moreover, certain great and despotic monarchs of the ancients have sometimes built ships of a prodigious bulk, though more from mere ostentation than for use: such was the ship of Ptolemy Philopater, King of Egypt, said, if you believe it, to have been two hundred and eighty cubits, or four hundred and twenty feet, in length, carrying four thousand rowers, three thousand soldiers, and four hundred mariners. Another of that Prince's vessels, purely for his pleasure on the river Nile, is said to have been three hundred and twelve feet in length, and forty-five in breadth, and its mast one hundred and twenty feet in height: it had various state-rooms, ornamented with gold, ivory, marble, and fine cypress-wood, and its carving, painting, &c. almost endless to be described.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, King of Syria, is said to have built another huge vessel of the same kind. But the most wonderful of these gallies was that constructed by the incomparable Archimedes, for Hiero, King of Syracuse: it had magnificent apartments, and also gardens on its decks; it had also vast machines fixed on it, for throwing of stones of three hundred pounds weight, and arrows of fifteen cubits, or twenty-two feet and a half, in length. The timber used in building it is said to have been sufficient for the constructing of sixty gallies: and we ought not to forget, that its greatest mast was said to have been brought from Britain. King Hiero sent this admirable vessel as a present to Ptolemy, King of Egypt. The Roman Emperor, Caligula, also built a famous ship or galley for his pleasure, which had trees and gardens on it.

But further, and beyond all credibility, was the ship of Dionysius, the Tyrant of Syracuse, in which he fled from Sicily; which, if the old historians, or their transcribers, have not shamefully blundered, was capable of holding six hundred thousand persons. In the water it went on wheels, driven or turned on its deck by six oxen: yet, after all, it was, it seems allowed, even by the relaters, to have been fitter for lakes and rivers than for the main ocean: and, had the historians said the same of those above-mentioned, they had probably approached nearer to the truth.

To conclude, the ancients, with regard to commerce, had not only a much more contracted sphere for action, but had also considerably fewer materials than the moderns, this appears,

First, From the many great and almost-numberless improvements of the moderns, and the greater increase of the natural productions of the earth, both above and under-ground, as well with respect to trees, fruits, plants, herbs, roots, seeds, &c. for manufactures, food, and physic; as to mines, minerals, and fossils.

Secondly, From the vast increase and improvement of that great material for commerce, the fishery:—And,

Thirdly,

Thirdly, From the invention of many new and profitable manufactures, and of manual and mechanical arts, utterly unknown to the ancients.

- Having thus, we hope, sufficiently illustrated the nature and great benefits of commerce to every nation whatever; and more particularly the very great importance of it to the British empire; and having likewise endeavoured to clear up and obviate such objections and difficulties as required our previous consideration; we next proceed to the more momentous historical and chronological series of our work, wherein will be more fully and particularly discussed and illustrated, in their proper places, very great numbers of important points, some of which, in this Introduction, are more briefly handled, purely for the sake of preserving a due connection. Such, for instance, as those of the General Balance of a Nation's Commerce,—National and Private Banks, and Commercial Societies,—National Paper Credit,—Plantations,—Manufactures, &c.

I N D E X

TO THE

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

A.

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AN
HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEDUCTION
OF THE
ORIGIN OF COMMERCE,

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS, &c.



B O O K I.

Containing a Chronological Series of Memoirs and Events from the EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME, down to the INCARNATION OF OUR SAVIOUR; of Matters relative to the Inventions, Discoveries, and Improvements of the Ancients in Agriculture and other domestic and manual Arts for the Convenience of Life: Also of their Commerce, Navigation, Migrations, and Plantations:—Of the Origin, Progress, and Revolutions of ancient commercial Cities and Countries; with occasional mention of the Dates or Times when many of the most eminent Persons for Philosophy and other useful Arts flourished.

C H A P I.

Concerning the Age of the World from the Creation; the Origin of Things and of Nations, and the Dates of the first Inventions and their Inventors.

ALTHOUGH it be neither our proper province nor intention to prove, what has been so often done by abler hands, *That this world which we inhabit is not eternal, and must, therefore, have been created by an All-mighty and All-intelligent Power, and that the time, manner, and circumstances of its creation, as delivered by Moses, seem evidently to bear the stamp of infallible truth;* it is nevertheless essential to our present purpose to observe, *That the original discovery and fruition of not only the comforts and elegancies, but even of the bare conveniencies of life, as far as art and invention are concerned, are undoubtedly circumscribed within the compass of five thousand years; before which period, by the general voice of prophane authors, mankind sustained their lives by*

the mere spontaneous productions of nature ; being till then absolutely ignorant of corn, wine, oil, and other delicious viands. The condition of some are said to have been so abject, as to have fed even on unclean animals, reptiles, and serpents ; and to have lodged in dens and caverns, or, at best, but in miserable huts, scarcely sufficient to protect them from the extremes of heat and cold, and much less from violent storms, and the assaults of the fiercer animals. In colder climates, the inhabitants were cloathed with the skins of beasts ; and in hot ones, they went quite naked, like many savage nations in Asia, Africa, and America, at this day.

Such was the abject and defenceless condition of mankind in the earliest ages of the world, even in those parts which are now the most delicious countries of it ; until, by divine impulse, certain prolific geniuses arose, by whose inventive and improving faculties and dispositions, the more immediately useful and beneficial arts of agriculture, vine-dressing, breeding of cattle, cloathing, necessary buildings, &c. were first introduced among mankind ; and afterwards commerce, navigation, and the finer arts ; the cultivation of philosophy and astronomy ; the nature, causes, and cure of bodily disorders ; and, in short, all that has ever been discovered for the relief, convenience, and solace of human life.

To investigate the origin and progress of such discoveries and improvements, so beneficial to the world, from the remotest antiquity down to our own times,—with a more copious and particular application of them to the increase of the commerce, wealth, and grandeur of the British empire, is the more immediate business of the ensuing work.

As in treating of subjects of this kind, it would be absolutely incongruous, if not impracticable, to proceed methodically, without first laying down certain *postulata*, which may serve for a basis whereon to erect our superstructure ; we shall therefore very briefly exhibit the following preliminaries for the ground work of our fabrick, viz.

I. That our terraqueous globe, and consequently all things belonging to it, had a beginning.

II. That the most accurate chronologers, by intense application in tracing and examining the most memorable epochas, revolutions, and other circumstances in prophane history, and comparing them with the sacred history of the Bible, have at length been enabled nearly to ascertain, the space or time from the creation of this world to the incarnation of our blessed Saviour ; which space, according to three of the most eminent and approved foreign chronologers, Helvicus, Scaliger, and Calvisius, followed by the tables of our countrymen, Isaacson, Tallents, &c. is made to consist of three thousand nine hundred and fifty years : by Luther, of three thousand nine hundred and sixty years : by Melancthon, of three thousand nine hundred and sixty-three years : by Petavius of three thousand nine hundred and eighty-five years ; and by Archbishop Usher, Monsieur Dupin, and many others, of four thousand and four years. So that, agreeable to what the learned Dr. Heylin long since remarked, by these and such like helps, we are enabled to compute nearly, the Doctor certainly went too far in saying precisely, the distance of time between the Creation and the Incarnation. There are others, it is true, who differ more widely from the above celebrated authors ; but they are generally exploded : and as the greatest difference between the lowest and the highest of all these computations is but fifty-four years, it cannot be said materially to affect

sect our general researches into the more remote and dark ages antecedent to the great epocha of our Redemption, whether one or other of them be chosen. We have therefore followed that of four thousand and four years, generally computed to be the first year of the hundred and ninety-fifth Olympiad, the most famous æra of Greece, and the seven hundred and fifty-second year after the building of Rome, the great epocha of the Romans: concerning both which æras, there is, however, great diversity of opinions.

It would be almost endless, as well as foreign to our purpose, to enter into a minute enquiry into the various grounds or reasons for the differing computations of chronologers, respecting the remoter ages preceding the incarnation: such as, the diversity of opinions concerning the precise year of the world, or from Noah's deluge, in which the olympic games were first instituted: the year of the world, or of the olympiads, in which Rome was built: the precise times of the appearance of remarkable eclipses and comets: of earthquakes, inundations, and great pestilences: of ancient migrations—and of certain ancient expeditions: the origin, duration, and overthrow of ancient empires, states, and famous cities: the birth, flourishing, and death of certain very eminent and illustrious persons: the dates of ancient coins, medals and inscriptions variously interpreted: with other similar materials for history and chronology. We think it sufficient that we have briefly endeavoured to follow the most approved opinions concerning matters which cannot admit of absolute certainty: on which we apprehend that one more general remark may here suffice, viz. that the best modern chronologers, and particularly our illustrious Newton, in his *Ancient Chronology*, seem agreed, that all ancient authors have generally placed the events of the remoter ages too far back.

III. From the incarnation downward, to the close of the fifth century, we are, in some respects, supplied with more authentic materials, till the overthrow of the Roman Empire, when the irruptions of so many barbarous nations into the western provinces of that empire, introduced Egyptian darkness for several succeeding ages, until the new kingdoms erected by those conquerors came to be more firmly established and civilized; till which period, it is not at all strange that we have so few materials relating to peaceful arts, commerce, or navigation amongst ignorant, barbarous, and fierce nations, who long preserved the same military form of government, by the means of which they had acquired their new dominions, having been before accustomed solely to conquest, piracy and rapine. During these times of confusion and darkness, we have reason to lament the destruction of many valuable writings, which would have afforded useful materials for the commercial history of the ancients.

From the preceding considerations we humbly conceive, as many others have done before us, that there are rational grounds for inferring, that the age of our world is nearly about five thousand seven hundred and ninety years.

IV. Lastly, in contemplating the ignorance of the earlier ages of the world, prior to the discovery and use of letters or writing, and in duly examining and comparing the accounts handed down, by ancient authors, concerning the invention of that and other arts conducive to the convenience of life; we shall find sufficient reason to conclude, that, but little above four thousand years ago, there was scarcely any thing like arts, sciences, or commerce in the world, excepting mere barter, or the exchange of one absolutely needful commodity for another; which necessity must have introduced

produced in very early times. For with respect to the romantic traditional claims of the ancient Chaldeans and Egyptians in point of very high antiquity for government, arts, &c. as well as those of the modern Chinese, they are, without doubt, considerably exaggerated. St. Austin, in his book *De Civitate Dei*, quotes the testimony of Varro, who lived fifty-four years before the birth of Christ, "That the Egyptians had not been acquainted with the art of writing above two thousand years before his time." Even the present superlative populousness of China, and its universal cultivation beyond those of any other country of so great an extent, are not conclusive evidences of its having been planted earlier than some other countries of Asia, &c. at present comparatively poor and depopulated; such as the Lesser Asia, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and India; countries, in old times, immensely rich and populous.

Egypt, more particularly, even exclusive of its romantic and inexplicable dynasties, styled the parent of nations, arts, and sciences, is said to have had twenty thousand cities, beside innumerable villages. In very remote times, she had spread her colonies, and extended her conquests, as well as her arts, northward into Syria, Lesser Asia, and Greece; eastward into Arabia, Persia, and India; and even, as some probably conjecture, into China itself, possibly happier in the remoteness of her situation from the horrible wars and devastations of the more western regions of Asia, than in all the philosophical and political precepts of her renowned ancient law-givers; whilst the other before-named countries had their noble cities destroyed, their lands laid waste, and their learning, arts and commerce, almost annihilated.

For the farther and more particular illustration and confirmation of our general positions concerning the origin of arts and commerce in the world, let us now take a summary view of what the ancients have delivered on that subject.

Before the incomparable invention of the characters of letters, or writing, emblematic figures or hieroglyphicks, and oral traditions, were the sole instruments which mankind possessed for perpetuating of knowledge; and were, undoubtedly, very imperfect means for that end; so that knowledge of any kind, but what resulted from absolute and constant necessity, must have been circumscribed within very narrow limits.

As the ancients generally ascribed to Egypt the honour of excelling all other nations in the emphatical expression of those less noble hieroglyphical characters, so Egypt is almost as generally allowed the greater reputation of having been the first discoverer of letters or writing; to which discovery, these hieroglyphical characters, representing the passions, affections, &c. by animals, trees, plants, &c. were naturally introductory.

Before the discovery of this adequate means of conveying the minds of men to posterity, and to persons at a distance, there could have been very little foreign or extended correspondence between distant nations, having different languages, manners, and customs. Necessity, indeed, might possibly have devised certain obscure and seemingly unaccountable methods, as some ancient authors hint, for the last mentioned purpose.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that the general relations of ancient writers, concerning both the first discoveries, and discoverers of agriculture, and other arts more immediately conducive

- give to the convenience of mankind, are mostly delivered in a form too concise, dark, and enigmatical, to give them the consequence of positive authorities: nevertheless, very considerable lights
- may be gained from the following particular notices, viz.

I. The earliest account of the invention of letters or writing, seems to be in Cicero's treatise *De Natura Deorum*; who makes Mercury to have been the first discoverer of them to the Egyptians; by chronologers computed to be so early as the year of the world 2054, and before the Incarnation 1950 years.

The Phœnicians, near neighbours to Egypt, soon learned them from thence, and afterward communicated this knowledge to the Greeks.

II. The most ancient and undoubtedly authentic mention of money, as the medium of commerce, and also of the title of merchant, is in the twenty-third chapter of Genesis; where we find that, about the year of the world 2139, and before the incarnation 1865 years, the Patriarch Abraham purchased the Field and Cave of Machpelah of Ephron the Hittite, to be a sepulchre for his wife Sarah, for four hundred shekels of silver, by weight, as current money with the merchant, there being no coined money so early in use among men. But whether there was any kind of writing employed in this transaction, seems at least doubtful; the words of the sacred text saying only, "That Abraham weighed the four hundred shekels of silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth; and the field and the cave, with the trees surrounding it, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession, in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of the city."

III. Sir Isaac Newton, in his *Chronology*, allows the Midianites, sprung from Abraham by his concubine Keturah, to have instructed Moses in the knowledge of writing; the more noble descendants of Abraham, then under cruel oppression in Egypt, being probably prevented by their oppressors from teaching the art of writing to their children. Now if the Midianites had their knowledge from Abraham, as Sir Isaac Newton seems partly to countenance; and if Abraham, in the above-named purchase, did actually make use of writing, the consideration whereof is submitted to the critics, it will tend, in some degree, to confirm the opinion of those who think, "That the Hebrews of Canaan, who, as they also suppose, had preserved the primitive language from the very creation of the world, had likewise the first knowledge of writing; and that it was they who first taught it to their neighbours of Phœnicia and Egypt, although ancient prophane authors were ignorant thereof." In the twenty-eighth chapter of Genesis, Judah leaves his signet in pledge with Tamar. Now if by the word, Signet, he meant what we every where understand by it, then certainly there were transactions in writing in the time of Judah.

IV. In the same book of Genesis, we find mention made of caravans of Ishmaelite merchants trading in spices from Gilcad into Egypt; to one of whom Joseph was sold by his brethren.

Yet, if ancient chronologers are to be depended on, it is plain, that seven hundred years later than Abraham, the Greeks knew nothing of commerce but mere barter; since Homer, at the siege of Troy, makes the golden armour of Glaucus to be valued at one hundred cows, and the armour of Diomedes at ten cows.

V. Boccace, from Ovid and Apollodorus, makes Isis, or Ceres, with whom others join her husband Osyris, or Bacchus, to have taught the Egyptians agriculture, vine-dressing, and the knowledge of letters.

VI. Pausanius observes, that Plato styled Phoroneus the first man, by way of eminence, because he first taught the Greeks civility and husbandry, about the year of the world 2197. * And St. Austin and others agree, that he, first, gave them laws, and instituted trials before Judges; and that from his name the judgment seat came to be named Forum: Also, that his brother Phægeus taught them to divide the time by years and months, and to erect temples and altars to the Gods.

VII. Joannes Aventinus, the famous annalist of Bavaria, who wrote somewhat about 200 years ago, makes Osyris, or Bacchus, King of Egypt, to travel into Germany, about the year of the world 2241, to teach that people husbandry and the brewing of ale; and that he went from thence into Italy for the like purpose. And

Herodotus, who wrote about 300 years after the building of Rome, says, that the drink of the Egyptians was made of Barley, they having then no vines in their country; that their ships were made of thorns twisted together, and their sails of rush-mats. This was about 450 years before Christ.

VIII. Diodorus Siculus makes Osyris, or Bacchus, to march with an army into Arabia and India, returning back by Greece, Germany, Gaul, and Britain, to teach them those useful arts, and to expel tyrants.

IX. In the xlixth chapter of Genesis, ver. 13. we have a more early and authentic testimony of the antiquity of shipping, than in all the fabulous Greek relations. The Patriarch Jacob dying about the year of the world 2315, in blessing his twelve sons, says of Zebulun, "Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for an Haven of ships." This likewise shews the great antiquity of the Phœnician commerce and navigation, being prior, by almost 200 years, to the coming of Danaus, surnamed Armais, from Egypt to Argos with the first ship that had ever been seen by the Greeks; who, till then, had only the use of floats or rafts for crossing of rivers or lakes. The learned Dupin, in his Universal Library of Historians, is very positive that the Phœnicians were the first who practised navigation, and sent a great many colonies into Africa, Spain, and the Mediterranean Isles; which gave occasion to the Poet Tibullus to say,

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.

Advent'rous Tyre, in ships, was said to be

The first that trusted faithless winds and sea.

Yet Dupin thinks that Sidon was older than Tyre; because Homer mentions Sidon frequently, but never Tyre, although it afterwards became superior to Sidon.

These are some of the most ancient and approved testimonies concerning the earliest discoveries of the arts more immediately necessary to the convenience and comfort of human life.

There

- There is, however, another and later series of testimonies of the discoveries of those arts to the Greeks; which may possibly be nearer the truth than some of the foregoing ones.

I. They relate, that about the year of the world 2521, Cecrops came with a colony of Egyptians into Greece; to which people he discovered those useful arts; and that he founded the city of Athens.

II. That Sesostris King of Egypt, son of Amenophis III. supposed to be the same whom the Holy Scripture calls Pharaoh, the persecutor of the Israelites in the time of Moses did, about the year of the world 2576, conquer Arabia, Persia, India, Syria, Lesser Asia, and Thrace, in the compass of nine years; whilst his brother Araxis, or Armais, whom the Greeks call Danaus, became master of Argos in Greece, and instructed them in the before-named useful arts. Yet, it seems, from the account of Eusebius, that Cadmus the Phœnician discovered the use of letters to the Greeks somewhat earlier, about the year of the world 2525,—peopled several of the Isles in the Ægean Sea, built Thebes in Beotia, and taught them to found or cast metals. That moreover, Dionysius, who was also named Bacchus, there being several so named in ancient story, and in different ages, a son of the said Cadmus, first brought into Greece the use of wine, was the first that yoked oxen, and who taught the Germans the use of ale.

The learned Sir John Marsham was of opinion, that he who, about the said time, brought the art of sowing of corn from Egypt into Greece, was Triptolemus the son of Celeus King of Attica; who first seeing corn to grow spontaneously, reaped it, and discovered the art of plowing and sowing it. He is also said to have written instructions about agriculture, which he sent abroad; wherefore the poets feign that he travelled round the earth to teach men tillage; about the year of the world 2600.

Yet according to Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, the Ceres of Greece, who was a Sicilian woman, coming to Attica, taught her son Triptolemus to sow corn, about the 30th year of the reign of David King of Israel, or about the year of the world 2974, and before the incarnation 1030 years, for which great benefit, she was deified at her death. And here we may observe how much more ancient, as well as authentic and distinct, the Bible accounts are of the enjoyment of those useful arts of husbandry, &c. than those of prophane authors.

About this same time, Tat, Teut, or Teutat, who is the Mercury of the Greeks, is thought to have been worshipped in Germany and Gaul, and to have taught arts and commerce to the inhabitants of those countries.

There is another series of relations or testimonies concerning the introduction of these useful arts into Italy.

I. They say, that about the year of the world 2663, if chronologers compute right, and before Christ 1341, Pylumnus King of Apulia, a Greek colony in Italy, the son of Jupiter King of Crete, first discovered to his people the manuring of land, and the baking of bread.

II. Other

II. Other accounts say, that about the year of the world 2691, before Christ 1313, Saturn King, of Crete being expelled by his son Jupiter, and arriving in Italy, was made King of the Aborigines, to whom he taught husbandry, and the coining of money, &c. for which service he was deified by an ignorant people.

III. Lastly, Evander the Arcadian, is by many authors said to have been the first that carried the knowledge of letters from Greece into Italy, so late as the year of the world 2754.

We have put these historical notices thus briefly together, for ascertaining, as near as can be expected at so great a distance of time, the æras, these arts were introduced into different countries; but without absolutely inferring from thence the novelty or non-age of the world at any of those periods; since it must be admitted, that there is an almost incredible disproportion between the genius of some nations and that of many others; as many nations of Asia and Africa, at this day, and all the unconquered tribes of America, remain in a state of ignorance as gross as that of many nations, who existed three thousand years ago, before they were blessed with those useful discoveries; the accounts whereof being handed down to us by so many authors of good authority, and of different ages and countries, may be thought to deserve an historical credit, although they do not exactly coincide in point of chronology, nor in all the names and other circumstances of the first discoverers; which cannot altogether be expected, in treating of such dark and remote ages. Nevertheless, whoever calmly considers them as coming from such and so many different authors, will see a certain similitude and probability of truth in the whole, notwithstanding the differences already suggested.

Prior to the invention of shipping, men contented themselves with mere rafts or floats of timber; or, as an improvement thereof, with hollow trunks of trees, like the Indians of America, and other rude nations, at this day. From thence they advanced one step farther, to vessels made with twigs, osiers or reeds, or with large pieces of bark of trees sewed together; both which were covered with leather. These, as before observed, served tolerably well for crossing rivers and small lakes, but were not calculated for a sea voyage. The Greeks ascribed to Pyrrhon of Lydia, the invention of bending planks by fire. To Sesostris, or, according to others, to the Argonauts, is ascribed the long ship for expedition. To the Tyrians, vessels of great burden, both for war and commerce. The rostrum, or beakhead, to one:—The anchor to another:—The masts and sails to a third, &c. But at what precise times such discoveries were made, cannot now be ascertained. Necessity and chance produced all, or most of them.

The Egyptians and Phœnicians were most probably the earliest in the practice of navigation; the people of the sea coasts and isles of Syria, Lesser Asia, and Greece, appear to have followed them. Corinth, indeed, had the vanity to claim the honour of being the original discoverers of navigation; though probably without just grounds: Yet that fine mercantile city must be allowed to have made great improvements in ship-building.

Thus, it is not necessary to inform the reader, that all the useful arts and inventions for the convenience of men, came originally from the eastern nations, to the inhabitants of the western world; who, in length of time, have made great improvements and large additions to almost every branch of the inventions and discoveries of the Antients, which have been handed down to them.

And

And here it may be proper, once for all, to observe, that in treating, throughout this work, of the arts, commerce, &c. of the Ancients, we are ever to be understood to mean, by the Ancients, only those countries, mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors, which were almost circumscribed by the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, the great scenes of action in ancient times; excepting, however, what is but transiently delivered by some of them concerning the commerce of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, into the ocean without the Straights of Gades, both northward and southward.

Had the Romans, when they destroyed Carthage, preserved the memoirs of the great Carthaginian navigators, particularly those of Hanno and Himilce, we should probably have had many considerable lights relating to their plantations, and commercial dealings on the west coast of Africa very far southward; and also northward, along the coasts of Spain and Lusitania, and even as far as the British Isles; to which Isles the Tyrians, and, according to some, the Greeks, are said to have traded for tin. The Romans had little or no relish for trade, and seem rather to have delighted in the destruction of commercial cities, as far as their conquests reached, than to have any inclination to promote a general commerce. Indeed, all that either they or the Greeks have recorded concerning commercial voyages without the Straights of Gades, consists but of general and very imperfect hints; with which, however, we must now be contented.

That there were monarchies erected prior to the dates of the earliest discoveries of writing, navigation, and commerce, and even perhaps of agriculture, and before the foundation of the most ancient maritime cities, is not to be doubted: yet the supposed antiquity of such monarchies does not at all combat our hypothesis of these discoveries; since there are, at this day, similar monarchies in Upper Asia, and also in the heart of Africa and America, without the least knowledge of those useful arts. Neither does the supposition of the Chinese having had the knowledge of letters, agriculture, and perhaps of navigation also, even prior to the discoveries already mentioned, if their own accounts be not as fabulous in this respect as they are in some others, at all invalidate our system, which is entirely confined to the more western world, as known to the Greeks and Romans, who had no distinct acquaintance with the remote eastern parts of Asia, and least of all with the Seres and Sinæ, comprehending modern China, of whom they write very little, and with great obscurity. We all know, that when the two great monarchies of Mexico and Peru were conquered by a handful of Spaniards, they had neither the knowledge of writing, nor of shipping, nor of our best mechanical arts; it was not, indeed, in their power to do much in respect to the two last-named points, when they had not the knowledge of iron; yet it must be allowed, that the huge stones of the unfinished castle of Cusco, of which Garcilasso de la Vega gives an account in his Royal Commentaries of Peru, is a proof that those people wanted not ingenuity; since the digging and shaping of such stones, with copper tools alone, and the bringing them to Cusco from a considerable distance, without either horses or wheel-carriages, neither of which they knew; and their raising them to a great height, without the aid of our mechanical machines, afford sufficient ground for presuming that they might, in time, have found out all or most of those useful arts, even without any communication with our eastern or old world; as the Chinese, in like manner, did in respect to printing, gunpowder, guns, &c. long before we had discovered them: more especially when we consider that those two monarchies had been erected but a few centuries before their invasion by the Spaniards, according to the tradition of the more inquisitive Indians: And not

longer, perhaps, than the first monarchies of Egypt, Asia, and Greece had existed, prior to their making such useful discoveries.

Having thus endeavoured to exhibit as just and rational a general view of the origin of useful arts, commerce, and navigation, as the materials handed down to us could furnish, we shall next proceed to a very brief chronological and historical series of great and remarkable events, from the flood of Noah to the incarnation of our Blessed Saviour, which will form the second chapter. The third chapter will contain a like series, from the incarnation to the close of the fifth century of the Christian *Æra*, with which we shall end our first book; wherein, though some things may, to a less curious reader, seem to have but little immediate relation to our general subject, yet the more judicious will find them of good use for illustration, and affording assistance to the memory in the connection of matters more immediately relating to it: such as, the origin and revolutions of ancient kingdoms, states, and cities; the times when certain eminent and illustrious persons flourished, many of whom were instrumental either in the invention or improvement of the arts and discoveries beforementioned; with the progress of the Romans, until they had effected the ruin of all the ancient commercial cities, and, at length, to the final destruction of their own empire in the west.

C H A P. II.

Comprehending a chronological Series of Events, from the general Deluge of Noah, to the commencement of the Third Punic War, containing a Series of 2199 Years.

Anno Ante
Mundi. Christ.

THE general deluge, or Flood of Noah, is computed to have happened in the 1656th year of the world, and 2348 years before the incarnation of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

1757 2247 The tower of Babel is built; for which the Almighty caused a confusion of languages, and the dispersion of mankind.

1787 2217 The Babylonish monarchy founded by Nimrod: and, about or near the same time, Ashur, the son of Sem, and grandson of Noah, being driven from Babylon by Nimrod, founded the Assyrian monarchy.

1816 2188 Misraim, the son of Ham, the grandson of Noah, called Pharaoh in the twelfth chapter of Genesis, and thought to be the Osiris of profane authors, whose wife or queen was Isis, founds the monarchy of Egypt: and about the same time a colony of Egyptians are supposed to have travelled eastward, as far as China, and to have been the first planters of that country.

1904 2100 Fohi, the founder and first King of the monarchy of China.

1915 2089 The kingdom of Sicyon, in Peloponnesus, is founded by Egialus.

1920 2084 Egypt conquered by the Arabians, under their Kings called the Pastor, or Shepherd Kings, or King-Shepherds.

2107 1897 Sodom, Gomorrah, &c. destroyed by fire from Heaven.

2108 1896 Abraham, the Patriarch, settles in Canaan.

2148 1856 The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponnesus, is founded by Inachus.

2179 1845 Thomas drives the Arabian Shepherd Kings, with most of their people, out of Egypt, after they had held that monarchy two hundred and fifty-nine years; whereupon two hundred and forty thousand of the fugitives remove into Palestine, and build the city of Jerusalem.

2183 1821 The Patriarch Abraham dies.

2208 1796 Ogyges's flood in Attica happened this year; which, with Deucalion's in Theffaly, and that of Prometheus in Egypt, have, by some, been confounded with the universal deluge of Noah.

2289 1715 Joseph, by interpreting Pharaoh's dream, is taken out of prison, and made his Prime Minister.

2299 1705 The Patriarch Jacob goes to live in Egypt at one hundred and thirty years old, and settles with his family in the land of Goshen.

2317 1687 Prometheus, who invented striking of fire, and the use of metals, &c. is supposed to have flourished in Greece about this time.

2433 1571 Moses, the famous leader of the Israelites, is born.

2448 1556 Cecrops, by birth an Egyptian, brings a new colony into Attica, and founds that kingdom.

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- 2458 1546 Scamander, from Crete, lays the foundation of the kingdom of Troy; but not by that name.
- 2467 1537 Athens is built.
- 2511 1493 Cadmus, the Phenician, introduces the use of letters or writing into Greece, upon his coming thither in quest of his sister Europa, stolen away by Jupiter, where he built Cadmea, afterwards named Thebes, in Beotia.
- 2513 1491 The Israelites march out of Egypt, under the conduct of Moses.
- 2515 1489 Sparta is built by Lacedemon, a supposed son of Jupiter.
- 2520 1484 Sesostris, King of Egypt, son of Amenophis, conquers Arabia, Persia, India, Scythia, Thrace, Lesser-Asia, and Syria, in the space of nine years; his counsellor being Hermes Trismegistus, a famous philosopher.
- 2524 1480 Dardanus, son of Teucer, builds the city afterwards named Troy; but, at that time, named Dardania.
- 2529 1475 Danaus, or Armais, being about this time expelled Egypt by his brother Rameses, or Egyptus, who first gave his name to that country, sails into Greece in the first ship that had been seen there; where, till then, floats or rafts alone were known, and he becomes the first King of Argos. Now, if we look back to the year of the world 2315, when Jacob blesses his son Zebulun, we shall see the vanity of the Grecian pretensions to their remote antiquity, and more particularly of their claim to the honour of having been the inventors of ships.
- 2534 1470 Oenotrus leads the first colony of Greeks into that part of Italy, to which he gave the name of Oenotria.
- 2543 1461 About this time, Mercury, called by the ancient Gauls and Germans, Tut, Teut, and Teutat, the son of Hermes, is thought to have been worshipped in those countries, and to have introduced arts and commerce into Gaul.
- 2554 1450 Joshua, leader and judge of the Israelites, subdues the country of Canaan.
- 2591 1413 Joshua dies.
- 2649 1355 Corinth built by Sisyphus, son of Æolus; yet some make it *Anno Mundi* 2594; as, on the contrary, others make it so late as *Anno Mundi* 2846. So uncertain are the dates which are brought to ascertain the foundation of most of the great cities of antiquity.
- 2674 1330 Janus, by some thought to be the Javan of the Bible, becomes the first King of the Aborigines in Italy. In his reign Saturn comes likewise into Italy.
- 2697 1307 The first olympic games are instituted by Pelops, who gave name to Peloponnesus; others say by Hercules, in honour of his father Jupiter; though they were not made the general epocha till five hundred and thirty-one years later; when this famous æra of the Greeks most probably commenced, according to Archbishop Usher, &c.
- 2737 1267 Ninus, successor to Belus, gives his name to the great city of Nineveh, long before built by Ashur.
- 2752 1252 Old Tyre built on the continent of the coast of Phenicia.
- 2754 1250 The famous expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, in search of the Golden Fleece, under their chief leader Jason, accompanied by Castor, Pollux, and about fifty other romantic heroes, is generally placed about this time: they went in the first long ship that had been built in Greece. In those early and obscure times, this paltry coasting voyage from Greece up the Egean Sea, through the Propontis and Bosphorus, and so along the south shore of the Euxine sea, at the east end of which the river Phasis, in Colchis, falls

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falls into it, is much taken notice of by the ancients: at that place they landed. Whatever else they found there we do not pretend to determine, but they are said to have first brought pheasants into Europe, named Phafides, from the river Phafis, on whose banks they were said greatly to abound. This voyage has made more noise than any of our modern navigations round the whole earth: yet authors are far from discovering with any certainty, what was meant by the Golden Fleece, which was the object of it; neither are they much better agreed as to what afterwards became of those heroes, whose ship, called *Argo*, was, according to some, so slight and slender, that on their return from *Colchis*, sailing up the river *Danube*, they carried it from that river on their shoulders a great way over land, and launched it again in the *Adriatic* sea. Others make the *Argonauts* to sail up the *Tanais*, and to carry it thence on their shoulders into the northern ocean; from thence sailing round, by the *Mediterranean* Sea, home. From which fanciful relations concerning the *Argonauts*, nothing else can be so clearly inferred, as the infancy of navigation in those times. Others place this romantic voyage in the year of the world 2741.

About this time, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, and *Linus*, the Master of *Hercules*, are supposed to have flourished.

2760 1244 The celebrated walls of *Babylon* are said to have been built about this time by *Queen Semiramis*, concerning whose reign, and her conquests in *India*, &c. authors are far from being agreed.

2770 1234 *Minos*, called the most ancient King of *Crete*, is said, about this time, to have been the first who established peace and order in the *Levant* and *Egean* Seas: for which end he fitted out a fleet for chastising the *Greeks*, who, like most other maritime people in those rude times, thought it no shame to practise universal piracy. *Minos*, therefore, is generally esteemed the first monarch, or potentate, who possessed any considerable maritime strength in those seas.

2771 1233 *Carthage* is, by some authors, supposed to have been founded at this time by *Elisa*, or *Dido*, sister to *Pygmalion*, king of *Tyre*: yet others fix this event at so late a period as the year of the world 3135, before Christ 869; so little is the story of *Dido* to be relied on. Some determine it to be even later, by near four hundred years.

2781 1223 *Gideon*, whose son *Abimelek* assumed the title of king, judged *Israel* about this time.

2820 1184 *Troy* taken by the *Greeks*, after having flourished about three hundred years, and after its celebrated siege of ten years. The *Greeks* had about twelve hundred ships, if they may be so called, at this siege, none of which, as far as appears, had an entire deck: these vessels, though each carried about one hundred men, were, at best, but half-decked ones, the fore part of them being open to their very keels. They had a main sail, and were rowed with oars.

2825 1179 The *Lydians* are said, about this time, to have been the next after *Minos*, who acquired superior dominion in the *Levant* Sea.

2856 1148 The incomparable Temple of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*, was burnt down by *Erostratus*. It was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

2867 1137 *Samson* judges *Israel*.

2887 1117 *Samson* destroys three thousand *Philistines*, with himself, in their temple.

2908 1096 *Samuel* is Prophet and Judge in *Israel*.

2909 1095 *Saul* •

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- 2909 1095 Saul becomes the first King of Israel.
- 2924 1080 The Pelasgians, next after the Lydians, acquired, about this time, the dominion of the sea.
- 2941 1063 King Saul is rejected by the Almighty, and David is anointed King, in his stead, by Samuel.
- 2956 1048 Jerusalem taken by King David from the Jebusites, and made the capital of his dominions, both of Israel and Judah.
- 2958 1046 David, king of Israel and Judah, makes an alliance with Hiram, King of Tyre, who supplies him with workmen, and many materials for ship-building.
- 2964 1040 King David subdues the Amalekites and Edomites, whereby he gains certain ports on the Red Sea; from whence he commenced a great trade, not only to the coasts of Africa, south-westward without the Streights of Babelmandel, but eastward to Arabia, Persia, and India, to his very great advantage. From Ophir he brought immense quantities of gold, whereby Jerusalem was vastly enriched; but whether Ophir was, as many think, the Aurea Chersonesus of prophane authors, *i. e.* the Peninsula of Malacca, or, as others conjecture, the above mentioned south west coast of Africa, about modern Sofala, Melinda, or Mombaza; or, whether Tarshish, from whence his son Solomon had his silver, was on the west coast of Spain, will probably never be decided; and, in either case, is of very little importance.
- 2989 1015 David, king of Judah and Israel, dies.
- 3002 1002 King Solomon builds the first Temple of Jerusalem: he greatly increases the East India and African commerce begun by his father, having regular fleets employed therein, chiefly manned by great numbers of Tyrian Mariners, supplied by his and his father's ally, Hiram, king of Tyre. Their route was from Eziongeber down the Red Sea, and so eastward to India, and also south-westward on the African coast; whereby Solomon acquired incredible riches; the Tyrians being at this time, and many ages after, the most expert of all others in maritime affairs: yet, for want of the mariner's compass, their navigation was performed by coasting along the shores; so that a voyage to India from Eziongeber and back again, is said to have frequently taken up three years, which could now be performed in as many months. Dean Prideaux, and others, think the succeeding kings of Judah carried on the same commerce; which was at length lost when Elath, their port on the Red Sea, was taken from King Ahaz by Rezin, king of Damascus. This is the very oldest account we have of a commercial correspondence by sea, between the Levantine countries and India; which correspondence seems to have been discontinued until the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, above seven hundred years after, and more especially Ptolemy Philadelphus, revived it.
- 3004 1000 About this time, the Thracians are said to have been the next in succession after Minos of Crete, who acquired the dominion of their neighbouring seas, which they held about nineteen years. The short space, wherein these States of Greece and its neighbourhood held the dominion of the sea in those parts, plainly demonstrates their want of a superior naval commerce; for it is that alone can support a permanent marine power. A mere temporary accident might possibly give any one of those little states such a dominion for a short time; or an active prince might, from an ambition of becoming superior to his neighbours, exert his utmost efforts in order to build a greater number of ships than they happened to have; but one single sea fight might have lost this domi-

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dominion, or one single shipwreck of his fleet would probably transfer it to some neighbouring potentate, who, in his turn, was soon obliged to yield it to some other power: and we are to take notice, that such frequent changes of maritime dominion, recorded by ancient authors, were all comprehended within the narrow limits of the east end of the Mediterranean sea. This remark we judge proper to make once for all, to prevent the reader from being misled by the repeated accounts of such sea-dominion, which is to be found in many authors. Petavius thinks that Homer lived about this time, and was cotemporary with Sclomon, king of Israel and Judah.

3088 916 About this time the city of Rhodes becomes a place of great commerce, by which it obtained the dominion of those seas. Its rulers also framed a body of excellent maritime laws and constitutions, which were in such high esteem, as to become a general rule and standard for all maritime nations in those parts, and were afterwards incorporated into the Roman laws. Yet the Rhodians are said to have held their superiority on those Levant seas but about twenty-three years; which is scarcely credible, as they continued for several ages to be considerable at sea, both for commerce and war.

3100 904 The famous island of Britain was at this time, according to the learned Bochart, in his Canaan, known and traded to by the Phenicians, for the tin of the Cassiterides, elsewhere mentioned, there being none of that metal to be found in those eastern countries. "Many Greek writers also, says the author of, *The Rights of the Kingdom or Customs of our Ancestors*—London 1682, before Strabo and Pliny, mention the Phenician, Carthaginian, and Massilian traffick to the Cassiterides for tin: they likewise relate a famous story of a Carthaginian pilot, who was rewarded by the Senate of Carthage for sinking his ship, rather than be forced by the Romans to discover their traffick for lead and tin found in the British isles."

3108 896 Gades, now called Cadiz, Malaga, and several other cities of Spain, are said to have been built about this time by the Phenicians.

3111 893 The Phrygians, in their turn, are, about this time, said to have gained the dominion of the sea, which they held only for twenty-three years. Yet possibly their sea-dominion scarcely reached so far west in the Mediterranean as the Isle of Malta.

3120 884 About this time, Lycurgus, after ten years travels into Egypt and other countries, returns home to Lacedemon, and frames his new code of excellent laws for that State.

3135 869 About this time, Phidon, king of Argos, is said to have invented weights and measures, and also to have been the first that coined silver at Ægina.

3138 866 The Æginetans are usually reckoned the sixth potentate after Minos, who acquired the dominion of the adjacent seas.

3178 826 The Phenicians come next, in order of time, to have the warlike dominion of the adjacent seas: for, in a mercantile sense, they certainly were, long before, the greatest navigators of all the nations of which we have any knowledge.

3200 804 Homer, the Prince of Greek Poets, is, by some, thought to have lived about this time: many however, place him later, whilst others, as Petavius, &c. place him two hundred years farther back; and some fix the date of his immortal poems nine hundred and seven years before the incarnation.

Syracuse is said to have been built about this time, by Archias of Corinth.

3216 788 The Corinthians are said to have, about this time, invented the ships or gallies named Triremes. Of the construction of which vessels, on a supposition that the word means three

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three rows or tires of oars, one over another, on each side of such vessels, and much more of the Quinque-remes, and even up to Triginti and Quadraginti-remes, no man now pretends to form any just idea. Neither can the placing of those oars, in any other supposed method or position that has hitherto been guessed at, be clearly comprehended. We must therefore leave this matter, which has hitherto puzzled so many, just as we find it in ancient authors.

- 3217 787 The Egyptians are reckoned to have been, about this time, the eighth power after Minos, which acquired the dominion of the neighbouring seas.
- 3228 776 According to Archbishop Usher, and most other eminent chronologers, Iphitus began the famous Greek Epocha of the Olympiads in this year; so as to remain permanent for the computing of time.
- 3245 759 Isaiah is thought to have begun to prophesy about this time.
- 3251 753 The Milesians of Ionia are said, about this time, to have acquired, in the ninth order of succession, the dominion of the neighbouring seas.
- 3256 748 Rome is rebuilt by Romulus at the close of the seventh olympiad, according to the last mentioned computation of that epocha.
- 3270 734 The Carians are said, about this time, to have obtained, in the ninth order of succession, the dominion of the neighbouring seas.
- 3283 721 Israel's ten tribes are carried into captivity by Shalmaneser, after taking and destroying their capital city Samaria, which had endured a three years siege; whereby an end was put to the kingdom of Israel, after it had lasted three hundred and forty-seven years.
- 3289 715 Byzantium, since named Constantinople, is said to have been built at this period by Byzas of Megara. Others make the time of its being founded so late as the year of the world 3346; 658 years before Christ.
- 3328 676 About this time the Lesbians are said to have gained the dominion of the neighbouring seas. In mentioning the neighbouring seas, whenever we have named the several nations who had sea dominion, we think ourselves sufficiently justified, when it is known, that most of the states, to whom, in this chapter, the sea dominion is ascribed, seldom or never failed farther west than the Ionian sea, or sometimes as far as Sicily; unless we except the Phenicians, who failed as far as our Cassiterides; though this must have been deemed, in those early times, a voyage of great difficulty and danger.
- 3337 667 Messana, now Messina, in Sicily, founded by the Messenians, who are said to have settled in that island about this time.
- 3375 629 Jeremiah and Zephaniah begin to prophesy in the reign of good King Josiah.
- 3382 622 The Gauls, under Bellovesus, cross the Rhone and Alps, and settle in Piedmont and Lombardy, then possessed by the Etrurians.
- 3394 610 About this time Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, is thought to have begun the famous canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. Though some doubt whether such a work was ever completed; whilst others relate, that it actually conveyed ships from the one to the other. This work is also ascribed to Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the year 3744.
- 3398 606 Nebuchadnezzar takes and plunders the city and temple of Jerusalem, when Daniel and his three companions, with a great number of other Jews, are carried captive to Babylon; which captivity lasted seventy years, as Jeremiah had prophesied.
- 3400 604 About this time certain Phenicians, by order of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, are said

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said to have sailed from the Red Sea round Africa, and down the Mediterranean Sea to Egypt: which voyage, in such dark times, is barely possible, but not very probable, considering their being obliged to creep along the shores of many inhospitable countries, and through very tempestuous seas. Yet some late French authors, merely on the credit of certain ancient reports of this kind, are strongly possessed with the belief of such a voyage, notwithstanding the silence of Ptolemy the geographer, who wrote about seven hundred and forty years after this time; as also on another story related by Strabo, viz. "That Caius Cæsar, son of Augustus, commanding a squadron of ships in the Red Sea, found some pieces of Spanish ships which had been wrecked there." Others are of opinion, and particularly Morisotus of Dijon, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, that King Solomon's fleet, which usually traded from the Red Sea down the south west coast of Africa, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and thence sailed northward to the Streight's mouth of Gibraltar, and so down the Mediterranean to Joppa.

- 3403 601 Nineveh is destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and a period put to the Assyrian empire.
- 3404 600 Massilia, now Marseilles, is said to have been built at this time by a colony of Phœcean Greeks from Ionia in Lesser Asia; who first civilized the Gauls of that part of France, and instructed them in tillage, vine-dressing, and commerce. But with respect to the vines themselves, many think they were aborigines in the fine climate of Languedoc and Provence, and that they grew spontaneously all along the Mediterranean shores of France, Spain, and Italy. Some think the founding of Massilia to be of an older date than the above, and even older than the foundation of Rome.
- 3410 504 Solon, at this time, was Archon of Athens.
- 3432 572 Old Tyre is at this time taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, after thirteen years siege, as prophesied by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The Tyrians first retiring with their effects into an island half a mile from the shore, which was opposite to their ruined city, where they built New Tyre, which quickly surpassed the old one, both in commerce and shipping.
- 3434 570 Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's strange dream.
- 3456 548 Cræsus, the last King of Lydia, is taken captive by Cyrus the first Monarch of the Persian empire, at which time Solon and Esop lived.
- 3468 536 This year may be reckoned the proper commencement of the Persian empire, when Cyrus had completed his conquests, and extended his dominions from the Hellespont to the river Indus.
- 3484 520 By the favour of Cyrus the Great, the captivity of the Jews ended about this time, he having permitted them to return and rebuild their Temple at Jerusalem, which they completed and dedicated *Anno Mundi* 3489.
- 3489 515 Confucius, the famous Chinese Philosopher, is thought to have lived about this time.
- 3503 501 The Grecian cities and colonies of Ionia, and other parts of Lesser Asia, confederate with the European Greeks, against Darius king of Persia, the father of Xerxes; which, in the sequel, brought about the overthrow of that empire, though near two hundred years after, by Alexander the Great.
- 3524 480 Xerxes, monarch of Persia, crosses the Hellespont into Europe, on two vast bridges of boats chained together, with an army of three millions of men; besides about two millions more of baggage-men, women, and children, according to some Historians, for the invasion

- vasion of Greece. This passage, is said, not improbably, to have employed seven days in conveying over a sea of several miles in breadth, the greatest army that ever was seen upon the earth, or that probably ever will be seen hereafter, at least, in Europe.
- 3525 479. This vast army is repulsed at the Streights of Thermopylæ by Leonidas: and, on the very same day, the fleet of Xerxes, consisting of no fewer than two thousand ships, is beaten by the Grecian fleet of only three hundred and eighty ships, commanded by Themistocles, who destroyed two hundred Persian vessels, and dispersed the rest; while Xerxes, after he had destroyed Athens, was forced to return across the Hellespont in a fishing boat, his bridges being broken down by the waves; leaving the remains of his immense army to get back as well as they could.
- 3542 462 Artaxerxes this year, according to Dean Prideaux, discarded his Queen Vashti, and married Esther, the beautiful Jewish virgin.
- 3554 450 Hippocrates, the famous physician, died about this year.
- 3559 445 Herodotus of Halicarnassus, called by Cicero the Prince of Historians, and by others the Father of History, wrote, about this time, of events between the years of the world 3238 and 3471. Æschylus the Poet, and Isocrates the Orator, also flourished about the same time.
- 3565 439 Nimeguen said to have been built at this period by the Sicambri.
- 3571 433 Groningen, at this time built by Gruno, brother to Antenor king of Sicambria. It was the capital city of ancient Frisia, then a much more extensive country than what is now called by that name.
- 3573 431 The Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta, and the great plague at Athens, both happened about this time.
- 3574 430 About this time Malachi, the last of God's Prophets, concluded by his prophecies, the sacred history or canon of the Old Testament.
- 3589 415 The Egyptians revolt from, and drive out the Persians, constituting their leader Amyrtaeus king of Egypt.
- 3603 401 Socrates, about this time, is put to death by the thirty tyrants of Athens.
Plato, about this time also, made three voyages into Sicily, to visit Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse.
About the same time also happened Xenophon's ever memorable retreat with ten thousand Greeks, who had been auxiliaries to Cyrus, brother to Artaxerxes, monarch of Persia, by a march of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles through the enemy's army, and over the Hellespont into Greece.
- 3614 390 The Romans are defeated by the Gauls under Brennus, who takes and sacks Rome, but could not make himself master of the capitol.
- 3636 368 About this time Eudoxus first brought from Egypt into Greece, a celestial sphere, and introduced a regular astronomy.
- 3666 338 Rome, now become a considerable power, institutes a Census, during this year, when there were found one hundred and sixty thousand men fit to bear arms; though probably their country tribes are to be included in this Census.
- 3670 334 Alexander king of Macedon, styled afterwards the Great, meditating the overthrow of the Persian empire, which had so much and so long harassed Greece, crosses the Hellespont into Asia, with only thirty-five thousand men.

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332 The Tyrians having joined the Persian fleet, to oppose Alexander the Great's invasion of the Persian empire, and refusing him admittance into Tyre, that Prince destined this noble commercial city to utter destruction. After a seven months siege, he took it by storm; whereupon he barbarously crucified two thousand of its citizens, put eight thousand more of them to death, and sold thirty thousand of them for slaves. Carthage, the daughter of Tyre, having, on this occasion, sent her some assistance, Alexander is said to have determined her destruction also, in case he should return home from the east, which he never did.

Tyre, however, was soon after rebuilt, and under the Seleucidæ, kings of Syria, successors of Alexander, it became again a famous emporium, engrossing almost the entire commerce in Arabian, Persian, and East Indian merchandize, as well as those of Africa and Europe. It carried on a trade from Elath, on the east side of the Red Sea, to those eastern countries, and brought home the merchandize over land from Elath to Rhinocorura a sea port at the bottom of the Mediterranean; from whence their merchandize was dispersed all over the western parts. This East India commerce was solely enjoyed by Tyre, until the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, opened a trade to India from the west side of the Red Sea.

3673 331 Alexander the Great takes the vast city of Babylon, together with all the treasures which Darius Codomannus, king of Persia, had there, as well as at Susa, which he also took, and which were computed by some to have amounted to nine millions sterling. The same year Alexander gave a total defeat to the vast army of Darius, in the famous battle of Gaugamela; whereupon he becomes master of the whole Persian empire, which had lasted, from Cyrus, its founder, two hundred and five years. In a drunken fit he destroyed by fire the royal and inexpressibly magnificent city of Persepolis; the stupendous ruins of which, even at this time, occupy whole volumes in the description of them. Here he also found an immense treasure.

3674 330 Alexander the Great, in order to supply the loss of so mercantile a city as Tyre, or, which is perhaps more probable, merely for glory and ostentation, founded in this year, the city of Alexandria, near one of the mouths of the Nile. This new city soon became the metropolis of Egypt, and a place of very great commerce, navigation, and riches; being extremely well situated for commerce, and also for being the metropolis of so noble a kingdom. It is at this day very inferior to what it was in the times of the Ptolemies, who greatly augmented and adorned it: yet, even at this time, and under the dominion of the Turks, who have no genius either for arts or commerce, it is a place of considerable trade with the western countries of Europe.

Learned, and, in other respects, very eminent persons living at this memorable time, were Aristotle, Alexander's great master; Diogenes, the famous Cynic philosopher; Demosthenes, the great Athenian orator; and Apelles, the famous painter.

3675 329 Alexander the Great marches to India, where he defeats the armies of sundry princes. He builds a bridge over the Indus, which he crosses, as also the Hydaspes.

3681 323 From thence he sails into the Indian Ocean, and returns up the river Tigris to Babylon; where he dies. Whereupon the greatest part of his vast dominions were seized by several of his Generals, who soon rendered themselves independent monarchs in Macedonia, Egypt, Syria, Persia, and India; at which time wrought silk was first brought into Greece from Persia, by some who had been with Alexander in the East.

About the time of the death of Alexander the Great, the city of Neapolis, now Naples,

- and the city of Cumæ, were founded by the Paleopolitani lately come into Italy from the Isle of Eubœa, now named Negropont, in the Archipelago.
- 3696 308 Sun-dials are said to have been first used at this time at Rome; though of a very imperfect construction. [*Vide* 3711.]
- 3700 304 Learned and otherwise eminent men living about this time, were, Euclid, the mathematician; Epicurus, Heraclitus, Democritus, and Zeno, philosophers; and Praxiteles, the great statuary and engraver.
- 3711 293 Some accounts make sun dials not to have been known at Rome till this year, when the Romans began to divide the day into hours.
- 3713 291 Painting, about this time, was first practised at Rome, being introduced from the East by Apollonius, who from thence got the surname of Pictor; but afterwards that of Maximus, having vanquished the Etrurians.
- 3726 278 Brennus the Gaul invaded Greece about this time.
- 3738 266 Silver money was, about this time, first coined at Rome; brass money having hitherto been the only coin in use among the Romans. This sufficiently indicates their little inclination to, or improvement of, commerce; and their want of correspondence with other more eastern nations, who, long before, had both gold and silver coins.
- 3741 263 Rome commences the first Punic or Carthaginian war, being their earliest attempt to carry their arms beyond Sicily to the continent of Africa; and the first time they ventured on a general naval engagement, or paid any regard to naval armaments. And if we believe their own accounts, and to our great loss we have no other, they were always superior to the Carthaginians at sea, as well as on land, notwithstanding the long experience of the latter in naval affairs.
- 3744 260 In those times the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, were, beyond all other Princes, the greatest patrons of learning and arts, and also of trade and maritime commerce; and of them, Ptolemy Philadelphus in particular, was at this time the most potent monarch on the Mediterranean Sea, having a powerful fleet and an extended commerce. To this Prince is ascribed the great work of a navigable canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, whereby he commenced a regular annual commerce by whole fleets to Arabia, Persia, and India, for spices, drugs, gold, &c. thereby greatly increasing his revenue and enriching his people. Ptolemy Auletes is said to have greatly improved that commerce; and so it remained, until the Romans, under Augustus Cæsar, became masters of Egypt. It was this Ptolemy Philadelphus who caused the seventy-two Hebrew interpreters to translate the Old Testament into Greek; a copy of which Old Testament he had obtained from the Sanhedrim by means of presents. This translation has ever since been called the Septuagint, which he deposited in his celebrated library at Alexandria, which is said to have consisted of two hundred thousand volumes, and some say of many more. It was this prince likewise who erected the magnificent watch-tower and light-house on the isle of Pharos, Sostratus of Cnidus being the architect; a work so grand, as to have been deemed one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.
- In this same year Duilius, commander of the Roman fleet, defeated that of Carthage; for which he obtained the first naval triumph that had ever been exhibited at Rome.
- 3748 256 About this time Rome extended her conquests to the farthest point of Italy next to Sicily, by conquering the Salentines; whereby they possessed all Italy south of what is now called Lombardy.

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3773 231 The isles of Sardinia and Corsica, long disputed with Carthage, are reduced by the Romans; as was, the year following, all Sicily, except the kingdom of Syracuse, after many horrible and bloody conflicts with the Carthaginians, as well as natives, about the possession of such a delicious country.

3782 222 The great progress of the Carthaginians under Asdrubal in the conquest of Spain, where they built Nova Carthago, now Carthagera, so greatly alarmed the Romans, that they by treaty obliged Asdrubal to stipulate not to extend his conquests there beyond the river Iberus, and to leave the city of Saguntum free and independent.

Between the first and the second Punic war, Rome began in some degree to cultivate learning: but at the same time were beginning to be corrupted by Asiatic luxury, even prior to their conquests in that country.

It is said to have been about this time also that the celebrated Colossus of Rhodes, together with the arsenal, &c. was overthrown by an earthquake; for the restoring whereof, it is said, most of the Grecian states made contributions. If this was the case, how came it to lie on the ground till the year of our Lord 655, as will be afterwards seen? It was the statue of Apollo in brass, with one leg on each side the entrance of the haven, between which the greatest ships passed; and in one of whose hands was held a fire, serving as a light-house for the safety of shipping.

3785 219 The great Hannibal of Carthage, having at this time mastered the city of Saguntum in Spain, contrary to the treaty with Rome; that proceeding provoked the Romans to enter into the second Punic war, which ended much to the disadvantage of Carthage; who was obliged to deliver up to the Romans all her ships except ten. Accordingly, five hundred of their ships were immediately burnt by the Romans, in sight of Carthage. A sad spectacle to a free commercial state which had so long reigned triumphant on the sea. This, however, plainly shews how little the Romans regarded commerce; to the improvement of which, those ships might have been greatly conducive. By this peace, one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver was brought into the Roman treasury.

3787 217 About this time Ptolemy Philopator, King of Egypt, having vanquished Antiochus King of Syria, caused his monstrous galley to be constructed, of forty banks or rows of oars, or whatever else *quadraginti-remes* on each side meant, or may be called. This vessel was of such an enormous bulk, as to have been a matter of mere ostentation, without any solid use.

3804 200 The Roman Consul Marcellus, about this time, besieged the Carthaginian forces in the city of Syracuse, both by sea and land, for three years; and at length took that rich and famous mercantile city, said to have been twenty-two miles in circuit, and sent to Rome its rich plunder, with its paintings and statues, which are related to have been the first ever seen in that city. In this famous siege, the incomparable Archimedes displayed his amazing genius, by inventing such machines, engines, and other wonderful devices, as, if true, were never paralleled before nor since. But, at the storming of that city, while he was in his house calmly forming new plans of defence, he was killed by a soldier who was in search of plunder.

While Hannibal, after the conclusion of the second Punic war, was busied in reforming abuses, &c. in Carthage, the Romans, ever jealous of his great abilities, found means to render him suspected by, and obnoxious to his own factious nation, now going

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going headlong to destruction ; by which arts he was obliged to fly to the court of Antiochus king of Syria, and never more returned to Carthage. He is said to have destroyed himself by poison.

3874 190 During this year it is generally said that the Romans, for the first time, entered Asia with an army, which, under Scipio, defeated Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. But they brought home such a taste for the luxury of the East, as greatly promoted the ruin of their commonwealth.

3837 167 The Romans having, by this time, conquered a great part of Macedonia and Greece, brought from thence as many books as formed their first public library. At the same time Emilius brought from the same quarter, so vast a sum into the Roman treasury, that, according to some writers, there was no necessity of laying any new tax on the people till the reign of Augustus Cæsar.

3845 159 Scipio Nasica introduced at Rome the Clepsydra, or time measurer by water.

3853 151 Scipio Nasica returning from Carthage, reported to the Roman Senate, that the Senate of that State had doomed forty of their body to perpetual banishment, for concluding the last peace with Rome: whereupon Cato the Censor solemnly declared, *delenda est Carthago*—Carthage must be destroyed. So the third Punic war began two years after.

C H A P III.

From the Commencement of the Third Punic War, to the Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour Christ. Being the Space of One Hundred and Forty-nine Years.

Anno Ante
Mundi. Christ.

3855 149 **R**OME taking advantage of Carthage being at this time engaged in a war with Massinissa, a potent King in Africa, commenced the third and last Punic war. In the third year of this war, being the year of the world 3858, ~~and~~ 146 years before Christ, that vast city was taken by storm and utterly destroyed, after all its other territory, which is said to have contained three hundred cities, had been conquered. The plunder in gold, silver, &c. to an immense value, was brought into the Roman treasury. Strabo makes the wall of Carthage to have been three hundred and sixty furlongs, or about forty-five miles in circumference; but Florus makes it but twenty-four Roman miles in circuit. Under those walls were vaulted cells or stables for three hundred elephants constantly kept for war.

The vast fleets and armies of Carthage, particularly those for the conquest of Sicily, demonstrate its great power and riches. It sent to Sicily, at one time, one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with two hundred galleys and a thousand transport-ships. Many of its citizens were compared to kings for riches. At the commencement of the second Punic war, her dominions reached as far as the Syrtis Major eastward, and about three hundred miles deep into the country of Africa southward; beside what she had possessed in Spain and Sicily, and its colonies far southward on the west coast of Africa, &c. As far as appears, Carthage, in the zenith of its glory, carried on a more extensive and remote commerce, than any city of the known world had ever done before; and, what is yet more memorable, had also a greater inland commerce towards the heart of Africa, for gold, ivory, &c. than probably has ever since been enjoyed by any nation. It is said to have had within its walls seven hundred thousand souls at its final destruction, notwithstanding the loss of so many people during such a desperate siege.

3881 123 The destruction of Carthage, was the severest blow which the commerce of the Ancients had hitherto received; more especially as no other commercial city was raised up in its stead—which was the case when Alexander destroyed her mother Tyre. Carthage, it is true, was rebuilt by order of the Roman Senate twenty-three years after; but although it made a considerable figure in after times, it could never recover its ancient splendor or commerce. Other accounts relate, that it was Julius Caesar who caused it to be rebuilt, as well as Corinth, upon his conquest of Numidia and Mauritania.

3858 146 To compleat the overthrow of the free commerce of the Ancients, in the very same year the rich and beautiful mercantile city of Corinth was taken and burnt by Mummius the Roman Consul, after it had flourished about nine hundred years: of whom it is recorded, that when he was shipping off for Rome the matchless paintings and exquisite statues

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statues found in Corinth, he told those to whom he gave the charge of them, that if they broke or lost any of them, they should be obliged to get others made in their stead, at their own cost. Corinth, at this time, was said to have more pictures and statues of the greatest masters, than any other city upon earth: that all the princes and grandees of both Asia and Europe were supplied from that city, where all the liberal arts were brought to the utmost perfection. This consideration is said to have made Cicero wish that Corinth had been saved, though he approved the destruction of Carthage. The treasures which the Romans found in Corinth, are said to be past all reckoning: statues of temples and palaces, and innumerable vessels of all kinds of metal; so that the melted gold, silver, and brass ran down the streets in streams; whereby, a new metal was formed, compounded of them all, and greatly extolled in after ages, under the appellation of Corinthian brass, which, it seems, art could never parallel. By the destruction of two such great and renowned cities, the Romans meant to strike the greater terror into the unconquered parts of the earth which were the objects of their insatiate ambition.

- 3864 140 The city of Florentia, or Florence, was built about this time by Sylla.
- 3869 135 The Apocryphal history is conjectured to have ended in this year.
- 3895 109 The city of Liege in Belgium is founded; and was so named from the legion sent thither by Julius Cæsar.
- 3911 93 About this time the Romans crossed the Alps, and conquered the Allobroges, Salii, and the south parts of France, named by them Gallia Narbonensis. So that they now, with a rapid success, greatly extended their empire westward, eastward, and southward.
- 3934 70 Lucullus the Roman Consul, returning to Rome from the Mithridatic war, introduced cherries into Italy, from Cerasus, a city of Pontus-Cappadocius near Sinope on the Euxine-sea, from which city the Romans named that fruit Cerasum. Tournefort, a modern traveller, says, that he found the hills of that country covered with woods, wherein cherry trees grew spontaneously. In less than one hundred years after, cherries became common in all the countries northward and westward under the Roman power. There were also brought into Italy, about this time, many other curiosities of fruits, flowers, and plants from Greece, Asia and Africa. Apricots from Epirus, peaches from Persia, the finest plumbs from Damascus and Armenia; pears and figs from Greece and Egypt, citrons from Media; pomegranates from Carthage, &c. All which were soon brought to perfection in Italy, and have since been naturalized in the rest of Europe, excepting some few of those fruits that require more sun than Britain, and the more northern countries enjoy.
- 3937 67 At this time the great Pompey performed one of the most arduous and glorious naval exploits that we read of in all antiquity. Rome neglecting the proper guard of the sea, by which term we are only to understand the Mediterranean in its largest sense, a set of pirates, joined by many desperate vagabonds, had gradually arrived to such power and boldness, as to fill all the sea coasts with terror: and, being soon after protected by Mithridates, King of Pontus, they were enabled to equip above a thousand galleys more, wherewith they exercised a kind of sovereignty over all the Mediterranean coasts, robbing all the rich temples, country seats, &c. on the coasts of Italy, Greece, Asia, and Africa: so that they blocked up all the ports of the Republic, carrying off innumerable captives, and many of great distinction. They took all ships indiscriminately, whereby an entire stop was put to commerce; and, what was of the last consequence, to the supplies

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plies of corn and many other necessities, without which Rome must soon have been furnished. The corn in particular, which supplied Rome and most of Italy, was principally brought from Egypt, Barbary, and Sicily. Those lawless people went even so far as to keep possession of whole countries on the sea coasts, and of many cities and castles. Pompey undertook the arduous task of destroying so powerful a confederacy of audacious villains. He fitted out a fleet of five hundred ships, with which he gained immortal renown; setting at liberty incredible numbers of captives, retaking above one hundred and twenty cities and castles, destroying one thousand three hundred of their ships, killing ten thousand of their men, and making above twenty thousand prisoners: all which was performed within the compass of a few months. We may here observe, that although the Romans had no propensity to commerce, yet there must doubtless have been some thousand vessels, great and small, constantly employed between Italy and the other fine countries bordering on the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, productive of the richest and most valuable things upon earth, for supplying Italy with the same, transporting troops, and carrying on a commercial correspondence between the respective countries. For the world can never be without commerce more or less, whilst the mutual wants of men and countries occasion constant demands on each other.

- 3941 63 Four years after, Pompey took and dismantled the city of Jerusalem, reducing Judea into a Roman province. Yet Jerusalem was soon after re-fortified; being doomed by Heaven to a still greater calamity.
- 3950 54 Julius Cæsar being, by the Trebonian law, appointed to the government of Gaul for five years; and having now almost completed the conquest of all that large and noble country, he made, in this year, his first invasion of Britain, though with very doubtful success.
- 3951 53 This year he invaded it a second time, ravaged several parts of that unimproved country, and obliged some of its princes or chiefs to promise subjection to Rome: But losing part of his fleet on the British shores by a storm, he found himself obliged to return into Gaul. From this time the Romans made no farther attempts on Britain, for ninety years, until the reign of the Emperor Claudius. Cæsar's account of the Britons was, that although they had some correspondence with the people of Gaul over against them, and "that those of them who lived on the sea coasts were for that reason clothed, and more civilized than such as inhabited the inland countries, who were entirely wild and naked; and though they had horses and chariots armed with scythes, yet their towns were nothing more than a parcel of huts on an eminence, fortified with trees cut down and laid across each other." So that they, in fact, lived almost as meanly as the Indians in America; except that they had plenty of corn and cattle. Their money was iron and brass plates and rings, of a determined weight, which served them for what traffic they carried on amongst themselves.
- 3953 51 Julius Cæsar completes the conquest of Gaul, extending from the Pyrenees and the Alps, to the Rhine. In the progress of which, he is said to have taken eight hundred cities, vanquished three hundred different nations, defeated three millions of people, killed one million, and made another million prisoners of war. Gaul, even in those early times, was very populous. It is said to have had upwards of one thousand two hundred walled towns, which were mostly dismantled by Cæsar.
- 3960 44 Julius Cæsar is killed in the senate-house of Rome.

Learned and eminent men living about this time in Rome, were Livy, Diodorus Siculus, Sallust, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, &c. historians. Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, poets. Also Cicero the great orator and statesman; and many more.

3973 31st Augustus Cæsar, now established emperor or sole monarch of the Roman empire, erects many new, grand, sumptuous and costly edifices and ornaments in Rome; which wonderful city, now mistress of the world, is computed by some to have contained at this time four millions of people, and to be fifty miles in circuit, although much doubted by others. At this period, there ended the greatest republic, and there commenced the most potent monarchy that ever existed upon earth for extent, power, and riches. Some have computed its ordinary revenue, in peaceful times, to have amounted to fifty millions sterling; which is by no means improbable. But what it could have raised on any great emergency, cannot, in our days, be justly ascertained.

3974 30 Augustus Cæsar having, in this year, conquered Egypt, and reduced it into a Roman province, he established two fleets or squadrons of ships for the protection of navigation; one of which was stationed at the more westerly parts of the Mediterranean, the other in the seas east of Italy, now termed the Levant.

It was Augustus who revived the East-India commerce from Alexandria, up the Nile, and thence to the Red Sea, and so by long sea to India, which the former monarchs of Egypt had long before carried on to their great emolument. He and his successors, even till the overthrow of the western empire, improved this commerce very much; though such improvement was, probably, more indebted to the Egyptians than to the Romans.

Grotius, in his *Mare Liberum*, says, that the *Aurea Chersonesus*, which they failed to, is by many thought to be Japan. Pliny says, there came ambassadors from India to Augustus, and from Taprobana, commonly thought to be the Isle of Ceylon, to Claudius Cæsar; and that this trade brought annually five hundred thousand sesteriums, or about four millions sterling, to the Empire, and twice that sum if Arabia and the Seres be included.

Pliny also relates, that instead of twenty ships formerly employed in it yearly by the Egyptian kings, there were six times as many now employed therein; and that they had gained an hundred fold, or ten thousand per cent. thereby. Strabo, who wrote in the reign of Tiberius, relates, that, in his time, an East India fleet sailed from Alexandria up the Nile, and from the Nile into a canal, cut from that famous river, into the Red Sea, and thence to India. This is the strongest evidence produced, that there had once been such a canal, which is any where to be met with. Yet although so many ancient authors speak of this canal as having once existed, it is long since utterly filled up or lost. Some think that the Greek or Eastern empire continued this East-India trade from Egypt down to the close of the seventh century, when they lost that country to the Arabian Moors or Saracens. Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, observes from Marcianus, "that the Prepositi of the Eastern Empire had the care of bringing four times a year from the east the following merchandize, viz. wool, silk, flax, purple, sugar, cinnamon, &c." Though probably what is called the Spice Islands, *i. e.* the Molucca Isles, which produce nutmegs, mace, and cloves, were unknown till later times from the remoteness of their situation. But pepper, growing in plenty in the hither India, was early known to Europe, as was likewise cinnamon for the same reason. After which the trade to India by that route totally ceased until the ninth century, when it was revived by the Saracens; who, finding

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finding that commerce so gainful, removed afterwards, in great numbers, to settle on the sea coasts of the hither India; many of whom afterwards removed farther into the inland countries; where, being joined and supported by a powerful invasion of Arabians, Turks, Persians, and Tartars, about the close of the eleventh century, they propagated Mahometanism to an almost incredible degree, not only in that vast continent of Indostan, and even in the Mogul's court and family, but likewise in many remote isles of the Indian ocean. These Indian Mahometans on the sea coasts are now generally known to the Europeans by the appellation of Moors, although but few of them came from the country of the Moors in Barbary.

It is about this time that ancient authors make the four greatest and most illustrious cities of the then known world to have been Rome, Alexandria, Byzantium, since named Constantinople, and Antioch.

3985 19 Balbus, Augustus's general in Africa, subdues the Garamantes, a people of Africa, south of the dominions formerly possessed by Carthage, and hitherto unknown to the Romans: by which conquests the limits of the Roman empire were said to be extended as far south as the great river Niger.

3990 14 Tiberius, afterwards emperor, subdues the Vindelicii, Rheti, and Norici, then deemed three of the most barbarous nations of Germany; *i. e.* the countries of the Grisons, of Bavaria, and of part of Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tirol, &c. all lying between the Alps and the Danube. From whence it plainly appears how little the Romans had actually conquered north of the Alps before this period, notwithstanding the specious accounts of their former conquests in Germany.

3995 9 Drusus and Tiberius pass the Rhine and the Weser, after much opposition from the Germans, bringing under their subjection, as their historians alledge, all the nations from the Rhine to the river Elbe; which last named river, however, they in vain attempted to pass.

Much about this time, Papirius brought two kinds of apple-trees from Syria and Africa into Italy.

4004 In the year of the world 4004, and 2348 years after the general deluge or flood of Noah, our Blessed Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ was born: with which most happy event we shall conclude this first part of our work.

B O O K II.

From the Incarnation, to the Conclusion of the Fifth Century.

FIRST CENTURY.

Year of our Lord. **I**N this year, Tiberius, afterwards emperor, was sent by Augustus a second time to conquer Germany; which, however, he found to be an arduous task; that people being then, as well as since, extremely tenacious of their liberty, and well skilled in the art of war. He is, however, said to have over-run and subjected all the country between the Rhine and the Elbe; whilst the Roman fleet carried terror along the German coasts, and thence up the Elbe to a place at which they formed a temporary station, and from which word, Statio, some say the city of Staden took its name. Notwithstanding all which accounts of their exploits in Germany, it seems certain that the Romans built, or at least retained, no fort, nor kept permanent possession of any considerable part of Germany beyond the banks of the Rhine and the Danube: the proper conquest of the greatest part of which country seems to have been reserved for the Emperor Charlemagne, towards the close of the eighth century.

21 As in all civilized countries, and even in very remote ages, there were manufactures of woollen cloth, and probably of linen also, we may here remark, that Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in Augustus Cæsar's reign, acquaints us, that in the isle of Melita, now called Malta, there abounded artificers who made several mercantile wares, and especially very fine cloth.— And that the houses in Malta were of fine white stone, beautiful and stately; the inhabitants being originally a colony of Phenicians, who, having extended their commerce to the most western regions then known, found this island very convenient for a place of retreat by reason of the goodness of its ports, and the depth of the surrounding sea. According to the Netherland historians, the town of Stavem in Friseland, is the most ancient of all the towns in that province, founded, as they say, in the reign of Tiberius, in the year 21, by the Struij, the ancient inhabitants of Friseland.

34 There is a passage to the like purpose of a cloth manufacture in Strabo, who died in the year 35: for speaking of Turtetania, a country of Lusitania, now called Portugal, he says, “that cloths were formerly the exports of that country; but that they have now, (in the year 34,) a nobler woollen manufacture of most excellent beauty, such as that of the Coraxi, a people in Asia, from whence rams were brought for breeding at the price of a talent each;” which is about one hundred pounds of our money.

48 There must have been an uncommon increase of people in Rome and in the adjoining tribes, between the reigns of the Emperors Augustus and Claudius, an interval of only thirty-four years; since in the year of our Lord 14, the Census of Roman citizens made by Augustus, amounted only to four millions one hundred and thirty-seven thousand. Whereas, in the year 48, Claudius's Census amounted to no fewer than six millions nine hundred thousand; unless,

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unless, which is not improbable, a greater extent of country was taken into this Census by Claudius, than was done by Augustus.

34. It is generally agreed, that the greatest modern wine countries of Europe, viz. France, Spain, and Portugal, did, in more ancient times, cultivate corn much more than vines. But, by degrees, says Strabo, the Gauls left the more general use of malt liquors to the Germans, and other northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. The same may be said of the Spaniards and Portuguese, more particularly of the latter, who also turned much of their arable, &c. lands into vineyards, since England began to take off such great quantities of their wines, in consequence of our treaty of commerce with them, conducted so wisely by Mr. Methuen in the year 1703.

43. After ninety years intermission, the Romans, in this year, made an effectual invasion of Britain, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; who, in the year following, coming thither in person, vanquished and took prisoners one of their princes named Cunobelin, in his residence of Camalodunum, generally thought to have been the place on which Malden in Essex is built. Yet it cost the Romans much blood and time before they could compleat the conquest of only the south part of our island; for they were never able to force the most northerly end of it to their obedience; and therefore at length they only attempted, by ramparts and ditches, to keep the Caledonians from invading the most fruitful parts of Britain, already reduced into a Roman province. But although the Romans held Britain about three hundred and sixty years, yet in all that time there is but little of a commercial spirit to be found amongst the Britons, whose shipping, regular towns, edifices, arts and manufactures, must be acknowledged to be owing entirely to the Romans, who lived, in great numbers, amongst them. All which the poor unhappy Britons seem to have almost forgotten, after the Romans had abandoned them; which was occasioned by the continual ravages of the Scots and Picts, and their being afterwards overawed, mastered, and driven into the mountainous parts by the Saxons.

Seutonius conjectures, that the Emperor Claudius was the first contriver of insurances on ships and merchandize.

52. Although neither London, nor any other place deserving the name of a city or town in Britain, had a being in Julius Caesar's time, yet we find London a considerable place in Nero's reign, about one hundred years later. Wherefore it is conjectured to have been founded in the reign of his predecessor Claudius, and, probably at the close of it, about or a little before the year 52. It was no military colony, but was very early a place of commerce, inhabited promiscuously by Britons and Romans. Tacitus, who lived some time at London about fifty years after this time, calls it "*Londinum, copia negotiatorum et comœntu maxime celebratum*. London famous for its many merchants and plenty of its merchandize."

70. Titus, son, and afterwards successor, of the Emperor Vespasian, takes and destroys the city of Jerusalem. At the siege, and in the sacking of which city, one million eight hundred and fifty-four thousand four hundred and ninety Jews are related to have perished, either by famine, pestilence, the sword, self-murder, fire, or other calamities: yet there were one hundred and eight thousand left alive and made prisoners.

73. Vespasian reduces Byzantium, and the rest of Thrace, into a Roman province; as also Rhodes, Lycia, Cilicia, and Samos.

78. Julius Agricola, the Roman governor of Britain, civilizes the Britons, and promotes agriculture, arts and sciences there.

He was probably the first who sailed quite round Britain, and thereby discovered it to be an Island. This great man also reduced the Britons of the south parts to a more entire subjection to Rome.

SECOND CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

- 118 The Emperor Trajan having subdued Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, his nephew and successor Adrian, in the beginning of his reign, judged it prudent to abandon those three provinces, as being too remote to be easily held in subjection to Rome: and he now made the river Euphrates the settled eastern boundary of his empire.
- 120 The Emperor Adrian visits Britain, where, to prevent the incursions of the Caledonian Scots into the Roman provinces, he built the famous wall called by his name, from the river Eden in Cumberland, to the river Tyne in Northumberland, about eighty miles in length.
- 130 Adrian rebuilds Jerusalem, calls it *Ælia Capitolina*, and erects a Temple to Jupiter; which provokes the Jews to a rebellion. And two years after, having suppressed the rebellion of the Jews in Judea, Adrian transplants great numbers of them into Spain, where their blood remains to this day, though often cruelly butchered in that country.
- 136 The Jews break out into a fresh rebellion, with a false Messiah at their head, whom they crowned King. They over-ran Judea, committing great cruelties. They mastered Jerusalem, and murdered all the Romans in it. Whereupon Adrian sends Severus against them, who after much bloodshed, retakes and burns Jerusalem, plowing up the ground on which their Temple stood.
- In this revolt of the Jews, the Romans are said to have demolished nine hundred and eighty-five towns, fifty strong fortresses, and to have killed five hundred and eighty thousand men, besides such as perished by famine, fire, despair, &c. and great numbers sold into slavery.
- 141 Ptolemy, the famous astronomer and geographer of Alexandria, flourished about this time, in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus. He was the first of the three ancients who joined the aids of astronomy to that of geography. His geographical tables or maps are generally esteemed the best extant of the state of the world to his own time; though since discovered to have many mistakes and errors.
- 144 Lullius Urbicus, the Roman governor of Britain, carries his conquests farther northward, and builds a wall between the Friths of Forth and Clyde.
- 173 About this time, in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, flourished the great and famous physician *Galen*.
- 196 Byzantium, the largest and most magnificent city, east of Rome, is taken, burnt, and rased, by the Emperor Severus, who sold its inhabitants for slaves.

THIRD CENTURY.

- 208 The Emperor Severus, having driven the Caledonians beyond the Roman province in Britain, builds the wall called by his name, from sea to sea, to prevent their returning southward.
- 250 About the middle of this century the Roman empire began to be dreadfully galled and invaded on every side. A sad presage of its future overthrow.

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According to the Chronology of Alexander Ross, annexed to his *Continuation of Raleigh's History of the World*, printed in 1652, it was in the reign of the Emperor Aurelian that silk was first brought from India to Rome. Yet others, with greater probability, make it to have been known at Rome so early as the reign of Tiberius, about the year of our Lord 17: and that moreover a motion was then made in the Roman Senate, "That a stop might be put to the excessive luxury prevailing at Rome:" whereupon they passed a law prohibiting the use of plate of massy gold; and also forbidding men to debase themselves by wearing silk, then thought proper only for women.

Heliogabalus, the Emperor, who died in the year 220, is said by some to be the first man that wore a holosericum, or dress made of all silk; even princes, as well as subjects of the greatest quality wearing only subsericum, or a stuff made of half silk.

In either case, this is probably to be understood only of manufactured silk: for the breeding of silk worms was not introduced into Europe till near three hundred years later; and it is scarcely probable that there was in either of those periods, a silk manufacture at Rome.

The Seres, or ancient Chinese, are generally thought to have been the first nation in the world that knew the use of silk.

It was so dear when first brought to Rome, as to be equal in value with gold, weight for weight. Until the Emperor Justinian's time, in the year 555, the western world thought that silk grew on trees, like cotton; the Persians making so great a secret of it, that they permitted none of the worms nor eggs to be carried westward.

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Vines are said to have been about this time first planted in Germany, about the rivers Rhine, Main, and Moselle; as also in Hungary and the northern part of Gaul. But, with respect to the provinces of Gaul and Spain, which border on the Mediterranean Sea, as well as to Italy, many are of opinion that vines grew spontaneously there. Mascou, in his History of the ancient Germans, says, that the memory of the Emperor Probus is still gratefully preserved in Germany on this account.

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Julius Cæsar found vines growing in Gallia Narbonensis; and Strabo remarks, "That this province, which is modern Languedoc and Provence, produced all the kinds of fruits that Italy did; but that farther north, in Gaul, oils and figs were then wanting." The Phenicians are said, in early times, to have planted vines in the isles of the Mediterranean Sea, as well as in several parts of the continent both of Europe and Africa. So that, upon the whole, wine was produced in all the countries of Europe naturally capable of it; excepting, perhaps, some few parts of Germany north of the Rhine and Danube, where even now the wine is not very excellent in its kind.

298

For the honour of our British isle, we must, under this year, take notice, that the Emperor Constantius Chlorus found that all mechanical arts were in greater perfection in Britain than in Gaul: the ruined cities of the latter, as well as the fortresses on the Rhine, being, for that reason, repaired by British architects and artificers, by that Emperor's special direction.

FOURTH CENTURY.

312

The Emperor Constantine openly professes the Christian religion, and promotes it.

325

—He holds the first general and famous council at Nice in Bithynia.

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- 330 — He removes to Byzantium, which he had rebuilt and finely beautified two years before, giving it the name of Constantinople, and makes it the seat of his empire, to the infinite loss of the city of Rome, whither he never after returned. Hence the veteran Legions were drawn off to the east, from their former stations on the Rhine and Danube, which defended the northern boundaries of the empire; so that the western provinces were exposed to the incursions of the Barbarians.
- Constantinople was, without doubt, extremely well adapted to be the metropolis of the greatest empire on earth. It was not only seated in a very fine climate, but in a most advantageous situation for corresponding with both the east and west parts of the empire, for the convenience of procuring all kinds of necessaries, and for carrying on an extensive commerce. It had Europe on its west side, Africa on the east, the Euxine Sea on the north side, and the Egean, Archipelago, and Mediterranean Seas on the south, for its easier communication with Egypt and Africa.
- 337 In the fatal partition of the empire between the two sons of Constantine, that called the eastern empire contained Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, Greece, Asia, and Egypt. The western empire contained the rest of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Helvetia, Britain, and Africa.
- 357 The famous city of Paris was at this time first mentioned in history, upwards of three hundred years after the foundation of London. Julian, afterwards named the Apostate, then governor of Gaul under the Emperor Constantius, having this year defeated the Germans near Strasburgh, took up his winter quarters at Paris, then a mere castle on an island in the Seine.
- 384 In this year the Longobardi, or Lombards, are said to have made their first movement southward, from the north end of Germany; occasioned, says Crantzius, by a very great famine in the time of Sniio king of Denmark.
- 400 Pancirollus says, that about the year 400, bells were invented by Paulinus bishop of Nola in Campania, and thence named Campanæ.

THE CHARACTER OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

We now enter upon the Fifth Century of the Christian Æra. A century, the most memorable, in all deplorable respects, of any that can be found in the annals of time; whether we consider the horrible ravages and devastations of the Barbarians in all the provinces of the western empire, or the amazing alterations and revolutions in those provinces, brought about by the many tribes of Pagan nations, who invaded them on all sides, and erected therein, upon the ruins of the western empire, the several kingdoms, which, for the most part, remain to this present time. It was, doubtless, most lamentable to consider, that the people of those provinces, thus invaded and conquered, were then generally become Christians, and had moreover been instructed by their masters the Romans, in politeness and the finer arts; yet they were now to submit, in a great measure, to barbarous and savage Heathens; to have their temples and schools destroyed, their arts and sciences overwhelmed, and their commerce and manufactures depressed: new masters, new names to countries, new languages, laws, customs, &c. were every where to take place. And, had it not been for those Barbarians who were invited by the later emperors to settle in and near Italy, and who, though originally Pagans as well as the rest, had before this general overthrow not only embraced the

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Christian faith, but had, in a great measure, contracted the manners of the Romans; those new kingdoms would probably have remained much longer in Paganism and ignorance. And we may also farther confirm these remarks, by observing, that some of the greater cities of Italy had retained their ancient politeness, arts, and industry, even amidst all the confusions of so vast a revolution as the world had never before experienced. This brief character of the fifth century, may partly serve to explain that of several of the succeeding ones, concerning which, it is not to be wondered, that we have so few materials for commercial history, and for the propagation of peaceful arts and sciences amongst a people, whose chief employment, for some succeeding ages, was war and conquest.

408 Alaric, with the united strength of Huns and Goths, after ravaging a great part of Italy, besieges Rome itself; but is bought off by five thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand pound weight of silver, four thousand silk garments, and three thousand purple furs: But the Emperor Honorius not performing those conditions, Alaric returns and takes Rome, causing Attalus the Hun to be proclaimed Emperor there: this being the first time that any foreign enemy succeeded in such an attempt, since the early times of that empire.

410 Alaric besieges and takes Rome a second time, plundering it for six days together, and reduces the greatest part of that vast and incomparable city to ashes, cruelly butchering most of its citizens. The most superb palaces, the grandest ornaments and decorations upon earth, the gradual work of a long series of ages, were in a few days reduced to a heap of rubbish, never more to attain their pristine splendour.

Upon this sad occasion, the pusillanimous Emperor Honorius removed from Milan, the usual place of his residence, to Ravenna, for his greater security.

412 Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, observes, that, at this time, the Jews, who had been settled in Alexandria ever since its foundation by Alexander the Great, were famous in that city and in other places, "for their egregious cunning in trade, and in the practice of "brokerage;" the very qualifications for which that people are famous at this day. And, indeed, having no country of their own, and being strangers every where on the face of the earth, it seems natural enough for them to have fallen early into trade and brokerage; more especially as the Christian nations generally debarred them from the hereditary possession of what we call real or hereditary estates; and did not allow them to be free of corporations of handicrafts in towns and cities.

413 Whilst the eastern Emperor Theodosius II. surrounded the city of Constantinople with high walls of twenty miles in circumference, lest that empire should be thrown into the like calamity and ruin with the western empire, Italy is miserably harrassed by Vandals, Alans, and Burgundians; which last-named people, invading Gaul at this time, and mastering Alsatia and other neighbouring provinces, forcibly erected the new kingdom of Burgundy.

The approaching final dissolution of the western Roman empire, is easy to be accounted for without many words,

A total depravation of manners—an unbounded luxury and prodigality—a gross neglect of military discipline—a general venality—and a total want of zeal and regard for their country, were the principal causes of its overthrow. To all these may be added, the vast populousness of the northern and north eastern nations, who, for want of sustenance at home, were forced to send out great numbers of their people to seek for new settlements. Others, as some conjecture, were driven southward by more potent nations behind them; as the Goths were by the Scythians,

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thians, &c. In either, or both cases, unless they had been utterly destroyed, necessity must probably have forced settlements for them somewhere, which they more easily found at this time in the empire of the west, than they could have done in former times, when virtue and public spirit existed among the Romans.

420 The Franks, about this time, became masters of a great part of the rich, noble, and extensive country of Gaul, and thereby laid the foundation of the present kingdom of France.

439 Genferic the Vandal passes with his people into Africa, and seizes on the city of Carthage, &c. whereby a foundation was laid for the Vandalic kingdom in Africa, which continued for above two hundred years, till overthrown by Justinian the Great.

Dr. Mascon, in his History of Ancient Germany, "thinks that Carthage, as rebuilt by the Romans, had risen to almost as great splendour, as when she formerly contended with Rome for the sovereignty of the Mediterranean;" and he quotes Salvianus's words, who styles it the Rome of Africa, where arts, philosophy, commerce, and navigation, were greatly cultivated, and where great riches were acquired from foreign countries.

440 The year following, Genferic, from Carthage, invaded Sicily.

Spain had been first invaded about the year 412, by Franks, Vandals, Suevi, Alani, and Silingi, and to these the Visi-Goths succeeded, in 455, after forming a new kingdom at Toulouse, in Gaul.

449 The Britons, during the distractions in the empire, having been deserted by the few Roman forces which were there, in the year 430, and, being cruelly harrassed by the Scots and Picts, on the withdrawing of those forces, found themselves under the necessity of calling in the Saxons, in 449, to their assistance; but they soon became masters instead of allies, driving the unhappy Britons up to the mountains and barren parts; and, after expelling the Picts and Scots, divided the south part of the isle amongst their leaders, gradually erecting seven monarchies, which at length were reduced into one kingdom.

At this time Attila the Hun, called by the Christians of the Roman provinces, "The Scourge of God," carried inexpressible devastations into Italy, Gaul, and Germany. In an encounter with the Roman Governor, in Gaul, it is said that three hundred thousand were slain on both sides; others say, above five hundred thousand. He also took Arras, Tongres, Spire, Strasburgh, Mentz, &c. renews his ravages in Italy and Gaul, in Flanders and Burgundy, and then dies on his birth-day.

After so many successive ravages and such unheard of slaughter, it cannot be surprizing that countries, till then the richest, the most populous, and the finest in Europe, remained, for several succeeding ages, poor, abject, and thin of people, without arts, commerce, or industry.

455 Genferic, king of the African Vandals, takes and plunders the city of Rome, for fourteen days successively.

472 To compleat the misery of the once glorious and triumphant city of Rome, Recimer sacks and plunders it of all that the former ravagers had spared.

476 Lastly, Odoacer, king of the Heruli, having, in his turn, mastered the now wretched city, stripped young Augustulus, its last nominal emperor, of the Imperial ensigns. Whereupon Odoacer assumed the more modest title of king of Rome or Italy, and held it till the year 492, when he was murdered by Theodoric, king of the Goths, whose successors held Rome and part of Italy till the year 568, when the Lombards became masters of it.

Thus a final period was put to the western empire, after having subsisted one thousand three hundred and twenty-four years from the foundation of Rome, and five hundred and seven years from the battle of Actium, or the overthrow of the republican constitution. Besides the universal corruption of the Romans already mentioned, there were other concurring causes that contributed to their fall: particularly, their Emperors permitting such vast numbers of the barbarous nations on the confines of the empire to settle within its territories; and more especially the later Emperors employing those barbarians constantly in their wars, whereby they became better soldiers than the native Romans. And what yet farther contributed to this catastrophe, was the suffering those auxiliaries to be constantly kept up in separate bodies, headed by their own officers; so that they were enabled with greater facility to effect their purposes. We cannot, however, dismiss our account of this vast revolution, without reflecting, that it was a just dispensation of the Almighty, to suffer an empire, which owed its greatness to that insatiable appetite for dominion which swallowed up so many free states and potent monarchies, to be conquered and ravaged in its turn by barbarian nations. Even in the later period of their republic, the Romans did not hesitate to deprive other nations of that liberty which was the boasted symbol of their own government.

430 Although, to preserve a due connection, we have gone so far as the final overthrow of Rome, we must now look back to the year 430, to take a view of the fortified and most eminent cities which were in Britain, when the Romans abandoned it, as they are handed down to us by Gildas, viz.

<i>British Names.</i>	<i>Latin Names.</i>	<i>Modern English Names.</i>
* KAIR EBRANK.	EBORACUM.	YORK.
* CHENT.	CANTUARIA.	CANTERBURY.
* GORANGEN.	WIGORNIA.	WORCESTER.
* LUNDUNE.	LONDONIA.	LONDON
* LEGION.	LEICESTRIA.	LEICESTER.
* COLËN.	COLCESTRIA.	COLCHESTER.
* GLOU.	GLOUCESTRIA & GLEVUM.	GLOCESTER.
* CFI.	CEICESTRIA.	CHICHESTER.
* BRISTOU.	BRISTOLIA.	BRISTOL.
CERIN.	CERINCESTRIA.	CIRENCESTER:
* GUENT.	WINCESTRIA.	WINCHESTER.
* GAAUNT.	CANTABRIA.	CAMBRIDGE.
* LEON.	CARLEOLIA.	CARLISLE.
DAURI.	DORCESTRIA.	DORCHESTER.
* LOICHOIT.	LINCOLNIA	{ LINCOLN, sometimes named of old NICOL.
MERDIN.	CAERMARTHEN.	CARMARDEN.
PERTS.		PORTCHESTER.
LEGION.		CAERLEON.

York, in the Saxo had various names, or at least various ways of writing its name. As, particularly, Yorick and Eurnick; from whence it is easy to derive the name it now bears.

N. B. Besides this list, there were many other castles, forts, and open towns in Britain.

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We may here observe, first, That twelve or thirteen of these places are to this day some of the most eminent in England, and are marked with an asterisk. Secondly, That although Norwich, Exeter, Oxford, Chester, Lynn, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Boston, Nottingham, Durham, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Ipswich, Rochester, Dover, Derby, Litchfield, Hereford, Salisbury, Coventry, Warwick, Stafford, Northampton, Monmouth, Dartmouth, and many more, be not named by this ancient author; yet it is known that several of them were towns, though small, in the time of the Romans, and are to be found in Antoninus's Itinerary, as well as in Ptolemy's Tables, &c. others indeed were founded pretty early in the time of the Saxons. Thirdly, there are other towns that are known to be more modern; as Newcastle upon Tyne, Hull, &c. founded since the Norman conquest. Fourthly, there are some considerable towns that scarcely existed three hundred years ago. And, fifthly, there are also several others of some importance, which have more lately grown up, from the vast increase of our general commerce. Such are several of our clothing towns in the west and north; our iron-manufacture towns, and also some places on our great rivers and sea coasts, which still more recently owe their rise to the mere increase of our naval commerce; such particularly as Falmouth and Burlington. We must at the same time observe, that several towns on the sea coasts, formerly eminent for their fisheries, are now much decayed; though many more have risen into consequence, and some even since Camden wrote his *Britannia*, as we may reasonably conclude from his making no mention of them in that elaborate work.

Excepting the exportation of corn, tin, lead, and horses from Britain to the Roman provinces on the continent, there does not appear to have been any other foreign commerce from Britain during its being subject to Rome. To the Romans, however, the Britons undoubtedly owed the manufacturing of cloth—the building of houses and towns—the improvements in gardening and husbandry, and sundry other domestic improvements. All which, upon the Romans deserting them, and through the perpetual ravages of the Picts and Scots, seem to have been in a great measure dropped; so that when they fled over the Severn, they seem hardly to have carried with them any taste for the polite improvements, nor any thing else which the Romans taught them but the Christian religion, which they stedfastly held. Their unsettled condition, indeed, was a sufficient excuse for their neglect of commerce and of arts; whose first, but dilatory, revival and improvement were entirely owing to the Saxon conquerors.

Although we cannot fix on the precise year, yet all historians are agreed, that it was towards the close of the fifth century that the famous city and republic of Venice took its rise.

Attila the Hun, already so often mentioned, breathing nothing but utter devastation wherever he went, had obliged the noblest and richest inhabitants of Aquileia, Padua, Concordia, and other cities on the continent of Italy next to the Adriatic sea, to fly with their best effects into the numerous small sandy isles lying amongst the shallow waters or marshes at the upper end of that sea near the shores of the continent; on which isles, about seventy-two in number, the fugitives built themselves such habitations as their circumstances would admit; there having been only, before that time, a few fishermen's huts on some of the islands.

By degrees, and by the accession of many more fugitives, this event gave birth to the noble maiden city of Venice, justly so termed, as having never been taken by any foreign power.

Cardinal

6 Cardinal Contareno makes their first flight into those isles to be so far back as the year 421; though others considerably later. He says, that the first church they erected was dedicated to St. James, and that even in his time, towards the close of the sixteenth century, it was still to be seen in the most famous of those isles, called the Rialto, which with the rest of them, had belonged to the city of Padua. Petavius, Mezerai, Munster, &c. fix on the year 452 for their first flight from the continent, though, without doubt, there were many subsequent accessions of people, who were induced, for the same reason, to settle on those naturally-fortified spots, which, being only divided from each other by shallow canals, were formed into many small towns or villages, and were afterwards joined together by bridges in or about the ninth century. From many of these islands the people in after times removed to the principal one called Rialto, for their greater conveniency and security, and where the most magnificent part of the beautiful city of Venice is still situated. These numerous isles are surrounded with a flat ground, always covered with a shallow sea, having little or no tide, whose waters the modern Italians call *lagunas* or marshes.

The people finding, from experience, that the separate magistracies or constitutions, as they may be termed, of those small towns or villages, were inconvenient, united them, at length, under one government, joining all of them together by four hundred and thirty bridges, and formed in this manner the present magnificent city of Venice, which contains about one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants.

From the very first settling of the continental fugitives on these isles, necessity obliged them to devote themselves to commerce; the first beginning of which was, naturally, that of the fishery.

For how, indeed, could a city entirely surrounded with sea, subsist without constant and daily application to maritime commerce, which was to procure them the necessaries of life? Their next commercial object after the fisheries was that of salt, found in certain pits in these isles. and as the inhabitants remained, for several centuries, without any other land or ground but the bare sites of their houses, many of which had been gained from the sea, it behoved them, at all events, to be strong in shipping.

Thus, by the application of its inhabitants, added to the security of its situation, Venice gradually became the general magazine for the merchandize of the neighbouring continent; to which the many rivers that fall into the Adriatic sea greatly contributed. And as the Venetians in time became the carriers of this merchandize, into far distant countries, they were thereby enabled to bring back raw materials for manufacture, of woollen, silk, linen, iron, brass, &c. which greatly enlarged the circle of their commerce. "The traffick of their ships and galleys," says Machiavel, in his History of Florence, "with sundry sorts of merchandize, which other nations wanted, occasioned a great resort of shipping, from foreign parts, to the port of Venice."

After acquiring a superfluity of wealth, and changing their boarded huts into stately houses, the Venetians erected magnificent public structures, both for civil and sacred uses. At length they gained dominions on the continent, both of Italy and Dalmatia, &c. as also many large and fertile islands in the Levant, many of the latter, however, they have long since lost to the Turks.

The wonderful situation of Venice, in point of natural strength, is not to be paralleled upon earth. Secure, as well from the assaults of the enemies as from the ravages of the sea, by a vast semicircular bank, with convenient openings for the admission of shipping, they were enabled

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476 enabled to prosecute their commerce amidst all the wars and devastations on the neighbouring continent. It was a principal object with them, to be as much as possible the importers of all foreign merchandize in their own shipping, as well as the exporters of all that they sent into foreign countries. This was one great cause of raising Venice not only to immense wealth, but to be, as it actually happened, a great naval power, even long before any of the new Kingdoms, formed out of the ruins of the western empire, had acquired any degree of maritime strength. Its situation for the convenience of commerce was no less happy than in point of security and strength. It had the shores of Greece on one side, and of Italy on the other: behind it, northward, a great and populous continent; and southward, on its front, it was open to the mild Mediterranean and Levant seas, washing the shores of the richest, finest, and most populous countries of the world. With all these advantages, however, Venice was subject to some inconveniencies, more especially respecting the pleasures and amusements of the rich, who could have no rural recreations without being conveyed to the continent; so that when men speak of the great scarcity of any thing, it has been usual to say, that it was as great a rarity as a horse in Venice. This consideration was probably one great incitement to the obtaining a territory on the neighbouring continent.

From such beginnings, after the fall of the western empire, Venice first, and Genoa, Florence, and Pisa afterward, laid the foundations of the revival of commerce throughout the Mediterranean shores, which, in process of time, was extended to the countries of Europe without the Straights of Cadiz. To these free cities of Italy the rest of Europe, westward, owed the first models and maxims for commerce; although much of ours, in Britain, was more immediately taken from the German Hans Towns in the thirteenth and following centuries; these last having already derived theirs from these Italian cities; which were, for several centuries, the only ports of Europe, west of the Eastern or Greek empire, which had any considerable commerce, or any valuable manufactures for the supply of other nations. For, as there was then very little naval commerce without the Mediterranean, the naval stores of the countries within the Baltic sea, then barbarous and unknown to the rest of Europe, the wool, leather, tin and lead of Britain, with the grapes and other fruits of France, Spain, and Portugal, lay in those days proportionably neglected, or served chiefly for their own proper use; until the settlement of the new kingdoms, and the increase of their people, began to make commerce in some measure absolutely necessary.

We have dwelt the longer upon the rise of Venice, and have, in some sense, anticipated part of the history of its increase and progress far beyond this century, purely for illustration. We shall, however, now return to our chronological order and method, after just observing, that Angelius a Werdenhagen, in his *Treatise de Rebus Publicis Hanseaticis*, makes the foundation of the city of Erfurd in Upper Saxony, coeval with that of Venice.

480 The eastern Emperor Zeno, says Dr. Howell, in his *History of the World*, Vol. II. p. 10. ordained; that none should exercise a monopoly of any thing relating to the sustenance of men, &c. “The practice of monopolies, says our author, had, according to Pliny, been “complained of in all ages, and frequent *senatus consulta* had been made against them.”

The city of Erfurd was in the country from whence the Franks came, who had now conquered Gaul: they were, probably, the first founders of this city, having kept possession of their original country, although Old Saxony in general remained still unconquered and uncivilized.

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- 496 Clovis the Great, or Louis I. king of the Franks in Gaul, having, in the year 496, embraced Christianity, it became, by degrees, the general religion of the country.
- 498 Two years after, Clovis totally subdued the Armorican Gauls, who inhabited the rivers Seine and Loire; so that the Roman officers were obliged to yield up to him the places which till now they had held in Gaul: thus, a period was put to the Roman government in that extensive country.
- 499 The Bulgarians, a people till now unknown by that name, invade Thrace, and commit great slaughter; but they are bought off by the eastern Emperor Anastasius I. and retire into their own country.

Before we conclude our account of the Fifth Century, we shall briefly observe, from J. Mich. Brutus's *Historia Florentina*, Lugduni, quarto, p. 2, 1562 "That, on the downfall of the western empire, great numbers of rich and noble families in Italy retired to the city of Florence, not only on account of the fertile nature of its surrounding territory, but as being, by its situation, strong and secure from the ravages to which almost all the other cities of Italy were then exposed. This concourse of people of condition laid the foundation of a Republic, which made a considerable figure for many succeeding ages."

We shall now end this lamentable Fifth Century; which, in our opinion, properly puts a period to the Times and History of the Ancients, with respect to the countries lately comprehended under the name of the Western Empire.

B O O K III.

Comprehending Twelve entire Centuries of Years, and such Part of the Eighteenth Century of the Christian Era as is already past, down to the present Time.

SIXTH CENTURY. ITS CHARACTERISTIC.

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ALTHOUGH Monsr. Le Clerc, in his Compendium of Universal History, is of opinion, that the period of time called Ancient History, should be continued to the reign of Charlemagne, “because,” says he, “it was about that time that the Roman empire was utterly “destroyed;” yet we have taken the liberty to differ from him in this point, which, however, is of very little importance either way; since it is certain, that our venerable Bede is, by several authors, considered to have lived in the middle ages, and that the western Roman empire was so entirely destroyed at the latter end of the fifth century, that every province of it, from Italy inclusive, both westward and northward, was occupied and mastered by a new and barbarous set of people, of strange languages, laws, usages, and religion; so that with regard to the countries we have limited ourselves to treat of, viz. those provinces which lie north and west from ancient Greece, or from modern Turkey in Europe, the times of the ancients, or what Mr. Le Clerc calls Ancient History, seem undoubtedly to have ceased at the end of the fifth century, and consequently what is called the middle ages to have commenced with the sixth century. Machiavel, in his first book of the History of Florence, speaking of the total alterations which Italy and other Roman provinces underwent at that time, and the vast alteration in the condition of the Italian cities, says, “The provinces,” meaning those of the western empire, “changed their government, laws, customs, manner of living, religion, “language, habit, and name; from whence sprung the ruin and the rise, the fall and increase, of many cities: amongst the ruined ones were Aqueleia, Luna, Chiufa, Populonia, “Fiesola, and many more. Among those new built were Venice, Sienna, Ferrara, Aquila, and many others. Those which from small ones grew great, were Florence, Genoa, Pisa, Milan, Naples and Bologna.”—Provinces, lakes, rivers, seas, and men, changed their names, more especially in France, Spain, and Italy.

We shall briefly observe of this Sixth Century, that its characteristic, or distinguishing character, is, in substance, no other than a continual succession of confusions and revolutions; partly occasioned by the fierce and restless disposition of the barbarians, who, in the preceding century, had taken possession of the western empire, and partly by new invaders driving out the preceding ones. Yet, although in so turbulent a state of things, very little direct commercial history can be expected, the reader will, nevertheless, find many important incidents, necessary to be remarked, as being preparatory and introductory to our principal subject.

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507 During the confusions in the west, the eastern empire was far from being in a state of tranquillity. The Emperor Anastasius I. after buying off the Goths, in the year 507, was obliged for his future safety, to build the famous long wall, for the sheltering of Constantinople itself, from sea to sea, being in length four hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifty-two miles and a half of British measure, and twenty feet in thickness.

508 In this year, Clovis, king of the Franks, drives the Goths, for a time, out of Languedoc.

510 By this time the Franks had established four kingdoms in Gaul, viz. those of Paris, Metz, Soissons, and Orleans; which however were all united not long after.

517 Arthur, king of Britain, of whom so many romantic stories are related, is said to have been aided by the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

Thierry, or Theodoric, bastard son of Clovis, king of the Franks, beats and expels the Danes from Antwerp. This is the first time we meet with the name of Antwerp, as also of the Danes, in the second volume of Mascou's History of the Ancient Germans, lib. xxi. Those savages, ranging along the coasts of Saxony and Friesland, sailed up the river Meuse, and laid waste all the country between that and the Rhine. In their retreat, however, they were vanquished both on land and sea, by Theodoric, who recovered both prisoners and booty. Yet, in most of the following times of their ravages, they are usually included in the general name of Normans.

Soon after this, the Abbé Vertot, in his History of the establishment of the Britons amongst the Gauls, thinks that the miserable Britons, dispossessed of their lands by the Saxons, crossed over the sea, and took refuge in that part of Gaul, lying on the British Channel, called Armorica, then mostly desert; which, from thence, took the name of Bretagne, or Lesser Britain. Many others of the distressed Britons took shelter amongst the mountains of Devonshire and Cornwall, but more especially in the country afterwards called Wales.

From this retreat the Saxons were the more encouraged to bring into Britain new colonies of their people, who soon overspread the island; so that what we call England, and the greater part of the east side of Scotland, were peopled with Saxons, Angles, Danes, &c.

Chichester and Abingdon are both said to be built at this period, by Cissa, king of Suffex.

526 In this year Justin, the eastern Emperor, bestowed Austria on the Lombards for their services against the Goths. The Lombards afterwards seize on Pannonia, which they held forty-two years.

529 The Emperor Justinian the Great publishes his famous *Codex* of the imperial or civil law, and four years after, his other work of the same kind, called the *Digest*; both which, among other things, were conducive to the orderly regulation of commercial dealings throughout that empire, as they were also long afterwards in the new erected western kingdoms of Europe.

533 In this year the Emperor Justinian sent out a fleet of five hundred sail of ships, carrying twenty thousand seamen; also ninety-two ships named Dromones, then used in sea-fights, carrying two thousand rowers; his army also consisted of ten thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with which his famous General, Belisarius, conquered all the provinces of Africa on the Mediterranean coast, that the Vandals had ravished from the empire, together with the isles of Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia, and Corsica, all which were then comprehended under the Vandal kingdom in Africa. Mascou observes, that as the Emperor's people were then unexperienced in naval affairs, and that Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain were under the dominion of the Goths and Franks, that attempt was deemed hazardous by many of Justinian's nobles.

A. D. nobles. Procopius, secretary to Belisarius, reports, that there were then remaining two pillars of stone at Tangier, on which the following sentence was inscribed, in the Phenician language, viz. "We are they who fly from Joshua the robber, the son of Nun," meaning the Canaanites driven out by him. But the character of Procopius, as a just historian, being much questioned, and no other author making any mention of this matter, the truth of it is much doubted.

About this period, the Emperor Justinian is said to have first used the Christian æra in the computation of time, and in deeds, &c. before which time, either the Olympiads, the year of Rome, or that of the reign of the Emperors, were used for those ends: yet it was not begun to be used in the west till long after.

537 The Emperor Justinian's general, Belisarius, vanquishes the Goths in Italy, so far as to get possession of Rome; which ten years after, is retaken by Totila, king of the Huns, who plunders that most unhappy city, carrying away the Senate and all the inhabitants: yet, in the year following, during Totila's absence, Belisarius recovers and re-fortifies Rome; which, however, is repossessed by Totila two years after, who also, in the same year 550, greatly defaced the beautiful city of Florence. Lastly, three years after, Narses, Justinian's general, vanquishes and kills Totila in battle, as he did also his son Teia the same year, and thereby put an end to the dominion of the Goths in Italy.

539 The Huns cross the Danube, and lay waste Illyricum, Thrace, Greece, &c. even to the suburbs of Constantinople; while the Bulgarians, from the west side of the Danube, attack the Greek empire; and the Persians, at the same time, rob it of some of its Asiatic provinces.

540 The Lombards, from Pannonia, make a conquest of the country of Venetia, and of all between the Alps and the river Po. Thus one set of Barbarians succeeds another, to entail misery on that fine country.

550 About the year 550, Lechus removes from about the Bosphorus Cimmerius, *i. e.* the Straights of Caffa, in modern Crim Tartary, into that part of Sarmatia, since named Poland, and becomes Sovereign thereof. Whether this be the same Lechus, who is said by some old authors to have founded Bremen, or whether Bremen was really a town before Charlemagne's time is not quite certain. Others say, that Lechus came out of Croatia into Poland, and founded the city of Gnesna. He is also said to have subdued Silesia, Brandeburgh, Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, Holstein, Saxony, and Prussia, and his brother Czechus to have settled in Bohemia. All which accounts relate merely to the extensive conquests of the Selavi, differently told by different authors.

About this time we first find mention made of bells in France; although Paulinus, bishop of Nola, had already introduced them into churches in Italy. In the following century, the venerable Bede mentions them; but they were not known in the Greek empire till they were sent thither by the Venetians in the ninth century.

Certain Monks, who had been in India, having acquainted the Emperor Justinian of their being able to obtain for him what he had so long wished for, viz. "That the Romans," for so they still continued to call themselves at Constantinople, although Rome, and its western provinces, had been before possessed by Barbarians, "should not any longer be obliged to purchase raw silk of the Persians, nor of any others; for, having lived long in a country called Serinda, they now assured him, that although the origin of raw silk was till now a secret from the West, it proceeded from certain worms, taught by nature to spin it

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555 “out of their own bowels; and that although it was impracticable to bring those worms so far alive, yet it would be easy to procure their bags, wherein were innumerable eggs, which, being covered with dung, and thereby heated, would produce those worms.” Hereupon, the Emperor promised them great rewards for their undertaking. They therefore returned to Serinda, and brought the eggs from thence to Constantinople; so that raw silk was, in time, produced in great abundance, to the great enrichment of the provinces, it being soon worked up into manufactures at Athens, Thebes, Corinth, &c. Galen, who lived about the year of our Lord 173, speaking of the rarity of silk in his time, declares it to be in use nowhere but at Rome, and only among the rich. The Emperor Aurelian, who died in the year 275, is said to have denied his Empress a robe of silk, because of its high price; which seems to be scarcely credible, if it was in use at Rome in Galen’s time. The Greeks in the army of Alexander the Great, are said to have been the first who brought wrought silks from Persia into Greece; but till this period, it was manufactured nowhere but at Berytus and Tyre in Phenicia, from whence it was disposed of all over the west. The Venetians, soon after this time, entering into commerce with the Greek empire, supplied all the western parts of Europe with silks for many centuries, as well as with all other eastern merchandize; yet several kinds of modern silk manufactures were unknown in old times, such as damasks, invented at Damascus, velvets, sattins, &c.—Vopiscus, in the life of Aurelian, writes, that gold and silk were, in those times, exchanged weight for weight, to which circumstance, the Rhodian law, according to Howel, in his History of the World, bore testimony.

About this time, according to Pancirollus, water mills for grinding of corn, were invented, or, most probably, only re-invented by Belisarius, while he was besieged in Rome by the Goths. Pancirollus thinks the ancients were not acquainted with the use of water-mills, because they parched their corn, and pounded it in mortars; and that, afterwards, certain mills were invented, which were turned by men and beasts with great labour; yet at the same he quotes Pliny, Cap. 10 Lib. xviii, as naming wheels turned by streams of water, supposed afterwards to be lost till the time of Belisarius, as was probably the case of some other arts.

556 About this time flourished Gildas, the British Historian, surnamed the Wise; he died in the year 570.

568 The Lombards commenced their monarchy in that part of Italy still bearing their name, under their king Albinus; where they increased in power and dominion during the course of two hundred years.

569 The eastern Emperor, Justin II. established a general governor over the territories which that empire still held with great difficulty in Italy, naming him his Exarch; whose residence was fixed at Ravenna, then a large and strong city. Whilst the eastern empire held Ravenna and its territory, which was till 755, the Venetians often politically assisted the Exarchs against the Lombards, and by that means opened a commerce with that empire’s ports in the Levant, which proved greatly conducive to the increase of their wealth and power.

573 At this time flourished Gregory of Tours, siled the Father of French History. He died in the year 593.

581 Many historians think, that, about this time, the pure and proper Latin tongue ceased to be spoken any where in Italy; out of which, and the languages of the several barbarous invaders, the Italian tongue arose. Yet Brerewood, and some others, conjecture, that this alteration of the language of Italy happened somewhat sooner.

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- 586 The Gothic monarchy in Spain is advanced to its highest pitch under King Recaredus, who now possessed all that large country, excepting a small part, which the remains of the old Roman troops held some little time longer. This Gothic kingdom retained also some of the bordering provinces of Gaul; and possessed also a part of Mauritania on the coast of Africa.
- 590 Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, has, from Paul their historian, given us the dress of the Lombards at this time. They wore loose garments like the Anglo Saxons, mostly of linen, having large seams, and being interwoven with various colours. Their shoes were open almost to the toes, and buttoned or laced together. They afterwards began to wear hose, over which, when they rode, they drew a sort of breeches; but this last fashion they borrowed from the Romans.
- 597 This year Austin, with four hundred other monks, arrived in England from the Pope.
- 600 At the close of this century, such of the unhappy Britons as had not withdrawn into the mountainous parts, or into Gaul, but remained dispersed among the Saxons, were generally treated by them as abject slaves; and from hence, according to our historians, arose the condition of villenage in England, which continued, more or less, to the reign of King Henry VII.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

The seventh century was a period full of troubles in several parts of Europe: and although religion, and some sort of learning also, are said, by historians, to have begun to flourish in England, and was from thence propagated into the Netherlands and Germany, yet so dark is the history of this, and some succeeding centuries, and so uncertain their chronology, that Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, is frequently at a loss to tell how long each king reigned in the several nations of Europe; which he has particularly instanced in Theodoric, king of the Franks; Childeric II. and many others in that country, as well as in England, Spain, Italy, &c. So that we must feel our way, as well as we can, until we arrive at somewhat of an enlightened period, or obtain better or more authentic materials for history and chronology. In this century, however, we have the first accounts of the Scavi, who proved so troublesome in succeeding times. We find London, even at this age, to have been a place of some commerce: but the ravages of the enthusiastical Mahometan Saracens did inexpressible damage to the Eastern or Greek empire; for by taking Egypt from it, they are said to have wholly interrupted the trade to East India by the way of the Red Sea, for about six hundred years; although another way was, in the mean time, found out for bringing the East India merchandize into Europe.

- 602 About this time, according to several authors, the Scavi, a Pagan people, from the north east parts of Europe, and from that part of Asia then termed Scythia, removed to, and settled in, that part of Dalmatia and Istria, from them named Slavonia, which name it retains to this day: that fierce people afterwards forced their way into Bohemia, Poland, and the northern parts of Germany, where they remained obstinate Pagans for several centuries, and indeed until most of them were extirpated. Yet they have left their language in both the first-named countries, where it is vernacular to the present period.
- 604 In this year, our venerable Bede calls London "a mart town of many nations, which repaired thither by sea and land."

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614 In this year, Mellitus, bishop of London, with the assistance of Ethelbert, king of Kent, first founded a church and monastery on a spot of ground near London, then called Thorney; which minster or monastery, lying west from London, came afterwards to be named Westminster. Mr. Tyrrell, in the first volume of his General History of England, calls the king who built this monastery Sebert, king of the East Saxons. From such small beginnings did the present magnificent city of Westminster take its rise; with many other considerable cities in various parts of Europe. This monastery was destroyed by the Pagan Danes, but was afterwards re-founded in greater splendour by King Edward the Confessor.

620 Clotaire, king of France, crests the country of Brabant into a dutchy, in favour of Pepin-Landric, son of Carloman.

621 Under Suintilla, whom some call the first Gothic monarch of all Spain, the remains of the old Roman forces were this year totally expelled that country.

622 The year 622 is usually assigned for that of the Hegira, or flight of the impostor Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, whose followers, the Saracens, till now a contemptible people of Arabia, were made instruments in the hand of Providence for punishing and distressing the Eastern empire; from which, by the most rapid conquests, they, in a few years, ravished not only Egypt, but all the African coasts of the Mediterranean, quite west to the streights of Cadiz or Gibraltar; where, notwithstanding some successful attempts of the Eastern emperors for recovering the same, their posterity and religion remain to this day. And from this Hegira, or, as some write it, Hejira, or flight of Mahomet, all Mahometan countries to this day begin their computations, and date their writings and transactions. It is usually said, that the Emperor Heraclius might have easily cruthed that wild sect in its infancy; yet even in the lifetime of this emperor, not only part of Africa, but Syria and Palestine, were seized on by them, with the city of Jerusalem, after a siege of two years, whilst Heraclius busied himself about questions of religion. Incredible were the riches which those poor Saracens found in the cities of Syria: infinite quantities of most valuable jewels, silk, gold and silver stuffs, &c. with which, till now, they were utterly unacquainted. Vast quantities of rich merchandize also were destroyed by fire, to the inexpressible detriment of commerce; and the invaluable library at Alexandria was destroyed, which contained such a numerous collection of books, that the Saracen commander testified his politeness by distributing them to the warm baths of that vast city, which, some say, were four thousand in number, yet it took six months to consume them all. In the reign of Heraclius also the Saracens conquered a great part of Persia, which kingdom had but a few years before struck terror into the whole empire; so inconstant are the greatest things on earth. To say the truth, this calamity was more grievous to Christendom, than even the irruptions already recited of the northern barbarians into the western empire, who, though at first they created grievous disorders and calamities, yet becoming soon after Christians themselves, they rather, in the end, served to strengthen Christianity: but these Mahometans took a furious enthusiastic pleasure in destroying every mark of Christianity and politeness wherever they prevailed.

The first naval exploit of the Saracens westward, did indeed, prove unfortunate to them, for having passed the Streights of Gibraltar, their fleet was totally overthrown and burnt by Bamba, or Wamba, king of Spain.

The Eastern Emperors in this century still held some part of Africa, yet so loosely, that the governors thereof began to set up for themselves: but the Saracen Admiraute, as they call their chief naval commander, from which name, some say, the modern word Admiral is derived

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622

derived or borrowed, vanquished Gregory, one of the imperial governors of Carthage, and quite destroyed that city, and also possessed themselves of Tunis in its neighbourhood, which they have held ever since. Whilst the Caliph's Admirante in Egypt, with seventy ships, invaded and wasted the Isle of Cyprus, in the year 651; and after defeating the Greek emperor Constant II. in person, in a naval engagement, attacked Rhodes, and next the Cyclades, and having ravaged the coasts of Sicily, and taken Syracuse, returned with a vast booty to Alexandria. They even had the boldness, in the year 669, to make an unsuccessful attack on Constantinople itself, on which occasion the inhabitants are said to have invented a sort of fire, that would burn under water, of which we are, at this time, entirely ignorant.

At their taking of Rhodes in 653, it is said, that the famous Colossus, or brazen statue of Apollo, which had been erected one thousand three hundred and sixty years before by Laches, and had long before this been thrown down by an earthquake, was now found lying on the ground; and that the metal of it, sold to a Jew, and weighing seven hundred and twenty thousand pound weight, loaded nine hundred camels. It is said to have been one hundred and twenty-six feet high, and stood astride over the haven of the city of Rhodes, so that the ships sailed in and out between its legs, being justly reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. There are some, however, who, perhaps with reason, think the story of that Colossus to be merely fabulous. It is indeed strange to believe, that the Emperors of Constantinople, who held this famous island so long, should never have removed so great a treasure.

The famous city of Rhodes anciently celebrated for its great commerce, and for its excellent sea laws, mentioned in our first book, by which the Greeks, Romans, and all the ports of the Mediterranean sea, were governed in maritime cases for many ages, as the middle parts of Europe afterwards were by those of Oleron, and the nations on the Baltic sea, &c. by those of Wisbuy. To complete what was done by the Saracens in this seventh century, in the year 668, they reconquered Africa, upon the withdrawing the Imperial troops from thence. By this conquest, the Saracens introduced the Arabian language into Barbary, where it is spoken to this day; although the native Africans, who possess the inland and mountainous parts of the country, still retain the ancient African language. The Saracens altered the names of places wherever their conquests reached, and destroyed all marks of learning every where. Thus, to the admiration and amazement of all mankind, a parcel of poor ignorant Arabians under the first four Caliphs, successors of Mahomet, conquered more countries in about seventy years, than the Roman empire could do in four hundred years space, viz. First, they drove all the Jews and Christians quite out of Arabia. Secondly, like a torrent, they conquered the great and rich provinces of Syria and Mesopotamia. Thirdly, Egypt and all Africa. And fourthly, Persia; besides Palestine, Cyprus, Rhodes, Sicily, &c.; they also besieged Constantinople every summer for eight successive years, and retired at the approach of winter.

We have here thrown together a summary account of the conquests of the Saracens, as far as this century goes, without undertaking to answer for the exactness of the dates of their several expeditions; the Christians of those dismal times having handed down to us very loose and incorrect accounts thereof, and some perhaps not absolutely to be relied on.

We shall only farther observe with Dr. Mascou, &c.—That while the eastern empire was losing its best provinces in Asia and Africa, and was even threatened with the loss of all, the court of Constantinople retained a great external pomp in titles, offices, habits, equipages, &c. while, on the other hand, all embellishments of the mind, as well as all spirit and
courage, •

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courage, arts and sciences vanished ; even on the medals extant of those times, the inventions and representations were as much debased as the metal of which they were made.

With regard to the provinces of the late-western empire at this time, we are to observe, that the barbarous nations, who had taken violent possession of them, had absolutely overturned all the Roman laws and constitutions, and introduced in their stead their own feudal law, which was suited to their martial disposition. Their lands therefore, wherever they prevailed, were held by their grandees, or princes, by feuds or feods, i. e. fiefs, or military tenures ; and by the like tenure or service, did the smaller landed men hold of the greater ones. Such a constitution, being entirely calculated for war and conquests, was by no means suited to peaceful and commercial arts, improvements, and industry ; which, for this reason, amongst others, were so long discouraged, and so slow in their advancement in Europe. The Lombards introduced the feudal constitution into Italy about the year 570, and this occasioned its being promulgated under the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, about the year 1150, in form, and under titles, being then incorporated as a part of the civil law, with regard to military tenures and service. Our learned Selden thinks the Franks brought the feudal law with them into Gaul ; yet it seems at least doubtful whether our Saxon ancestors brought it hither, or whether, in that part of Germany from whence they came, the same military tenures for lands were customary, for they had no written laws ; so that it is thought the feudal law, in its full extent, was not immediately established in our island, nor perhaps a great while, if at all, before the conqueror brought it hither from Normandy. This object, however, we shall then have occasion to treat more at large.

But we must now return to the chronological order of our work.

628 Although the buildings in England, as well as in most other parts of Europe, out of Italy, were very mean in these times, even their churches being generally of timber, yet the venerable Bede relates, that Paulinus, having, in the year 628, converted the governor of Lincoln to the Christian religion, he built a church of stone, of curious workmanship, in that city ; but it seems the bare walls were only standing in Bede's time, the roof being fallen in.

In Ffratce, says Mezerai, all ranks at this time made profession of arms. What gown-men or robe-men meant was not then known. Justice was rendered by people armed. Their battle-ax and buckler hung on a pillar in the middle of the hall of justice ; and the same counts, dukes, and centeniers, who gave judgment in cities and villages, without any pleadings or writings, led them to the wars ; yet they had no pay but an equal share of plunder. Clotaire the Second, the tenth king of France, coined money of the gold which the French found in their own country at this time ; and payments were then made as much with gold and silver uncoined as coined : his coin of gold was much finer than those of the Visigoth kings of Spain.

631 In the histories of Flanders we read, that in the year 631, Clotaire, king of France, bestowed on Lideric, son of Salvart prince of Dijon and Burgundy, the government of Flanders, then covered with wet and marshy grounds in some parts, and in others with great woods and forests, on which account he, and also several of his successors, were stiled foresters of Flanders.

638 At this time both Thuringia and Heflia were subject to the kings of the Franks, i. e. of France, being the country from whence they originally came in the fifth century. And in this very year, Dagobert, king of France, is said to have founded at Erfurd in Thuringia the college of St. Peter on the Hill. And although Saxony was not as yet subdued, yet we find
Pepin,

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Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, founded the abbey of Hirschfeld in Heflia, in the year 745, as also that of Fulda, and of St. Mary's in Erfurd, &c.

- 640 The religious season of Lent is said to have been now first observed by our Saxon ancestors in England.

About this time also Omar, son-in-law to the impostor Mahomet, had conquered from the Greek emperor Heraclius, in about the space of six years, all Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the whole coast of Africa, since named the Barbary Coast.

The same year, that unhappy Greek empire, under Constans II. who was just come to the throne, was terribly harassed by different enemies. The Arabians, or Saracens, with a fleet of one thousand seven hundred vessels, ravished Cyprus from it, whilst the Goths from the Euxine sea, the probable progenitors of the modern Cossacks, invaded it with two thousand sail, but they were both at length overcome.

- 641 In this year, according to Speed, Ercombert, king of Kent, is said to have divided that country into parishes by Honorius, the archbishop, for which he refers to the records of Christ Church in Canterbury.

- 665 The Greek emperor Constans II. went this year to Rome, and stripped it of all the valuable rarities which former pillagers had left, and sent them to Constantinople. He also attempted to dethrone Grimbald, king of Lombardy, and to drive the Lombards out of Italy. But Grimbald's son totally defeated the army of Constans, and seized on several cities of the Exarchate; so feeble were the efforts of the Greek empire, even in those early days.

- 674 Glass makers were this year brought from France into England, on building the new abbey of Weremouth; the church of which was built of stone, by French masons, after the Roman manner. "Abbot Benedict," says the venerable Bede, "also brought over artificers, skilled in the making of glass, which till then had been unknown in Britain, wherewith he glazed the windows of that church and monastery, and thereby taught the English the art of glass making, which has proved so useful in making of lamps for churches, and other vessels for divers uses."

- 691 Pepin, mayor of the palace of France, takes the city of Utrecht from Radbold, Duke of Frisia, which country of Frisia was then of a much larger extent than the province so named in our days.

- 694 The kingdom of Kent must have been very wealthy at this time, according to Tyrrel's General History of England, in which he quotes the Saxon chronicle, as follows: that the Kentishmen having this year leagued with Ina, king of Wesssex, they, on account of his alliance and friendship, gave him thirty thousand pounds of silver, Withrid being their king. Now, if the Anglo Saxon pound of silver was, so far back, as is generally conjectured, equal to the Anglo Norman pound, *i. e.* thrice as much silver as our nominal money pound, then they paid ninety thousand pounds of our money for his friendship, which, in those poor times, before there was any thing like commerce, was a very great sum for so small a kingdom.

- 697 The Frisians were still Pagans at the close of this century: for we find, from venerable Bede, that Willebrode, an Englishman, at this time crossed the sea into Frisia, being sent thither by Pepin for their conversion, who gave him the castle of Utrecht for his episcopal seat, the Pope having appointed him Bishop of Frisia, and as he carried with him twelve assistants, an early correspondence was thereby opened between England and the Netherlands, which in time brought on a mutual commerce.

About this time, our venerable Bede, as he is always stiled by authors, both foreign and domestic, wrote his Church History of Britain. He is said to have expounded almost all the Bible and to have translated the New Testament and Psalms into the Anglo Saxon tongue. He died in the year 734. His works are published in most parts of Europe, he being esteemed an excellent author, for the dark times in which he lived. Gildas, Gregory of Tours, and the venerable Bede, says the Abbot Vertot, are the only sure guides in the dark paths of those early times.

700 The city of Cracow in Poland is said to have been founded in this year, by Cracus, who had been created Duke of Poland. This city, Guefna, and Pofnania, being the most ancient of any in that country.

We shall close the seventh century with remarking, as already hinted, that by the Saracens becoming masters of Egypt, and of its great mercantile capital Alexandria, the commerce to India, up the Nile, and thence by the Red Sea, which the Roman emperor Augustus, and his successors, had so much cultivated, and which was continued by the Greek empire till this period, was hereby totally interrupted, and remained utterly suspended for some centuries: yet the people of Greece and Italy, so long accustomed to the spices, drugs, &c. of India, soon found means to obtain them by land carriage in caravans, not only by the way of Syrian Tripoli, Aleppo, and Bagdat, after they had been brought up the Tigris and the Euphrates from the Persian Gulph; but likewise by the same course from Trebifond, or the Black Sea: the former of the two, however, was most generally practised, and has continued even to our own days. This trade, in succeeding times, gave life and riches to the free cities of Italy, especially to Venice, and, in an inferior degree, to Genoa, Florence, and Pisa.

EIGHTH CENTURY. ITS CHARACTER.

This eighth century, amidst many violences, and sundry great revolutions and changes in most parts of Europe, affords, nevertheless, a dawn of the revival of commerce and arts. The propagation of Christianity in Germany, towards the close of it, not only opened a communication between that extensive country and the other more civilized ones, but likewise prepared the way for introducing Christianity into Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Poland, so that a regular intercourse for commerce was established with countries, till then almost as much unknown to the christian parts of Europe, as the most interior regions of Africa are at present. A melancholy revolution, indeed, happened to the Christian Goths of Spain, by having their monarchy totally subverted by the Moors of Barbary; a revolution which, in its consequences, greatly retarded commerce, as well as christianity, in that noble country, for several succeeding centuries. Neither did the cruel, and almost continual, ravages of the Norwegians and Danes, under the more general name of Normans, permit the settlement of peace and tranquillity, without which commerce will ever languish, in several provinces of the late western empire. The new enthusiastic sect of the Mahometan Saracens in the East carried their conquests and ravages to an unaccountable height against the declining Greek empire, whilst a new western empire is formed out of the once barbarous nation of the Franks, who, under their great leader Charlemagne, unhappily lay the foundations of ecclesiastical tyranny in Europe, so obstructive of freedom and commerce. Yet we shall discover, even in this century, certain promising symptoms of a more settled state of things, springing up in various parts of our quarter of the globe. We find London to be a place of some commerce, and that there

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there were many new cities growing up in Germany, hereafter to make a great figure in the commercial world.

- 702 In the beginning of this century, Eugenius VII. king of Scotland, is said to have begun a practice, afterward constantly continued in both the Britannic nations, of causing the acts and ordinances of his predecessors and of his own time to be recorded in monasteries: and although the monks were, for many reasons, by no means the most proper historiographers, yet such records, unfaithful in many respects as they are, were certainly better than to have had none at all; which, considering the gross ignorance of the laity, would probably have been the case, had not those ecclesiastics undertaken it.
- 703 The Venetians discard their tribunes, and elect Paoluccio their first doge, duke, or prince, who proved instrumental in aggrandizing their city, by building castles or forts in their lagunas, or marshes, and by erecting docks for shipping, of which he constantly kept up a stated number for the public service.
- 709 Luxury, where there is any thing like wealth, will certainly shew itself more or less in all ages. Mr. Tyrrell, in his General History of England, gives an instance of it in these rude times; when, in the year 709, Wilfred, a Northumbrian bishop, a lofty and ambitious man, was the first English Prelate who had made use of silver vessels or plate.
- 713 The Goths of Spain, being much degenerated from their pristine virtue and valour, their empire there began to decline about the beginning of this century: but their ruin was accelerated by the wickedness of their king Roderick; for he having, in the year 712, ravished the daughter of Count Julian, his governor of the province of Ceuta on the Barbary shore, that count, in revenge, induced the Moors, or Saracens, his neighbours in Barbary, first to undertake the expulsion of the Goths, whom we may now call Spaniards, out of Africa, and next, under Vitus, their Caliph, or, as they call him in Barbary, Miramomolin, to attack Roderick in Spain itself, who, notwithstanding he brought an hundred thousand men into the field, was totally routed, and himself slain, in the year 713. In consequence of this victory the Moors, for so we now call them instead of Saracens, in three years time were enabled to conquer all the cities and provinces in Spain, excepting only the mountainous parts of Asturias and Biscay, where the Christians fled for shelter, the Moors not thinking it worth their while to follow them. Yet, from those inaccessible places they, in time, gradually encroached on their conquerors so far, that, in little more than seven hundred years, they drove the Moors entirely out of Spain. The Moors were, in the beginning, so prosperous and elate, that they drove the Spanish Goths out of Languedoc, in France, then called Septimania, yet they were soon afterwards driven thence, with almost incredible slaughter, by Charles Martel, mayor of the palace of France. The Christians of Spain might, without doubt, have expelled the Moors much sooner, had they kept all their conquests united under one king, instead of erecting several separate kingdoms out of them, for the grandeur of their younger sons. On the other hand, it must be allowed, that the Moors fell into the very same error; yet as the Christian kingdom of Castile was growing great, by gradually uniting other provinces to it, the Christians conquered one Moorish kingdom after another; those Moorish kingdoms frequently engaging in hostilities with each other, and often times allying with their Christian neighbouring princes for that end; some of the Christian princes also entered into alliance with Moorish ones, whose children they sometimes intermarried. We have said the more, on this famous revolution, that the grounds of our saying so little hereafter con-

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cerning Spanish commercial history, for several succeeding centuries, may the more plainly appear. For as the Moors and Christians were almost continually at war against each other, there was neither leisure nor inclination on either side for the prosecution of commerce to any considerable degree, until the one had entirely conquered the other.

The French historians speak much of the great number of religious houses already erected in this century, and about this time, in France, prompted by the spirit then prevailing for a monastic life; which induced great numbers of monks to go thither from England, Scotland, and Ireland. People of this cast went wandering from one country to another, to seek out forests and mountains, which, says Mezerai, were the more quickly peopled, according as they were more solitary and desert. "So that," he adds, "those crowds of penitents became beneficial to France; for the frequent incursions of the Barbarians having laid it waste and desolate, it was still in many parts over-run with thickets and woods, and, in the lower lands, overflowed and marshy. In these places, therefore, those good monks laboured with their own hands, to clear, drain, plant, and build, not so much for themselves, living as they did, with great frugality, as for maintaining the poor; so that, of barren, woody, and overflowed deserts, that were frightful to look upon, they made fertile and delightful spots; not to mention, that all which remains of the history of those ages has been preserved also by them, and handed down to us." The same remark, which Mezerai has made, relating to France, may with equal propriety be applied to England and Scotland, where, as we have already hinted, the great convents were almost the only repositories of our history for many centuries; there having been in each of those greater religious societies, one of their number termed the Historian, who kept a record of what was deemed the most material public occurrences, though, in general, with very little exactness, and less impartiality, where any thing relating to the church, and more especially to the monasteries of their order, interfered.

Much the same may be said of the other Christian countries of Europe in those dark times, in which were first broached, recorded, and handed down, the wild and romantic accounts of pretended miracles and nonsensical exploits of their feigned saints; whilst not only every thing relating to commerce and arts was omitted to be recorded, which indeed is the less to be wondered at, as there was then so little of either in the western world, but likewise the genuine springs of state matters and sound policy were almost totally neglected for those monkish fooleries and falsehoods.

- 717 The Christians of Spain having fled from their Moorish conquerors, as before observed, into the mountains of Asturias and Biscay, they, in this year, under Pelagius, of the royal line of the Goths, erect a small monarchy there, wherein, says Monsr. Le Clerc, in his Compendium of Universal History, he was not a little favoured by the great slaughter which Charles Martel made of the Saracens in these times—and from thence they gradually spread to Leon, Castile, &c. until they, at length, utterly expelled the Moors in the fifteenth century.

About this time, we first find any mention made of merchants, in certain parts, trading into inland countries, though probably much like our modern pedlars.

The same year Solyman, the Mahometan Caliph, besieges Constantinople in vain, with three thousand ships, and three hundred thousand men.

- 719 In the laws of Ina, king of Wessex, which were made between the years 712 and 727, it is said, according to Bishop Fleetwood in his Chronicon Preciosum, that "an ewe, with her
" lamb,

M. "lamb, was worth one shilling, till fourteen nights after Easter;" after which time, probably, it became cheaper. Till we approach the Norman conquest, we are somewhat in the dark as to the weight and value of our Saxon coins; therefore, we shall only observe on this article, that if their money was the same with that of the Anglo Normans, as many think, this is no extraordinary instance of the cheapness of provisions so far back.

According to Dr. Mascou's history of the ancient Germans, the kings of the Franks, until the beginning of this eighth century, had not as yet reduced the two noble provinces of Swabia and Bavaria, which acquisition was owing to the good conduct of Charles Martel. His son Pepin made the Frisians tributary; and the venerable Bede says, that the dominion of the Franks, in his time, extended in the Netherlands beyond the Rhine.

o The Moors of Spain invade Gaul, or France, and take Narbonne, but are driven from the siege of Toulouse back into Spain.

i About this time, some of the Italian cities begin to assume Independence, and choose themselves Dukes, &c.

2 About this time also, Winifred, an English Monk, to whom for his goodness they afterwards gave the name of Boniface, began to preach Christianity in Thuringia, &c. in the inner parts of Germany, with good success; whereupon Pope Gregory sent for him, and consecrated him a Bishop, *in partibus infidelium*. He had supplies of money, says Mascou, from the Monks of England; but books were very scarce. He says there are letters still extant between him and several persons, in one of which he desires a legible copy of the Prophets to be sent to him, and some of Bede's writings to make use of in his sermons. Those letters, says Mascou, shew both the poverty and simplicity of those times.—The Abbot Guthert desires he would send him some glasses, there being no such thing made in England.—Boniface sends to Archbishop Egbert a small vessel of wine, wherewith to make him and his brethren merry.—In another place, Mascou relates, that Boniface, being at variance with the Bishop of Saltzburg, who was a native of Ireland, got him condemned as a heretic, by Pope Zachary for teaching that the world was round, and that there were Antipodes. This, however, was no more than what Lactantius, St. Jerom, and St. Austin, though fathers of the church, had declared to be heresy long before. St. Austin, in his book *De Civitate Dei*, says, "Their fable of the Antipodes, *i. e.* men living on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when he sets to us, having their feet opposite to ours, is a thing utterly incredible, and not to be believed." Yet, it seems, our venerable Bede, the most learned of this age, admitted and taught that the earth was round. It appears, however, that Boniface took great pains to root out the barbarous and Pagan customs of the Germans, who at this time fed on raw bacon, and on horses flesh, and, in some parts, practised human sacrifices. He founded the Abbey of Fulda, and had all the countries of Germany, which he had converted, under his jurisdiction, having, in his old age, in the year 745, been constituted Archbishop of Mentz; but was martyred by the Pagan Frisians in 755. (Adam's *Bremenensis Historia Ecclesiastica à Lindembrogio edita: Hamburgi, 1706, in folio, Lib. i. p. 3.*) Brand's History of the Reformation, &c. in the Low Countries, Vol. I. says, he was also Archbishop of the Frisians, or Utrecht, in the room of Willebrood, who was sent thither from England in the year 690, for their conversion: the same author relates that Boniface was massacred at Dokkum, in 752.

It was either in this, or the preceding year, that the Greek Emperor Leo-Isaurius vanquished the Saracen fleet, according to Morisotus, Lib. ii. Cap. 3. by a new artifice, viz. "by

"looking-

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“ looking glasses placed against the sun, whose reflected rays, contracted into one point, set fire to the Saracen fleet, and made them retire from before Constantinople.” There is another odd story of fire under water, which the historians of the Greek empire relate, in the preceding century, viz. anno 673—which was probably forged on the same romantic anvil: so dark and uncertain are the accounts of those times, and of the strength of the Saracen fleets and armies, that there can be no safe reliance on them.

Luitprand, king of the Lombards, taking advantage of the difference between the Greek Emperor Leo-Isaurius and Pope Gregory II. concerning the worshipping of images, which that Emperor zealously opposed, invades the Exarchate, and other parts of Italy, still possessed by the eastern empire, and even took the then rich and potent city of Ravenna, the residence of the imperial Exarch; but this Pope, growing jealous of the increasing power of the Lombards in Italy, applied to Orfus, Duke of Venice, who was no less jealous of the Lombards, and favoured the eastern empire: when the Venetians, though not yet possessed of any part of the continent, beginning, even so early, to make a considerable figure, arising from their commerce to the ports of the Levant, fitted out a considerable fleet, and, joining the troops of the Exarch, they retook Ravenna, and restored it to the eastern empire.

725 About this time, the Moors of Spain invade France with an army of four hundred thousand men, if authors of that time are to be credited, and become masters of Bourdeaux, Poitiers, &c. But in the succeeding year, Charles Martel, by the assistance of the German and Lombards, at the battle near Tours, intirely cleared that country of them, with the slaughter of almost their whole army. There are some, however, who place this great occurrence in 730.

726 The eastern Emperor, Leo-Isaurius, continuing strenuously to oppose the use, as well as the worship of images, the people of Constantinople mutiny thereupon; and Pope Gregory II. fomenting a similar insurrection in Italy, Leo is provoked to confiscate the Pope's patrimony in Calabria and Sicily. Gregory hereupon applies to Charles Martel, which gives the French a pretext, for the first time, of concerning themselves in the affairs of Italy. Luitprand, king of Lombardy, sides with the Greek Emperor against the Pope, and on the other hand the French come to the assistance of the latter. Till this period, the people of the city of Rome acknowledged the superior dominion of the eastern Emperors; but being incensed against Leo for opposing image-worship, they shake off their subjection to the empire.

727 Ina, king of Wessex, begins to pay the tax of Peter-pence to the Pope, for the support of a Saxon college at Rome.

728 Till this year we read of no naval exploits of the Franks, or French nation, when Charles Martel overcame the Frisians at sea, and wasted their country.

Ale and Alehouses, we find, are of very great antiquity in England; as the laws of Ina, king of Wessex, who died in this year, make mention of them.

728 London was at this time, a city of considerable trade and commerce, according to the authentic testimony of our venerable Bede, who wrote his Church History about this period, and died in the year 734. He terms that city, *Multorum Emporium Populorum*—an Emporium, or Mart of many Nations.

730 The Saracens, or Moors of Spain, having again invaded the South of France in prodigious numbers, were, in this year, defeated by Charles Martel, when three hundred thousand Moors and upwards were slain, if history speaks true, and the rest expelled France; yet probably

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bably this invasion may be the same with that above mentioned under the year 725; so uncertain is the history of this dark age.

Even in the former part of this century, monasteries were become numerous in the best and most wealthy parts of Christendom. Our Saxon ancestors in England, since their conversion to Christianity, were become such zealous encouragers of the monastic life, that the venerable Bede himself began to apprehend the danger of their increasing too fast, unless very well regulated. Several of our Saxon kings, prompted by this kind of zeal, had retired into those houses, and ended their days in the practice of devotion: yet certainly their religion would have been full as acceptable to Heaven, and much more serviceable to their subjects, had it been rather exercised on their throne than in a cloister.

740 Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace of France, is said, at this period, to have vanquished and rendered tributary, a part of the then extensive Pagan Saxon country in Germany, inhabited by a fierce and numerous people.

Great and terrible to Christendom was the power of the Saracens about this time, when their great Miramolin, or Emperor Iscan died. Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, Vol. II. Part III. Chap. ii. P. 510, reckons up all the provinces of the Mahometan dominions, for which he quotes the History of those Arabians, by Ximenius, Archbishop of Toledo.

"1. In Asia, they then had Iconia, Lystra, Alapia, Chaldea, Assyria, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Upper and Lower Phenicia, Judea, and Arabia.

"2. In Africa, they had Egypt, Ethiopia, and Barbary.

"3. In Europe, they had Spain; and were once possessed of Sicily, Calabria, and part of Apulia, in the modern kingdom of Naples; in France they had possessed for a while Gallia Gothica, or Narbonensis, *i. e.* Languedoc and Gascony, &c. till they were so terribly slaughtered by Charles Martel."

Their power continued very great through all this century, although their history is but dark and confused, because Christian writers, who were then also but few, have given us little more of it than what concerned and affected the Christian affairs. Dr. Maccou observes it to have been one of the greatest indications of their power, to have been able to subvert the Persian empire, which till then had been so formidable to that of Constantinople.

In this and the succeeding century, they wasted Corsica and Sardinia; and such was their naval power, or the neglect of that of the Christians, that they bring three hundred ships from Asia, and lay siege to Constantinople for two years together, though without success. They were now so far sovereigns on the Mediterranean sea, that neither the Greek Emperors, nor the Kings of France, were able to encounter their naval power, which struck terror every where in those seas. In short, Professor Ockley, in his history of that people, observes, that they had now conquered and reigned from India in the East to Spain in the West, and all this within the space of little more than one hundred years, reckoning, according to Mr. Ockley's computation of the Hegira, which he makes to have happened in 620 of the Christian era; but, according to Mr. Petis de la Croix, in his History of Tamerlane, in the year 598; and, according to his Father's History of Ghenghiscan, in 603; though it is more generally thought to have taken place in 622, as we have remarked under that year: for our Christian historians are by no means agreed on the exact year, although the widest difference amongst them all does not quite amount to thirty years. The Grand Caliph, or Emperor of the Saracens, swayed the sceptre at Bagdat about six hundred years, viz. to the year of Christ 1256, when

Hulacou

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Ilulacou Kan, the Tartar, who was grandson of Ghenghiscan the Great, slew Mustafem Billah, the last of the Abasside Caliphs, and overturned the caliphate of Bagdat: yet before it was thus sunk, it had gradually declined in its power; for about the year of our Lord 868, Achmet Ben Tofen ravished Syria and Egypt from him of Bagdat, and assumed the title of Caliph of Egypt, and the Emirs and Lieutenants in Africa also revolted, and assumed the name of Caliph. The Moors, in Spain also, grown potent, and by reason of their great distance from Bagdat, shook off their dependence, although they for some time owned him of Bagdat for the Chief of the Faithful. Though all the foregoing revolutions did not take place exactly in this century, yet we judged it requisite to throw them together here, for elucidating so much of their general history as seemed necessary to be known.

742 The Greek Emperor, Constantine Copronymus, renews his Father Leo's edict against the worship of images, and likewise issues his prohibition against the Invocation of Saints. This, being contrary to the sentiments of the Pope and the Italians, gives a pretext to Charles Martel to march again with an army into Italy, where the Greek Emperors had still some authority and dominions, in order to distress Constantine.

752 Neither in the reign of Pepin, who came to the crown of France in 752, nor till after the accession of Charlemagne in the year 768, had that kingdom been famous for any permanent maritime greatness; this is confessed by Morisotus himself, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, though 768 in other respects he is lavish enough in his country's praise. "Under the Merovingian line" says this author, "there were no maritime wars at all, wherefore I have made little or no mention of the kings from Pharamond to Pepin. For although the office of Admiral be barely mentioned under Childebert I. who died in the year 558, yet we find no sea-fights, no expeditions to any islands or coasts, excepting only one already mentioned under Charles Martel, Pepin's father, who vanquished the Frisians at sea in 728, and wasted or burnt the isles of Amistrach and Austrach—*Amistrachum & Austrachum insulas incendit.*" "But," he adds also, "where those isles lie, I am not able to tell." Charlemagne, a sage and enterprising Prince, saw the necessity of a maritime force, as well for preserving as for extending his empire. In consequence thereof, he made several new havens, and built many new ships, with which Burchard, his Master of the Horse, or Constable, *Comes Stabuli*, vanquished the Saracens before Genoa, who then infested Sardinia and Corsica, and took thirteen of their ships.

752 In consequence of Pope Gregory II. having, some years before, excommunicated the imperial Exarch of Ravenna, Aistulphus, king of Lombardy, in this year, besieged and took Ravenna, and all the rest of the Exarchate; which, beside that noble city, comprehended several other cities, and a considerable territory; whereby an end was put to that Exarchate, after it had lasted one hundred and eighty-three years. The next year, 753, Aistulphus, thus strengthened, breaks with Pope Stephen II. and in virtue of his late conquest, claims the city and dukedom of Rome, as being a part of the Exarchate, and besieges that city. The Pope in vain demands succour of the Greek Emperor, Constantine Copronymus, then at war with both the Saracens and Bulgarians; but on his application to Pepin, king of France, that Prince marched, in 754, into Lombardy, and obliged Aistulphus to give up the Exarchate, &c. to the Pope: yet Aistulphus failing in this agreement, and again besieging Rome, Pepin returns, in 756, besieges him in Pavia, his capital city, and forces him to put the Pope into actual possession of those territories: so that the Pope, now become a temporal prince, withdraws his allegiance from the Greek empire; which, notwithstanding this great loss, had still

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^{D.} a few cities, &c. remaining in the south east part of Italy, as well as all Sicily, till some time after this period, when the Saracens invaded and possessed themselves of it.

758 Versteegan, in his *Restitution of decayed Intelligence*, quarto, p. 101, 1628, fixes on the year 758, as that wherein the Danes and Goths first fortified the isles of Zealand, on the coast of the Netherlands, by driving in piles, and making banks at low water mark. "They were," says he, "so provident, as first to make certain mounts, still to be seen in the isle of Walcheren in various places, whither they might retire at high-water, and also repair to save themselves if the sea should at any time happen to break in upon them." Yet, some of the Netherland historians make these isles to be inhabited so far back as the time of Julius Cæsar; though probably only by a few fishermen. On the other hand, Louis Guicciardini quotes the old Zealand historians as follows: "That it was not till the year 938, that the violence of the sea formed all those isles which now compose the Province of Zealand; being before that time, firm, though low land, joined to Flanders: yet they were not all formed at once, nor in the shape we now see them; for very great alterations have happened, and the inhabitants have at different times recovered quantities of land, and fenced the same in from the sea." (*Descrip. des Pays bas. Antwerp 1582. fol. second edit.*) So dark, uncertain, and various are the accounts of those times of ignorance.

Versteegan is also of opinion, that not only Holland and Zealand, but the greatest part of Flanders and Brabant, were originally overflowed by the sea, as lying so low and even, that, by cutting off the downs or sandhills, they might be again easily overflowed. He quotes an eminent author, who asserts, that the city of Tongres, in the Bishoprick of Liege, though now near one hundred miles from the sea, was once a sea port; alledging, amongst other reasons, the great iron rings to which ships were fastened, remaining here in his time; beside innumerable quantities of sea shells, in digging a few feet, found in strata, as in the sea; with various other reasons for proving those parts to have been sea in ancient times. And he thinks, with some others, that the isthmus of land which he supposes once joined Britain to France, between Dover and Calais, was, since the general deluge, broke through by an inundation of the German sea, till then only a vast bay, occasioned, as he conjectures, by an earthquake, or some other extraordinary means; which thereby finding a new course into what we call the Channel, all those flat parts of Flanders, Brabant, &c. were deserted by the sea, and became dry, though at first marshy land. See his third and fourth chapters for some other reasons for this conjecture, and also what Sir William Temple has said on this subject, in his account of the United Netherlands*.

About this time those eminent musical instruments called Organs, were first brought into Italy and France, and thence into other parts of Europe, from the Eastern or Greek empire, where they were first invented, and applied to religious devotion in churches, in singing the praises of Almighty God.

760 The famous city of Bruges in Flanders, according to Louis Guicciardini's *Description of the Netherlands*, second edition, in folio, anno 1581, in French, had its foundation first laid in the year 760. It took its name from a bridge called Brugstock near it, between Oudembourg and Rodembourg, the last place is now named Ardembourg, which were two ma-

* This curious subject has been considered in a very full, ingenious, and able manner, by the learned and excellent Abbe Mann, an English Clergyman, of the Roman Catholic Church, resident at Brussels. Mr. Mann's Treatise is to be found in the *Memoirs of the Imperial and Royal Academy of that City*.

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ritime towns, said to have been of some considerable commerce in this country, till ruined by the Danes or Normans. Out of the ruins of Oudembourg was built the original town or castle of Bruges, the remains, or form of which, says Guicciardini, is still to be seen at this day. It is evident, therefore, though contrary to the opinion of some, that Flanders was very early an inhabitable, and even a trading country; and that our truly judicious Sir William Temple's account of those Low Countries, as they were in old times, is most to be relied on.

768 The ever famous Charles the Great, called in the Frankish or French language of that time, Charlemagne, pronounced and often written Charlemain, succeeds his Father, Pepin, to the crown of France.

770 Desiderius, the last king of Lombardy, being at variance with Pope Stephen III. Charlemagne, an artful and ambitious Prince, marches into Italy to the Pope's aid, and takes Pavia, the capital of Lombardy, with Desiderius, his Queen, and children, whom he sent into France, where they were never more heard of. Thus an end was put to the Lombardic kingdom, after it had lasted 206 years.

772 Charlemagne having, two years before, conquered Lombardy, gets himself, in this year, crowned King of that fine country.

773 He is entertained at Rome in the most splendid manner, by Pope Adrian I. who, for his own ends, heaped all possible honours and privileges on this aspiring Prince, as King of Lombardy. Yet in the very next year, on Charlemagne's return into France, several of the Dukes of Lombardy, as those of Spoleto, Friuli, Benevento, &c. shook off the yoke, and declared themselves independent.

It was about this time that Charlemagne, who had already, by succession, a great part of Germany, seems to have seriously meditated the conquest of Saxony, which then, according to most authors, comprehended the greatest part of old Germany, and extended from the Rhine to the Elbe. It had not, indeed, in those times, any rich mines, nor any cities or walled towns in it, as David Peiferus, in his *Origines Lipsienses*, 8vo. Francofurti, anno 1700, lib. 1. page 3. expressly affirms, from authors who wrote near those times, in the following words, viz. “*Anté Carolum magnum, in Germania vetéri quam ut supra demonstratum est Danubio, Rheno, Oceano, Vistula, et Carpathiis montibus, conclusam finitamque fuisse, Nullas extitisse Urbes; Andreas Althamerus autor est. Postea, Oppida fuerunt erudita, quæ vallis atque portis tantum communirentur idque Helmodus Presbyter, non obsecrè innuit, &c.*” *i. e.* “There were no fortified cities in ancient Germany, the bounds of which he here describes to be between the Danube, Rhine, Ocean, Vistula, and the Carpathian mountains, till Charlemagne's time; and even afterwards they had only gates, and a surrounding wall or ditch, as Helmodus a Priest, who wrote in the twelfth century, plainly enough intimates, as well as Andreas Althamerus.” This is confirmed by the learned Lambeckius, librarian to the Emperor Leopold, and secretary of the city of Hamburg, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*. (Hamburg 1706, p. 26. in folio.) His words are, “*Anté Carolum magnum, nullum Oppidum fuit in Germania.*” By which word, Oppidum, is here meant a fortified town or city. For that there were open towns and burghs in Germany prior to the time of Charlemagne, will not admit of the least doubt.

The Royal Author of the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, published in French, and in English in 1751, makes the city of Brandenburg to have been built in the year of the world 3588, or four hundred and sixteen years before the Incarnation of our Saviour, by Bren-

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nus, who sacked Rome; and that from him it took its name; for which he quotes the *Annals of Brandenburg*, printed in 1595. But he does not clearly tell us how the Brandenburgers came to know their own great antiquity without the use of letters, which it does not appear they had, till taught by Charlemagne, who first caused some of their old poems or ballads, which they then only sung by heart, containing their ancient exploits, to be committed to writing, in order the better to allure them to learn letters. Though it is probable the Franks, who lived nearer to the Roman empire, might have had the use of letters from thence, even before the final overthrow of that empire. For their old runic letters are mentioned by Venantius in the sixth century, as being partly Roman and partly Greek, though rude characters; but not of so great antiquity as some German writers would represent them. Yet he owns "that there was not the least vestige of Christianity to be found in Brandenburg till Charlemagne's time, who granted them peace on their consenting to embrace Christianity, and to be baptized in his camp near Magdeburg. Though as soon as his formidable army removed from them, they all returned again to their old idolatry." "In ancient times," says Dr. Strauchius in his *Breviarium Chronologicum*, "Germany, like most other countries of Europe, was a composition of several independent democracies, till Charlemagne reduced the whole under his jurisdiction."

The most potent of all Saxon princes at this time was Witikind, who, however, had no better capital for his residence than the village of Erelbourg, which was neither walled nor otherwise fortified. In this place was the principal Pagan Temple of the Saxons, which Charlemagne destroyed. It is said, that the present cathedral church of Minden was Witikind's palace.

The Saxons frequently revolted when Charlemagne was absent; so that it cost him, near thirty years, with various expeditions, and much trouble and bloodshed, before he entirely reduced those people; and, last of all, the fierce nations on the north side of the Elbe; who, according to the Danish historians, were succoured by a Danish land army. The Danes also sent out a fleet of 300 ships against Charlemagne's dominions. This last article serves partly to account for the ravages of the Danes or Normans, as they are promiscuously called in those times, on the coasts of the Netherlands and of France about this period, under a pretence, probably, of being allies of the Saxons, which might serve as an excuse for their terrible devastations. So stoutly did the Saxons maintain their independence, that Witikind's last battle with Charlemagne, in the year 784, lasted three days. But we shall enlarge more on the conquest of Saxony, and of its great consequence, in our account of the next century.

- 782 Some authors say, that by an inscription found on a stone table in China, in 1625, dated in the year of our Lord 782, in both the Chinese and the Syriac languages, there is not only a summary of the Christian religion, but an account of its progress in China; whereby it appeared, "That Christianity was first preached in that country in the year of our Lord 636," if Monsieur Renaudot's ancient *Accounts of India and China* by two Mahometans who travelled thither in the Ninth Century, is to be credited; "and that, in a great revolution which happened in China in 877, vast numbers of Christians, as well as of Jews, Mahometans, and Persians, were put to the sword, when the city of Canfu was sacked. Yet it is also said, that Christian Missionaries continued to be sent over-land from Syria into China, till towards the close of the tenth century; after which we hear nothing further of them:—and when, in the year 1517, the Portuguese arrived first in China, they found not the least vestige of Christianity there. Yet they afterwards discovered the inscription already mentioned,

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“ and also several crosses dug out of the earth.” The author of the above quoted book even doubts, with our Sir John Chardin, “ whether the Chinese themselves knew the mariner’s compass before it came to their knowledge from the Arabians, who had it from the Europeans, and who communicated it to India and China long before the Portuguese sailed thither. For, whatever ill informed authors may alledge, there is not an original word, either in Arabic, Turkish, or Persian, which can properly signify either the Astrolabe or the Compass. They commonly call the *Compass*, *Bossola*, which is the Italian name for it. This shews that the thing signified, is foreign to them as well as the word.—The Arabians,” continues our author, “ undoubtedly traded to India and China by the Red Sea, as well as by Bassora in the Persian Gulph, many ages ago. But it is plain they only knew the maritime coasts of China, otherwise we should have heard of the Great wall of China, long before the accounts we have of it from the eastern geographers, the oldest of whom lived but at the distance of between three and four hundred years from the present time.”—He also observes, “ That between the two empires of India and China, there has been a commercial intercourse by sea, as well as over land, by the way of Cabul, &c.”

We must here remark, that although Sir John Chardin doubts of the Chinese being the original inventors of the mariner’s compass, yet he allows them the knowledge of printing, and of fire-artillery before we knew of either.

It may here also be observed, what historians tell us concerning the Poles, who, indeed, came generally very late into modern improvements, viz. that, till about the latter part of this century, they had not the knowledge of shoeing their horses, until they were taught by Lescus.

784 It was in the year 784, according to some of the Scottish writers, that Salvathius, king of Scotland, entered into the first league with France. Yet, according to others, it was their King Achaius who, in 788, or 789, or 792, made the first league with France; Achaius having, it seems, assisted Charlemagne in Spain against the Saracens, and in Germany against the Saxons. This league, which was so often renewed, and so long continued between those two nations, was much more to the advantage of France than of Scotland. Achaius also, according to the Scottish writers, sent to Charlemagne, Claudius Clement, and John de Mailros, and not Alcuin, as some erroneously have said, two learned men for that age, who laid the foundation of the University of Paris. But the Saxon writers make Offa, king of Mercia, to send Alcuin. It is, indeed, more probable that Offa, king of Mercia, should send Alcuin, who was an Anglo-Saxon, to Charlemagne, than that Achaius did it. Yet it may be true that the Scottish King sent other learned men thither, and furnished Charlemagne with Scotch troops, commanded by his brother, to assist him in his wars in Saxony and Lombardy, and against the Moors of Spain, and that he might send to him also certain religious persons, who were instrumental in propagating Christianity in some parts not as yet converted to that religion. But the probable account of this Alcuin is, that Charlemagne hearing of his reputation, he being the greatest man of this obscure age, obtained permission of Offa that he should be sent to him; with whom he remained the rest of his days. He wrote of divinity, history, and the liberal arts, and proved the means of Charlemagne’s founding the Universities of Paris, Tours, Toulouse, &c. His works were printed in folio at Paris in the year 1017; and his character was much to the credit of our Saxon ancestors, being a divine, historian, orator, philosopher, poet, and mathematician. Charlemagne having entirely reduced Wilt-kind, and his territories to obedience, carried him to France, and after he was baptized, be-
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flowed on him the country of Angria in Westphalia, with the title of a dukedom : from which prince Witikind, Hugh Capet, who was crowned king of France in the year 987, was descended.

In the same year, 785, though others make in in 794, Charlemagne transplanted ten thousand of the principal families of Saxony into Brabant and Flanders, and others of them into Switzerland.

789 It was about this time that the hitherto barbarous and pagan Danes, first invaded and even ravaged England : and they continued their invasions, more or less, from the beginning of the reign of Egbert, king of Wessex, until the Norman conquest ; in which long space of time, they seldom left us any considerable respite from invasions and depredations. They were not properly Danes alone, but a mixture of various northern people, joined at first together merely for the sake of plunder : but when those nations were converted to Christianity, towards the beginning of the eleventh century, they adopted a less barbarous way of making war, and by degrees became more civilized.

790 It was in this year, according to Helvicus, that Charlemagne gave the names, they now have, all over Christendom, to the twelve months of the year, and also to the winds ; *i. e.* only to the four cardinal points and to the four next important ones, *viz.* North East, North West, South East, South West. But the invention of the other twenty-four points of the winds, now called the compass, are of a much later date ; being said to have been invented by those of Bruges in Flanders, who in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, were great maritime traders ; it being observable, that all Christendom has adopted the same method of stile with regard to the names of the thirty-two points, as in the Dutch dialect, whence it is not improbable that they were first invented and named by Dutch people.

According to Dr. Howell's History of the World, Vol. II. p. 3. Chap. 1. Charlemagne, for the promotion of commerce in his widely extended dominions, is said to have formed a project of uniting the two great rivers of the Rhine falling into the German ocean, and the Danube falling into the Euxine or Black Sea, and consequently forming a communication between the German and Black Seas, without sailing up the Mediterranean. For which end, he caused a trench to be dug, of the breadth of three hundred feet, so as to receive large vessels ; and it was already two miles in length : but the ground being fenny and loose by the great rains of the autumn season, the part which had been dug by day was filled up in the night.

Our Offa, king of Mercia, having complained to Charlemagne, that Englishmen travelling to Rome, were much molested not only by the Saracens, then possessing the Straights of the Alps, but also by Charlemagne's subjects, both in France and Italy ; Charlemagne thereupon " grants leave to such English as went in pilgrimage to Rome, to pass freely and peaceably. " But if any should be found amongst them who go thither not on a religious account, but " merely for gain, he tells Offa, that they should pay the customary tolls : promising, however, that his merchants should have legal patronage and redress of grievances upon application to him." This was in a letter from Charlemagne to Offa, wherein he tells him, " that he had sent gifts to the churches in his dominions, and to himself one belt, a Hunnish sword, and two silken vests."—Howell, *ibid.*

It seems there had been so great a variance between those two princes, that commerce was forbidden on both sides ; and that Offa sent frequent embassies to Charlemagne before he could make him his friend. Hereby also we may see the great value put in those days on silken garments,

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garments, as well as the antiquity of tolls laid on merchandize passing by land or sea through the territories of other princes.

About this time also the Christian princes of Navarre began to gain ground on the Moors of Spain, by taking many forts from them, both in Navarre and Arragon.

791 Charlemagne invades Hungary, takes Buda, and, after eight years war, imposes a tribute on the Hungarians, leaving a governor over them, and a number of clergy to convert them to christianity; though, for some time, with little effect.

793 Charlemagne creates Liderick de Harlebeck, then great forester of Flanders, the first count or earl of that noble province, from whence descended many succeeding earls of Flanders.

795 According to Sir James Ware's Antiquities and History of Ireland, it was in the year 795, that the Danes and Normans, or Easlerlings, as he terms them, first infested the Irish and Scottish coasts; and that in 798 they infested the province of Ulster, and also the Hebrides or western isles of Scotland.

Many authors are of opinion, that all the Netherlands, as far East as some leagues beyond where Aix-la-Chapelle now stands, was forest, and much used by Charlemagne for hunting. And old records attribute the discovery, or at least the retrieval, of the hot baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, which they think had been known in the time of the western empire, to that prince's hunting horse poaching one of his legs into some hollow ground, which, on de-way for the smoaking water to break out, and proved the occasion, about this time, of the Emperor's building that city:—It afterwards became his usual residence, and the place where many succeeding emperors were crowned.

800 Charlemagne having, about the close of the eighth century, completed his conquest of all Saxony, it becomes us to give some account of the great things he did in that country during this century, before we proceed to that which succeeds it.

The Scholiast on Helmoldus, Lib. i. Cap. 4. gives us the dates of ten Bishopricks founded by him, viz.

At OSNABURG.	<i>Anno</i> 772
HALBERSTADT (or OSTERWICK.) (*)	776
BREMEN.	779
MINDEN.	780
PADERBORN (or HERSTELL.) (*)	784
MAGDEBURG (or SEIDERN.) (*)	784
MUNSTER.	784
VERDEN (or BARDEWICK.) (*)	786
HILDERSHEIM.	786
HAMBURG.	798

(*) The four places to which other names are superadded, were not then built; but the bishopricks erected at that time were afterwards removed to them. Thus, for instance, Magdeburg was not built until the reign of Otho the Great, who, in the year 967, made it the metropolis of the Sclavi, and an archbishoprick. Helmoldus, Lib. i. Cap. 6. And Bardewick, being destroyed by Henry the Lion, in the twelfth century, that bishoprick was removed to Verden; and, in like manner, of the other two. The dates of these erections will shew the progress of Christianity in the more northern parts of Germany, where all was Pagan before. Yet the Sclavi, who inhabited a part of that country, were not subdued nor reduced to Christianity till the twelfth century, by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. But

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800 at this time, and long after, the Nortalbingi, as the writers of the middle ages often call them, or Selavi, viz. all the people north of the Albis or Elbe, from the Vistula eastward, to the German ocean westward, remain Pagans; as Helmoldus and Adamus Bremenſis assure us, which the situation of the above bishopricks, the only ones erected by Charlemagne so far North, does, in some measure, confirm. Neither were the countries of Pomerania and Mecklenberg, nor the isles of Rugen, Usedom, &c. at the mouth of the river Oder, so soon converted to Christianity, as will appear, by at least two hundred years. Yet Lewis the Godly, son and successor to Charlemagne, bestowed vast possessions on the bishops and other clergy, as did also most of his successors, who used various means, some of which were far from being justifiable, for the advancement of Christianity in the countries of the Selavi, &c. in those northern parts of Germany.

Favine, in his Theatre of Honour, p. 71. relates, “that Charlemagne himself instituted a “cruel inquisition against the Pagans in Germany, which proved a model for that in Spain; “so that persons of the greatest note, taken in idolatry, to which the Westphalians were “zealously inclined, were hanged up directly. This institution, in short, spared neither “rich nor poor.”

It was Lewis the Godly who erected Hamburg into an archbishoprick, from whence missionaries went out, not only amongst the Selavi and the Danes of Jutland, but even into Sweden, though with little success as yet, in the last named country; the Swedes remaining obstinate in Paganism for several succeeding centuries. The German writers say, that the foundation of the city of Hanover was coeval with that of Hamburg. As the planting and propagating of Christianity, and particularly of the new bishops sees in Germany, introduced a new set of people, customs, and usages there; so it considerably increased the cities where such cathedral churches, and the houses of bishops and clergy, &c. were erected. It also produced a much more intimate and regular correspondence between them and the elder christianized countries of Italy, France, Spain, and Britain; so that their superfluities and produce were mutually communicated to each other, while Germany received, by degrees, new notions, improvements, and instructions from those countries in relation to agriculture, mining, vine-dressing, manufacture, and the other arts more immediately necessary to the comfort of life. Thus the propagation of Christianity in that country, proved greatly conducive to the advancement of commerce, both in itself and the other countries with which it enjoyed communication. And although it can by no means be justified, to take such measures for the propagation of the mild religion of the Gospel as were adopted by those Gallic princes, and particularly by Charlemagne himself; yet much good was, in many respects, produced by the violence of their zeal, under the over-ruling providence of God.

The same as first, and afterwards the Lombards, having destroyed the city of Genoa, Charlemagne defeating the former, and driving the latter out of Italy, caused Genoa, about this time, to be rebuilt and restored to its pristine lustre; and also the famous city of Florence, which seems to have lain two hundred and fifteen years in ruins, according to Machiavel's history of it, Lib. ii. Thus this great prince may, with great truth, be said to have laid the foundations of the revival and increase of commerce in both the north and south parts of Europe. By his conquest of Italy, and by his rebuilding and restoring of many decayed cities in that country, he first inspired those cities with that spirit of commerce, manufacture, and navigation, for which they were in after times so justly famous. Here, therefore, we may fix on the first beginnings of what may be properly called the revival of commerce in Europe, after

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800 the conquests of the Barbarians of the North and North East had parcelled out the western empire amongst themselves. Yet, subsequent to this remarkable period, the Normans and Moors, or Saracens, by their ravages and conquests in various parts, greatly obstructed and retarded the progress of the returning dawn of commerce at this time : although, in spite of all opposition, the free cities in both the extreme parts of Europe, at length forced their way into traffic, as will be gradually illustrated hereafter.

At this time also, Charlemagne having overturned the Lombardic kingdom, and played his game successfully with the See of Rome, already become too powerful to be disoblged, his dominions were encreased to an immense extent. He was become master of all the north east end of Italy, from Rome to the Alps. What was south of Rome still remained to the Greek empire, excepting what the popes had gained in sovereignty, by the Greek emperor's supineness, in the neighbourhood of Rome ; which papal sovereignty was now considerably enlarged by Charlemagne's bounty ; the spiritual and temporal powers playing into each other's hands : for as Charlemagne enlarged the sovereign territory of the Pope in Italy, his Holiness, in return, gave him the new and splendid title of Emperor of the West ; which title has been continued down to the present time, though it was soon transferred from France to Germany.

To say the truth, his dominions seemed to merit such a title. For, as Sleidan, Vertot, and many others remark, he was the first monarch whose sovereignty extended over the whole of ancient Gaul. All the kings of France before him were masters of only that part of Germany lying between ancient Saxony and the Rhine, together with the Low Countries, and between the Rhine and the Sala, together with Franconia, Svevia, or Swabia, and Bavaria ; but to these Charlemagne added all Saxony, together with Pannonia, Dacia, Istria, and part of Dalmatia, *i. e.* Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Stiria, Carinthia, Friuli, &c. His predecessors possessed only that part of France betwixt the Rhine and the Loire, the German ocean and the Balearic sea ; whereas he added all Aquitaine and Languedoc, and as far as the Ebro in modern Catalonia, and all the north part of Italy. So that from the German ocean and the Ebro in Spain, in the west, to the Tiber in Italy, south ; and to the Baltic sea to the north, and to the Vistula, and even to the confines of Bulgaria and Thrace, eastward, according to some writers, his supreme dominion was acknowledged.

The Visi Goths, who settled in the south of France, gave to modern Languedoc the name of Gothia, and it had likewise that of Septimania ; for which latter name Dr. Mascou's history of the ancient Germans quotes this new Emperor's testament, that name being derived from the following seven cities, viz. Bourdeaux, Agen, Perigueux, Angoulesme, Saintes, Poitiers, and Toulouse ; which seven cities with their districts, were first named Septimania by Sidonius Apollinaris, but this title was afterwards given to that whole country, while it remained in the hands of the Goths.

In this last year of the eighth century, according to Mezerai, the Danes, or Normans, and Saracens, commenced their piracies on the coasts of France ; these in the Mediterranean, the others in the ocean. Charlemagne attended to them both with his usual vigilance, and directed vessels to be built and forts to be erected in several places. " The piracy of those
" infidels," says he, " was as well an effect of their zeal against Christianity, as of their thirst
" for wealth and plunder. For Charlemagne's conquests having driven idolatry, first, beyond
" the Rhine, and, at last, beyond the Elbe, into Denmark, many of the German Pagans
" with their priests, who had retired thither burning with an ardent desire of avenging their
" Gods

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“ Gods as well as the loss of their liberty, made perpetual excursions, and principally exerted their bloody malice, on the priests and monks, as the destroyers of their superstitious temples and false Gods.”

Thus we have exhibited a general view of the state of the western world as it stood at the end of the eighth century.

NINTH CENTURY. ITS CHARACTER.

801 The ninth century may in general be said to have been full of darkness, disorders, and vicissitudes; the strongest, as Voltaire expresses it, rising upon the ruins of the weakest, in order to be at length thrown down by others.

The principal secular characteristic of this century was the introduction or rather establishment of the feudal law in France and Germany; from whence it came into England, at or about the time of the Norman conquest, though some think long before that period. A constitution wherein the landed men were distinguished by the appellation either of superior lords or dependent vassals. The cities or towns of these three countries were then very inconsiderable, being, in general, no better than our greater villages and open burghs of modern times; while their inhabitants were at best but in a state of slavery. Such cities as had been considerable in the times of the Romans, being now, through the barbarity and confusion of the last three centuries, very much decayed, and no new one of any consequence having as yet sprung up. For all the important commerce and fine manufactures of Europe, were as yet entirely confined to the Italian cities, and the Greek empire. However, Flanders and Brabant began at this time to manifest a state of improvement.

From the very beginning of this century, even whilst Charlemagne lived, and which he sadly lamented towards his latter days, the Danes or Normans committed most cruel ravages on the coasts of Germany, the Netherlands, France, and England; keeping the coasts of those nations in perpetual alarm, whilst the Saracens with equal fury ravaged the shores of the Mediterranean sea. This was enough to obstruct all maritime commerce, as indeed it effectually did. In England, Egbert had almost entirely reduced the seven Saxon monarchies under his subjection: yet the attacks of these piratical invaders kept the English in constant fear throughout this century.

Some woollen and iron manufactures existed in the South of France, as well as in Italy, in this century; and there was some trade from Marseilles, as well as from Tuscany, to Alexandria and other Levantine ports.

The incomparable King Alfred of England, makes most excellent regulations in his kingdom, and promotes learning and commerce, as well as discoveries of distant countries. Yet Ignorance and its concomitant Bigotry were in their very zenith. Even Cardinal Bellarmine admits, that there never was an age more illiterate than this, in which a student of Mathematics or Philosophy was deemed a Magician. Yet we are obliged to the Arabian Moors for the excellent invention of the ten arithmetical figures we now use, being invented by them in this century; an invention so much more ready and useful in all commercial affairs than either the

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Roman or Greek manner of numeration, that it well merits the highest praise. The Church, by which was then always to be understood the Clergy, daily increased in power and wealth, at the expence not only of the Emperors, but of all other Christian princes; upon whom the Popes, the Bishops, the Abbots, and other clergy, were continually gaining ground. The newly established western Emperors, who stiled themselves Roman Emperors, contributed not a little to the aggrandizing of the Popes, and to the weakening of their authority, by fixing their residence in Germany instead of Rome; thereby leaving Italy to the intrigues of Papal power: from the same cause also, as will be seen hereafter, several cities began to render themselves independent, and, by degrees, acquired considerable territories; as Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Venice, &c. Commerce, however, revived sooner in those cities in consequence of their independence, than in any other part of Europe; and, for the same reason, in succeeding times, it was the sooner propagated by them, even to the remotest parts of it.

Several Italian lords also, of great wealth and power, had, notwithstanding the overthrow of the Lombard monarchy, obtained a sort of despotic dominion over certain fortresses, and even provinces of Italy, under colour of homages either to the Greeks, or to the new western empire: these lords had frequent and violent contentions amongst themselves, as well as with the papal see, and made many encroachments on each other, and on the Imperial rights, so that the emperors themselves were frequently called into Italy, though they more frequently interposed by their substitutes. Yet the declining Greek empire held a considerable part of Italy, confirmed by Charlemagne himself, by a treaty in the year 802, until the eleventh century, when the Normans got possession of all that remained to that empire, both in Italy and Sicily.

- 801 Mezerai observes, that all the princes of the earth either loved or feared Charlemagne the new western emperor; and that in 801, Aaron the haughty king of Persia sent him jewels, silks, spices, and a large elephant, &c.

Most Chronologers begin, about this time, to give a distinct series of the kings of Denmark, beginning with Getricus. Their own historians, however, give us accounts of their kings and of their achievements much further back, though very little to be relied on, any more than similar accounts of several other kingdoms of Europe.

- 802 Charlemagne repaired the famous city of Florence, which had been sadly defaced by the barbarians.

In the same year Engelram, earl of Flanders, laid a foundation in that country of its succeeding wealth and commerce, by having cleared it of thieves, and setting his people to cultivate their lands. This prince also built or repaired many forts and churches.

About this time Charlemagne transported ten thousand Saxons, from beyond the river Elbe in Holstein, into Flanders and Brabant, at that time, in a great degree, consisting of uncultivated forests. This transplantation of Germans thither has so fixed that language in those provinces, as to remain to this day, though much mixed with French in the south parts, and with Low Dutch in those adjoining to Holland.

It is here proper to remark, that in Charlemagne's time, as there were real coins of gold and silver, says Mr. Voltaire in his General History of Europe, so there were likewise certain denominations or ideal monies, which never existed as real coins. A livre of France actually weighed

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802 weighed or consisted of a pound weight of silver of twelve ounces, as the very name denotes; though at this day sunk somewhat below one sixtieth part of it.

For this likewise Ruddiman, in the notes to his preface to Anderson's *Theſaurus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ*, Fol. 59, quotes Franciscus Plancius's historical commentary on French money as his authority. Which is likewise farther confirmed by Monsieur Voltaire, who says the livre remained on that footing for two centuries after; but he thinks that, as there were many denominations in Asia, Greece, and Rome, which were merely ideal money, such as the greater sesterce, the talent, &c. so the livre in Charlemagne's time, like the pound sterling and mark, was of this kind, but was divided into twenty real coins and parts called sols, and each sol into twelve deniers. "Yet, by little and little," says Voltaire, "the kings, in their necessity, to the disgrace of almost all the governments of Europe, sometimes mixed it with allay, and sometimes lessened its weight; so that the sol, which was originally equal to a modern crown-piece of three livres, is now no other than a light piece of brass with about an eleventh part in silver. The Dutch," continues he, "have deviated less in their livre, or pound Flemish, than the French; and the English, in their pound sterling, less than the Dutch; a Dutch or Flemish pound being now worth about twelve French livres, and an English pound sterling worth about twenty-two livres." Voltaire thinks, how truly, is hard even to guess, "that there was then nearly as much money in France and Italy, and towards the Rhine, as at present; if," says he, "a judgment may be justly made from the prices of provisions then and now, which are nearly the same; but that in the northern countries, money was much more scarce." Here we cannot help thinking him much mistaken. For it was the silver mines found in Germany and other parts of Europe, in the tenth and following centuries, which gradually increased the quantity of money and the price of necessaries, even prior to the discovery of the treasures of Spanish America.

Chronologers generally begin to count the princes of Poland about this time, commencing with Duke Popiel, who died about the year 823. To say the truth, there can be very little dependence on the chronology of a great part of Europe before this time, especially of the more northern parts of it; there being then very few people in those countries who could write, and much fewer who took any pains to record public transactions; the remembrance of the most eminent of which, in those dark times, was merely preserved by songs, handed down from father to son, and by other legendary stories which were preserved by persons of very tenacious memories; in whose power, therefore, it was to add, to lessen, or otherwise alter such memoirs at their pleasure, as caprice, a romantic turn of mind, or other inducement might influence them.

The Danes and Normans, in the beginning of this century, commenced their cruel ravages of Saxony, Friesland, and the Netherlands, and Charlemagne's just resentment thereof is said to have first instigated Getricus, king of Denmark, to fortify the frontiers of his country adjoining to Germany.

With respect to the history and chronology of Norway, or the Normans, there seems, according to Werdenhagen's *Traſtatus de rebus-publicis Hanſeaticis*, in folio, Francofurti 1641, part III. Vol. i. Cap. 24. to be a chasm of six hundred years, viz. between the year two hundred and eight hundred, for want of historians. And that nothing can be depended upon before the year of our Lord 800.

By this time the Venetians had gained, by degrees, a very beneficial commerce with the ports of the Levant belonging to the Greek empire, from whence they began to bring the spices,

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filk, drugs, and fruits of the East, in great abundance; and by means of their shipping, now grown numerous, as well as by land carriage, they supplied the rest of Europe with those desirable commodities. This commerce was even then judged to be of so much importance to Venice, that when the new Emperor Charlemagne was about to declare war against the Greek Emperor Nicephorus, the Republic of Venice chose to make a secret alliance with him, notwithstanding Charlemagne's great power, rather than risk the loss of that commerce. Which alliance, however, afterwards drew upon Venice the high resentment of Pepin king of Italy, Charlemagne's son, who attacked that Republic, and almost destroyed it on this very account. For having, in 808, vanquished the fleet of Nicephorus, he, in 810, attacked and defeated that of Venice, and did other mischief to that Republic, &c. See *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*, in 12mo. Paris 1729, p. 54. and *Morisoti Orbis Maritimus*.

804 It was not till the year 804, that Charlemagne, after various successs and terrible conflicts, compleated the conquest of Old Saxony, which was at the time larger than both the modern Saxonies, as it comprehended almost all Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe. The people in the country had lived happily, without any accumulated riches, supporting themselves by tillage and pasturage. The many excellent mines since found in their country, were utterly unknown to them. They had good maritime ports and rivers, without any shipping or navigation, any further than perhaps a few boats for crossing over the latter. Charlemagne obliged those people, who were very zealous Pagans, to embrace Christianity, very much against their inclinations; having at the close of the last century erected a bishop's see at a place, then, as well as now, named Hamburg, on the north shore of the Elbe, containing till then only a few huts, but finely situated in point of navigation on so noble a river. Here, for the greater security of his newly conquered dominions, he built a castle, as he had before erected a Christian church; from whence, even before his death, Christian missionaries were sent into the neighbouring country of Denmark. He also destroyed the idol worshipped here, after being in person obliged to recross the Elbe, in order to reduce the revolted Nortalingians, *i. e.* the country so named, by the Latin writers of those times, as lying north of that river. Yet those northern people in Nortalingia, &c. frequently returned to their ancient Paganism, not only in the life-time of this Emperor, but in the reigns of succeeding Emperors, as will hereafter be related.

805 According to Archbishop Usher, Tyrrel, and other historians, the countries of Galloway and Lothian, the city, or rather castle, of Edinburgh, together with all that part of the Lowlands of Scotland, almost as far as the Anglo Saxon tongue was then spoke, *i. e.* to the two Friths of the rivers Forth and Clyde, were anciently, and particularly at this time, a very considerable part of the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia; "as the names of places within that circuit," says Tyrrel in his *General History of England*, "do sufficiently make out; being all Anglo Saxon ones, and neither Scottish nor Irish." That great Prelate also supposes, not without much probability, that, during the confusions in the Northumbrian kingdom, about the year 805, the Picts and Scots conquered and took possession of those countries. "Yet the English kings," says Tyrrel, "did long after maintain their claim to Lothian, and the city of Edinburgh was actually in the possession of the English Saxons about one hundred years after this time."

807 In this year, the Danes and Norwegians landed in Ireland, and destroyed Roscommon, says Sir James Ware in his *Irish Antiquities*, Chap. 24. at the same time they demolished the abbey of St. Columb, or Icolmkill, one of the western isles of Scotland.

808 Charlemagne

808 Charlemagne prosecuting his conquests and improvements in Germany, founded the city of Dresden, on the Elbe in modern Upper Saxony, as a curb to the Bohemian Sclavi; and likewise Naumburg in the same county, on the Sala, as a bridle to the Vandals.

It is also said that Charlemagne established Couriers, or Posts in Germany, France, and Italy, for letters and other dispatches; which I presume were no other than that Emperor's own proper messengers, employed in his own affairs, and the same as were revived by Louis XIth, above six hundred years after, and not posts for all private mens affairs, and at their expence, as in our day; commerce not being then considerable enough either to bear or require it.

According to a treatise in folio by an anonymous author, in the year 1698, intitled, *The Happy Future State of England*, p. 38. "Parochial tithes were not established for the Clergy in England till about the end of the eighth or the middle of the ninth century." And his reason for this opinion is, "because the division of England into parishes was not made before the time of Honorius Archbishop of Canterbury, 636." Which, if these dates be right, is no solid reason.

Charlemagne, assisted by twenty Venetian ships, drives the unfortunate Desiderus, the last king of the Lombards, out of the Adriatic Sea. And since this once famed Lombard kingdom was now quite overturned, we think it may not be amiss to caution our readers, with respect to a point we read of in many authors, viz. That the invention of Banks, exchanges of money by Bills, and of merchants accounts after the method of double entry, is ascribed to the Lombards. This must not be understood of the Lombards before the destruction of their monarchy: for these points were not known in such early times: but it is meant of the free cities of that part of Italy still called Lombardy, about three or four centuries later than this period. They had great dealings in England under our Norman kings, as bankers and usurers, and gave name to a famous street in London, still much inhabited by bankers.

In the mean time, the Danes and Normans, or Norwegians, had begun to ravage the coasts of the Netherlands, and of France, running even up shallow rivers, far into the country, with their small vessels, for pillage; against whom, Morisotus, so often quoted, relates, that Charlemagne's sea commander, Rutland, or Roland, was sent to fight, with sundry Squadrons, at the mouths of the Elbe, Rhine, Seine, and Loire; where he also placed troops, and erected watch towers with fires on them in the night-time, and smoke in the day-time, for alarming the countries on the approach of those invaders. For although Charlemagne had made great land conquests, he was not master on those seas against such swarms of those vessels which roved every where on his extensive coasts. These ravages obliged the cities on, and near the Rhine to enter into a confederacy for their mutual safety, and the protection of travellers and commerce, long before the famous Hanseatic confederacy commenced.

The same precautions did that wise Emperor take at the mouth of the river Rhone, against the ships of both the Greeks and Saracens in the Mediterranean Seas. And we find the commanders in chief of those guards and ships are, in Charlemagne's Capitularies, called, *Comites ad custodiendam oram maritimam deputati. i. e.* Counts appointed for the guard of the maritime coasts. Charlemagne's Admiral had the year before repulsed the fleet of the Saracens or Moors of Barbary, with the loss of five thousand of their men, in their attempt on the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. After which the Saracens invaded the isle of Crete, belonging to the Greek empire, where they built the city of Candia, which afterwards gave a new name to that once famous island.

The Danes and Norwegians compelled through poverty and the barrenness of their country, continued more and more to infest the British seas; and in this and the following century they proved so successful, that the trade of sea piracy began to be esteemed honourable. so that, according to many authors, the nobility, and even the princes of the crowns of Norway, ~~emulously~~ strove to excel therein. "Their slender vessels," says Voltaire, "had two sails, besides the use of their oars. They usually contained about one hundred men. Their provisions were salted flesh, biscuit, cheese, and beer. In the year 845, they had the audacity to sail up the Seine as far as Paris, which then had only wooden houses, and the inhabitants, with their King, Charles the Bald, flying from thence with their best effects, the Normans burnt their city, and were afterwards shamefully bought off by that wretched monarch with fourteen thousand marks of silver, which only emboldened them the more." About the year 830, their fleets were commanded by the sons of Regner, king of Denmark, in ravaging the coasts of France; whilst another fleet of them lays Scotland and Ireland under contribution. They sailed up the Rhine to Cologne in 839, and burnt that city, with Treves and Nimeguen. At Aix-la-Chapelle they turned the imperial palace into a stable, destroying churches, &c. every where. From France they land in and ravage Galicia; but are driven from thence by King Remir I. with the loss of seventy of their ships. They next plunder Seville and the adjacent country. Lastly, they sail up the Mediterranean and pillage several towns in Italy. There is such great uncertainty and confusion in the history of those times, that the precise dates of their several expeditions in this century cannot be ascertained; we therefore think proper, to throw them into one general mass of information, without any particular date in the margin. Louis Guicciardini, in his Description of the Netherlands, printed in French at Antwerp in the year 1528, says, that those northern pirates, in the times we are now writing of, made the Zeland islands on the coasts of that country, and particularly Walcheren, their magazines, where they lodged their booty. They even fenced in that island with dikes, from the fury of the sea, built houses therein, and cultivated the land; and it was from thence that their great leader Rollo set sail for his successful invasion of, and settlement in France herein after mentioned. They likewise had, in the year 831, sacked Antwerp and Wickland; which last Werdenhagen calls an emporium at the mouth of the Meuse. In their sacking of Hamburgh and its church, and rare library, &c. in 845, which they were soon forced to abandon, they employed no fewer than six hundred ships, as they are then called. In the same year, as before observed by Voltaire, they again sailed up the Seine, destroying every thing on both sides that river up to Paris, which, however, they were not able to take. "And when," says Mezerai, "they were pretty well laden with spoil, they were soon tempted with presents made them by Charles the Bald, to withdraw themselves, after ravaging Picardy, Flanders, and Friesland. In 848, they surprize Bourdeaux, and take William Duke of Gascony prisoner."—"The French," continues Mezerai, "were then so feeble, as to let them make that city their storehouse and armory for several years; from whence, in 852, they again sailed up the Seine, plundering and burning cities, churches, and monasteries. Next year they sailed up the Loire, plundered the city of Tours, and burnt churches, &c. as before. In the year 857, Hading, the Norman, invaded and ravaged France; and, from thence, sailing into the Mediterranean, he invades France again on that side up the river Rhone. In 862, they harraß France with two hundred ships up the Seine. In 869, they obliged the French King, Louis II. to buy them off with a sum of money. In 876 they make an irruption into Germany. And in 880, they

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808 " they again invade France. In the year 882, the Emperor Carolus Crassus having surrounded them with his army, they agree to depart; and Godfrey, one of their leaders, embracing the Christian religion, that Emperor gave him a Christian princess, and the Duchy of Frisia. In 889, a party of Normans or Danes being in Champagne, sailed down the river Marne to Paris, where loading their barks upon waggons, they carried them round below that city, which it is presumed they durst not attack, and launched them again into the Seine, and so proceeded to the sea, plundering all the coasts as they sailed along." Mezerai continues to relate that, " In 890, two Norman leaders, having shipped one hundred thousand men in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, entered the river Meuse with ninety thousand of them, leaving the rest to guard their vessels;—but they were in the end defeated by Arnold king of Germany." " If it should be a matter of wonder," says Mezerai, " whence there could come such vast numbers of Normans, we must first observe that all the dissolute and pilfering French, with many of a like description belonging to other countries, joined them. And, secondly, those northern countries were, at that time, extremely populous, and all the inhabitants, greedy of plunder, lifted and embarked themselves to go and rob such rich and fertile nations. So that, in the end, there were such numbers of those Pagans, who were either destroyed, or else became settled inhabitants of France, that those large territories of the North remain unpeopled to this very day. Thus," continues he, " in these last ages, Spain, which once swarmed with men, is become almost a desert, through the avaricious disposition of her subjects to transport themselves to the New World, from an insatiable thirst of possessing the mines of gold and silver with which it abounds."

About the beginning of this century also, the enemies of Christianity of another sort, viz. the Saracens or Moors triumphed as much in the Mediterranean, as the northern Pagans did in the more western parts. For we have before seen, that the Saracens had, in the year 807 or 808, mastered the isle of Crete; and although, in 827, they met with a great overthrow on the coasts of this isle, by the Greek Emperor Michael's Admiral, yet the very next year, Ambulac, Caliph of Mauritania, as Morisotus styles him, with the assistance of one Euphemius, a refugee, conquered Sicily, which they held near two hundred and thirty years, and wasted Calabria and Corsica. But though, in his return to Barbary, laden with spoils, he was vanquished at sea by Ermengarius, Bernard king of Italy's governor of the Balearic isles, and the Christian captives were released; yet, in 830, the Saracens continued to burn, sack, and otherwise destroy the towns, &c. on the coasts of Italy, France, and Sardinia; at which last island Ermengarius again defeats them on shore, as well as in Corsica; from whence Boniface, governor of that isle, pursued their fleet to the African coasts, and obtained several victories over them. Yet they soon after invade Italy, and besiege Rome itself, burning the Vatican and other churches, &c. in its suburbs, and commit similar depredations in other cities. Their fleet besieges Tarentum, whilst the combined fleet of the Greeks and Venetians attempt its relief, in 843; but are severely beaten, with the loss also of many ships richly laden from Syria; and they next take and destroy Ancona. In the year 846, they vanquish the fleet of the Greek Emperor Basilus, on the coast of Crete. At Sardinia they forced the Christian inhabitants to fly to the continent of Italy for shelter. Yet it seems the Dukes of Benevento and Capua being at variance, were such bad Christians, that the former called in the Saracens of Sardinia, and the latter their brethren of Spain, to their aid, and fortifying themselves in that part of Italy, exercised their fury for twenty years together. So little ma-

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Maritime strength had the Christians of Europe to repel those Barbarians, and so melancholy was the condition of Christendom in those times, that from the mouth of the river Elbe to the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea, there was scarcely any part of the coasts that could be deemed safe to inhabit, unless in places that were strongly fortified. All which accounts plainly demonstrate the low state of commerce and navigation in Europe, more especially in those countries lying without the Mediterranean Sea. And, according to Peter Baptista Burgus, in his book *de Dominio Serenissimæ Genuensis Reipublicæ in mari ligustico*, Lib. ii. Cap. 6. these Saracens afterwards sacked the city of Genoa, and were carrying away the inhabitants as slaves into Africa, when they were met and defeated by the Genoese fleet, and their people set at liberty. Yet, in general, it is plain that they were an overmatch, for the Christian naval force in that sea. Constantinople, during this century, still retained much of its pristine grandeur, abounding in shipping, merchandize, and manufactures, and had very extensive correspondencies in Persia and India. Sea affairs being neglected by the successors of Charlemagne, the Moors from Africa and Spain, by possessing Sicily, Sardinia, &c. rendered the commerce of those seas almost impracticable, notwithstanding the efforts of the Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, &c. against them. But to return to our chronological order.

- 810 According to Mr. Voltaire, in his General History of Europe, Charlemagne was an encourager of commerce at this time as far as the genius and state of the age would permit. "At Lyons, Arles, and Tours in France, and at Rome, Ravenna, &c. in Italy, they had many manufactures of woollen stuffs, and iron manufactures inlaid with gold and silver, after the manner of Asia. They likewise made glass. But silk was not as yet woven in any town in the western empire, nor till near four hundred years after this period. Yet, about this time the Venetians began to import wrought silks from Constantinople, but it seems that linen was very uncommon." The same author gives the following instance of the rarity of that commodity, viz. that "St. Boniface, in a letter to a German bishop, desires him to send him cloth," I suppose he meant woollen cloth, "with a large nap, for him to employ in washing his feet;" "probably," adds Voltaire, "this want of linen was the cause of all the diseases in the skin, known by the name of Leprosy, so common at that time."

About this period there were merchants, not only on the coast of Tuscany, but also at Marseilles, who traded to Alexandria, though it was then in the possession of the Saracens. For Venice and Genoa had not, as yet, engrossed all the commerce to the Levant.

Venice, it is true, began to be considerable in wealth and commerce; yet Charlemagne could not, without resentment, see that state show more favour to the Greek empire than to him. In order, therefore, to chastize the Venetians, says Mezerai, he carried his fleet up the Adriatic, amongst the numerous small Venetian isles; but for want of knowing the channels, his design miscarried, and he was obliged to retire with loss. Soon after this, in the isle of Rialto was built a palace for the Doge of Venice, and another for the Bishop, in that of Olivolo. And, by degrees, the inhabitants joined all those little contiguous islands together by the means of bridges; the whole of which being thus united, at present constitute the noble and renowned city of Venice.

- 811 The Barbarians having destroyed the castle of Hamburg, it was rebuilt by Charlemagne, and from this time, says the learned Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, Lib. i. Hamburg assumed the name and form of a fortified town; of which sort, as already observed, there were none in Saxony till the reign of Charlemagne, the people dwelling together in open burroughs

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811 boroughs and villages, under the protection of their Lords or Chiefs, who resided at best in wooden castles. Werdenhagen de Rebus-publicis Hanseaticis, Vol. I. Pars iii. Cap. 19. "Urbes profecto munitas Saxonia nostra, antequam de Carolomagno fuit debellata, non habuit;—Sed aperta colebant loca: et mœnibus cincta oppida tanquam munimenta servitii, et circumdata retibus iustia declinabant," *i. e.* says Lambecius, "our Saxony had no fortified towns till subdued by Charlemagne: for they esteemed towns surrounded with walls, as no better than hedges of slavery, or as dens surrounded with toils or nets." The archiepiscopal see, which was begun to be erected here by Charlemagne, and was completed by his son Lewis the Pious, in the year 833, Adam Bremenensis, Lib. i. p. 6. proved of great use for converting the Pagans in its neighbourhood. For from the College of Monks and Priests, established in this place, under the eye of the Archbishop, missionaries were sent forth all over Saxony, and even into Denmark and Sweden, where the first seeds of Christianity were sown by them, though frequently obstructed and interrupted by the Pagans. But Hamburg itself was so often sacked by the pagan Vandals, Sclavi, Danes, Normans, &c. that the Archbishops judged it safer to remove their residence to Bremen; which circumstance transferred the pre-eminence to that city. These missions probably proved the beginning of any correspondence or commerce between Germany and Sweden, unless, which is more than probable, the Pagan Vandals and Sclavi, on the coast of Pomerania, might have some small traffic thither prior to this time.

About this time, according to the northern historians, a final period was put to the city of Winet, Vinetum, on the isle of Usedom, opposite the mouth of the river Oder on the coast of Pomerania, by Hemming king of Denmark, who, according to Meursius, began his reign in the year 810. Great and pompous are the encomiums on this town by some of the German historians of the middle ages. Meursius, indeed, in his *Historia Danica*, Lib. ii. p. 37. calls it only "*urbem opulentam*," an opulent town, long peacefully inhabited by both Vandals and Saxons; who engaging at length in civil dissensions about the sovereignty or dominion of it, Hemming king of Denmark, seized on and destroyed it. But Helmoldus who, in the twelfth century, wrote his *Chronica Sclavorum*, down to the year 1170, which was continued to the year 1209, by Arnoldus abbot of Lubeck, with the notes and corrections of two others, Lubeckæ, anno 1659, in 4to. calls it the greatest emporium of Europe, and of a vast extent, although its very Site be at present covered with the sea. Yet a little more than half a mile from land, near the town of Wolgast, according to Werdenhagen, its foundation may yet be discovered, and even some of its streets, as also the ruins of many magnificent structures; and although the sea covers the greatest part of its ruins, yet that part of them which is seen, is much larger than the whole circumference of the city of Lubeck. Helmoldus says, that when it was destroyed, the Swedes from the isle of Gothland, carried away whatever, of its ruins, was curious in workmanship and ornaments, either in iron, brass, or marble; as also tools, instruments, or vessels of silver, copper, or tin, and amongst other things, two brazen gates of a vast weight; and that from thence sprung the splendor and wealth of the once famous city of Wisby, and its stately houses; more splendid, says Werdenhagen, so often already quoted, than even the palaces of Nuremberg or Cologne. The history of Wisby, like many other matters treated of by those old Norman historians, is related in a very obscure manner. They say it was built by foreigners in the isle of Gothland; that the citizens had frequent broils with the natives, of whom they destroyed many, in the year 1288; after which, Magnus king of Sweden permitted them to fortify their city; and as they applied themselves extremely to com-

merce, it soon became the greatest emporium of all the northern countries. Its sea laws are still preserved, and were for several ages the standard for all Europe north of Spain, who, as those writers say, all traded thither. According to these historians, civil dissensions brought, however, at length that beautiful and opulent city to destruction; yet they do not clearly acquaint us when or how it came to pass. The same Helmoldus, in another part of his work, makes Harold king of Denmark, who was vanquished by his son long after this time, to retire to Winet, where he died, in the year 980, though the Danish writers contradict this, and say he died at Julin, another famous emporium on the isle of Wollin in that neighbourhood. Helmoldus writes sundry other things concerning Winet, which so nearly resemble what he writes of Julin, which was destroyed also by the Danes in the twelfth century, viz. in 1170, that Werdenhagen, Dr. Heylen, and others so much confound those two places, as to ascribe to the one what is said of the other: so that the confused and seemingly romantic stories of this kind given us by these cloudy monkish writers of the middle ages, must be read with great caution. To conclude this point of Winet, it is at least highly improbable that such a fine and opulent place, as it is described to have been, should have existed, so far north, and so far back, as the time assigned for it. And it is much more probable that it was destroyed at a much later period, perhaps in the latter end of the tenth or rather in the eleventh century, when, by the very great improvement of Germany, it might have been very remarkable for commerce and wealth; though probably much exaggerated by these old writers: they also describe Sleswick to have been in those times a famous emporium or mercantile city, till destroyed by fire and by rapine, though it now possesses nothing more than a castle to perpetuate its memory, its merchants settling first at Ripen, and next at Wisby.

812 Charkmagne, at the entreaty of Bjorno king of Sweden, sends certain priests to instruct his people in the Christian religion; and thereupon a bishoprick was established at Lincopen. From about which time, i. e. in the year 813, chronologers begin their series of the kings of Sweden with the name of King Bjorno; that country till now being scarcely known to the Christian part of Europe, and indeed very little for some succeeding ages.

813 Although since the downfall of the western Roman empire, learning had been greatly sunk amongst the Christian States, and till now had been very much despised by the Saracens; yet about this time that people seem to have taken a very different turn, and began at length to encourage the sciences. Professor Ockley, in the preface to his first volume of the History of the Saracens, writes, that, in the reign of the Caliph Almamoun, who was the twenty-seventh after Mahomet, and began his reign in the 198th year of the Hegira, which he makes to answer to the 813th year of the Christian Æra, learning began to be cultivated to a very great degree, especially Astronomy and other branches of the Mathematics.

The Caliph spared no cost to procure such Greek writings as excelled in this respect, and he also encouraged such persons as seemed inclined to study them. The progress of those Saracenic improvements seemed no less wonderful than that of their arms. For in a few years after they had entered upon learning, they had plenty of translations out of Greek in Mathematics, Philosophy, Physic, Botany, &c. Which love of learning was not confined to the Saracens of the East, but was diffused throughout the whole Saracenic empire, and was first brought from the East into Africa, where they erected many Universities, and from thence passed to their brethren in Spain. So that when learning seemed to be quite lost in the Christian parts of Europe, it was restored to us by the Moors or Saracens who had come from Africa into Spain; to whom the Christians were indebted for what Philosophy they then had amongst

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among them. For the Greek tongue did not come to us of the West, until the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453. Among the other most useful arts brought into Europe at this time by the Arabian Moors, were the ten Cyphets, Figures, or Digits now used by all Europe in their Arithmetic, though others say not till 991. It is said that this happy and easy method of reckoning was originally brought from India into Arabia, as was also the game of Chess, the mode of accounting by the letters of the Alphabet, as practised by the Ancients, not being by any means so intelligible or expeditious.

In this century too, a separate monarchy, of Moors or Saracens was erected in Morocco, whose head or chief was then named Miramolin, or Miramomolin, for it is written both ways: and another independent monarchy, in the time of the Caliph Almanon, was erected at Cairo in Egypt, whose head assumed the title of Soldan. Yet hitherto, how remote soever those separate and independent states might be from the residence of the Grand Caliph, they still continued to pay him a great deference, as being the successor of Mahomet: and as the Christians crowded in pilgrimages to Rome, to visit the tombs of the Apostles, and to receive the benediction, &c. of his Holiness the Pope, so did the Mahometans to Mecca, and do still, to visit the sepulchre of Mahomet; that city being governed by an officer called the Cherif, appointed for that end by the Grand Caliph residing at Bagdat.

814 This year is memorable for the death of the Emperor Charlemagne, the most renowned prince that had been in Christendom since the fall of the western Roman empire. He had been, as we have seen, greatly instrumental in spreading the Christian name all over Germany, and thereby laid the foundation of much additional commerce in Europe. He was also very instrumental in promoting knowledge and learning in his vast dominions. He is said to have given German or Dutch names to the four cardinal winds or points of, what we since call, the Compass; as also to the twelve months of the year, such as they both now have, the High Dutch being his native language.

He saw, and sadly lamented, towards the end of his life, the increasing ravages of the Saracens in the Mediterranean Seas; in which they were succeeded by the Normans. The power of the former, however, from the close of this century, gradually declined, which chiefly proceeded from its being split into many different branches, so that the Christians recovered many territories they had ravished from them, as the Turks also did afterwards both in Asia and Africa.

In the time of Charlemagne, Bells became very common in the West, where, as we have elsewhere observed, they were first invented; but they did not as yet make any very large ones. "The churches," says Mezerai, "as well as most of their other buildings, were almost all of wood. Yet it was ordained that the altars should be made of stone."

In this last year of Charlemagne's life, Marianus Scotus, a monk of Fulda, in the third book of his Chronica, p. 493. remarks, that the timber bridge over the Rhine at Mentz, which that prince had caused to be erected with immense labour and skill, and which employed ten years in the completion of it, being half a mile in length, was burnt down in three hours time by command of Richolfus archbishop of Mentz, because thieves in the night time robbed passengers upon it, and then threw them into the Rhine; a very strange and inadequate reason for destroying so vast a structure. Charlemagne was prevented by death from his intention of erecting a bridge of stone in the place of it.

His son, Louis le Debonnaire, being, according to Mezerai, a very weak prince, the glory of the French monarchy greatly declined under him, and was quite reduced after his death,

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814 his sons, after much bloodshed, agreed on the following partition of their dominions : To Charles the Bald, the Western Province, or pretty near the whole of the kingdom of France ; to Louis, Germany, or East France ; and to Lothaire, with the title of Emperor, Italy, and also the extensive lands between the Scheld and the Meuse, the Rhine and the Soane, afterwards made a kingdom, and from him called Lotharingia, *i. e.* Lorrain ; though at present only a small part of those territories bears that name, the country since named Brabant being then named Lower, and the rest the Upper Lotharingia.

“ In behalf of Charles, one of Lothaire’s sons, Burgundy,” says Voltaire, “ which before had been erected into a kingdom, was divided into two kingdoms ; his kingdom was named Arles, or Provence, which city, in the time of the Romans, had been great and opulent, but was now become very inconsiderable ; as indeed may be said of all the cities west and north of Italy. The other kingdom was named Burgundy Transjurane, about 888.” These lesser new kingdoms were, not long after, in a great measure swallowed up in the two great monarchies of Germany and France ; although for a short time afterwards most of them were reunited under Charles the Gros, who died in 887 ; but by his weaknesses were again dismembered : so that Germany was never after united to France.

This dismemberment of the dominions of Charlemagne, encouraged the Normans soon after to invade France in vast swarms. It appears, says our author, and many others, that the vessels which brought them thither from home, were very small and worthless, going very easily up the rivers into the heart of the country. This speaks the low state of maritime skill and commerce at this time, better than a thousand orations could do. For although the French writers tell us, that Charlemagne filled the French havens with shipping ; it is plain he was not, like the great Pompey, powerful enough on the seas to destroy those sea robbers and invaders. These writers, however, bestow their encomiums, in general, on Charlemagne with great justice. According to Mezerai, “ he passed a certain number of hours in the study of Grammar, Astronomy, Theology, &c. He employed his treasure in rewarding soldiers and scholars, in building churches and other public structures, in the repairs of roads, bridges, and havens, and in making rivers navigable ; and it should also be added, in civilizing barbarous nations. In short, he directed all his actions to the welfare of his subjects, and the advancement of Christianity.”

Bishop Burnet, on the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, article thirty-seven, gives a just character of Charlemagne in a few words, viz. “ That he endeavoured to restore those things which had fallen under much disorder in a course of some ignorant and barbarous ages, and to revive both learning and good government.” And we shall only add, that considering the vast turn his conquest and prudence gave to the western world, he well merits the space he has filled up in this and the preceding century.

The same year that he died, his son Louis the Pious is said to have built the city of Hildesheim in Westphalia, according to Werdenhagen and others.

To what has been said of the division of Charlemagne’s dominions at his death, we shall add a short quotation from Voltaire in his General History of Europe, viz. “ Britain too gained the honourable name of a kingdom at this time, under one Soloman, who, from what right is doubtful, assumed the title of King, about the year 861, and had seized on Maine and Lower Anjou, but it soon returned to its present title of Dutchy, a part of which country,” he adds, “ was still Pagan.” Which, however, is somewhat strange, considering Charlemagne’s zeal for converting foreign countries to Christianity.

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819 Egbert, king of the West Saxons, is by some said to have been this year crowned sole monarch of England at Winchester; though most historians make this event ten years later, in the year 829, when, having reduced all the other Saxon princes his tributaries, he first gave the name of England to the south part of Great Britain.

826 So little ground had the Christian missionaries, sent from Germany into Denmark, gained at this time, that in the year 826, the Danes are said by historians to have dethroned Harold their king, merely for being a Christian.

829 The city and republic of Venice must have acquired very considerable riches by this time, notwithstanding their having as yet gained no territory on the Continent; since in this year, they were able to lay the foundations of such a magnificent structure as the church of St. Mark, which contains five hundred pillars of marble.

832 The Danes land in England, and prove too powerful for King Egbert, though now sole
and monarch of England. Two years after they land in Wales, and though joined by the Welch,
834 they are worsted by Egbert.

836 The fishing on our British Coasts must have been as ancient as the use of any vessels venturing on the sea; since it was impossible for seafaring men to be ignorant of the shoals of excellent fish swimming on our coasts. Some writers speak of the Netherlanders resorting to Scotland as early as about the year 836, for the purpose of buying salted fish of the Scotch fishermen; which they then carried home merely for the sustenance of their people; by which traffic the Scots were greatly enriched. But it is alledged, that the Scots afterwards practising some sort of imposition on the Dutch purchasers, the latter learned the manner of catching and salting the fish themselves, and not only left dealing with the former, to their great impoverishment, but struck into the supplying of other nations with fish caught on the British coasts.

In this century, according to Sir James Ware in his Antiquities and History of Ireland, the Danes and Norwegians subdued a great part of Ireland. They are said to have built Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and other maritime towns, and to have possessed them even to the coming of the English under King Henry II. "The Irish," says he, "had no walled towns, properly speaking; for Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Wexford, and Cork, were walled by the Easterlings; and, as Archbishop Usher says, it was common to call all the people of Denmark, Norway, Levenia, &c. Easterlings." "The ancient habitations of the Irish," says Ware, "were made of hurdles, and covered with straw or rushes; very few of them being constructed of solid timber. They were usually built in woods and on the banks of rivers, their inhabitants utterly neglecting all trade and commerce. Nor was it otherwise amongst the ancient Britons. Of the castle of Pembroke, built of small rods and turf, by Arnulphus de Mountgomery, under King Henry I. See Giraldus Cambrensis. From this poor sort of building," continues Sir James Ware, "it comes to pass that we have so few signs remaining of any houses or castles built by the kings of Ireland before the coming of the English. Their food was mean and slender; namely, milk, butter, and herbs; and their drink was beer." In another place, he says, "That according to the Irish histories, the Danes possessed themselves of Dublin and the neighbouring country, which we call Fingal, or the Country of Foreigners, the ancient Irish calling all foreigners Galls."

837 By this time the city of Bremen was become considerable: for we find that Willericus, its bishop, who died in the year 837, had built three churches there; one of which, being, according

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according to Adam, a canon there, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, of timber, he rebuilt it of stone; which, without doubt, was very rare in those days.

Norway, we find at this time, was acquainted with the country on the north side of Davis's Straights, called Groneland, or Greenland, now commonly called Old Greenland, to distinguish it from Spitzbergen. For, in the charter of Ludovicus Pius to the Archbishop St. Anselmus, and to the Archbishop of Hamburg, dated in the year of our Lord 837, published with many others by Lindenbiogius, Hamb. 1706, in folio, wherein also is printed Adam of Bremen's work *de Situ Daniæ*, &c the *Chronica Sclavica*, incerti Autoris, and Lambecii *Origines Hamburgenses*, that Emperor's words are, "we make known to the present and future sons of God's holy church, that, in our days, by the divine grace, a door is opened for preaching the Gospel in the northern regions, viz. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Groneland, Halingalandon;" by which under the eleventh century, we have made it appear probable, was meant Lapland, "Iceland and Scredevindon," probably Finland, or Finmark. But Pope Gregory varies the names of some of those northern people who were included in this new diocese so much, that some can scarcely be known at this day, viz. "In Gentibus Danorum Suconum, Nortwehorum, Farriæ," probably the Ferro isles near Shetland, at this day belonging to Denmark, "Gronlandan, Halingolandan," probably Lapland, "Islandan, Scridevindum, Sclavorum; nec non omnium Septentrionalium et orientantium Nationum."

The Danish chronicle, it seems, makes Groneland to have been discovered and known as early as the year of our Lord 770; but, according to the Iceland Chronicle, not till about the year 982, it being by this last-named account peopled from Iceland by a Norwegian who fled to Iceland on account of a murder he had committed. The writers of both which chronicles, it is plain, must have been unacquainted with the charters of the Emperor and Pope, which we have just recited.

838 This year put a period to the kingdom, and even the very nation, of the Picts in Scotland, they being defeated, and Drasken, their last king, being slain, and that people extirpated by Kenneth II. king of the Scots.

839 According to Camden and other historians, the Orkney Isles continued under the government of their own petty kings, so long as the kingdom of the Picts existed on the continent of Britain; but the latter being pursued by the Scottish king Kenneth II. to the Orkney Islands, were there, it is said, totally destroyed in the year 839, and those isles thereupon reduced to the obedience of the Scottish crown; and, as we shall see in its place, they remained in that state of submission more than two hundred and fifty years.

* The nation of the Picts on the continent generally possessed the best part of Scotland, as Lothian, Fife, Angus, and Merns, prior, in the opinion of many people, to the Scots themselves. It is, however, very evident, that the Picts were not all destroyed at this time, since they afterwards made one feeble effort for their restoration. Mr. Tyrrel observes, "that not only the laws, but likewise their very language is now entirely lost, and the remains of that nation incorporated with those of the ancient Scots and Saxons."

840 About this time, in the reign of King Ethelwolf, the Danish fleets of pirates were continually insulting and infesting the English Coasts: the city of London itself, and all the county of Kent, being laid waste by them: so that it would be almost endless, as well as entirely useless, to recount all the ravages and barbarities they committed in this and succeeding reigns. But it is greatly to our purpose to quote a judicious remark, made on this occasion by Dr. Howell
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in his History of the World, viz. That “ had the English, in those ignorant times, understood their true interest as well as King Edgar did afterwards, they would not have endured the miseries they suffered from these barbarous rovers. There being no way to secure the land but by being masters at sea. The best bulwarks against those hostile invasions being stout and well-manned ships. But such was their small practice, and consequently little skill in maritime affairs, that they were inferior to those pirates, continually exercised in navigation.”

849 Zirc Zee, the oldest town of Zealand, on the isle of Schouwen, is founded, though others only say fortified. Several authors relate, that this town was anciently much renowned for its commerce, having a fine harbour, once greatly frequented by merchants, till it was choaked up by sand; when its commerce declined. It is, however, still the chief town of its isle, and the second in rank of its province, being a neat well fortified town.

850 About this time the originally obscure and barbarous nation of the Turks leave their own country near Mount Caucasus in Scythia, or Tartary, and settle in Armenia. Two hundred years after, they were invited to the assistance of the Saracens against some princes of their own sect: but instead of auxiliaries, they soon became masters, and in the end, overturned the whole Saracenic system of power in Asia, under their leader Tangrolipix and his successors, who became sovereigns of Persia and Babylon, embracing the religion of those they had thus vanquished. They next pushed their conquests westward with incredible fury and success against the Greek empire, to which, in the year 1453, they put a final period by the taking of Constantinople.

851 The Danes, not losing sight of England, sailed up the river Thames with three hundred vessels full of men; they made themselves masters both of London and Canterbury, routing the army of Beorthulph, the king of Mercia, who had marched against them. Yet they were afterwards defeated, with great slaughter, by Ethelwolf king of Wessex, and his son Ethelbald.

858 At this time the emperor Louis II. grandson of the emperor Charlemagne, was engaged in wars with the Pagan nations beyond the Elbe called Sclavi, Obotriti, Vandali, Sorabi, &c. now the countries of Pomerania, Mecklenburgh, &c. which shews that Germany was not yet entirely reduced to the obedience of the house of Charlemagne.

860 About this time the emperor Louis II. and not Charles the Bald, as some authors alledge, erected Holland into a county, in favour of a son of the earl of Frise, according to Sir William Temple, and not a son of the duke of Aquitaine, as the Grand Chronique de Hollande has it. “ It is probable,” says Sir William Temple, “ that Holland, in a great measure, changed its inhabitants and customs, as well as names, upon the inroads of the barbarous nations, chiefly Normans and Danes; from whose countries and language, the names of Holland and Zealand seem to be derived.” The Grand Chronique de Hollande and Zelande, says, “ That before Holland was a county, Leyden was the place where the people met to treat of their common affairs as a community or republic, which for that reason was called the chamber of Holland, as far back as the year of our Lord 600.”

861 Angelius à Werdenhagen, in his Tractatus de Rebus-publicis Hanseaticis, writes, that the city of Brunswick was founded in the year 861.

Though others say not till the year 909, by Bruno, a kinsman of the emperor Henry the Fowler.

862 Although

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862 Although Hevicius, in his *Theatrum Historicum and Chronologicum*, under the year 862, says, that the *Slavi*, being vanquished by Louis II. king of Germany, were in the same year converted to Christianity; yet in succeeding histories we shall find that the *Slavi* of the north parts of Germany remained obstinate Pagans for several centuries after this time. In the reign of the eastern or Greek Emperor Mauritius, who came to the crown in the year 585, they had transplanted themselves into Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, and Russia; and founded the kingdom of Poland under Lechus, and of Moravia under Zechus. The Emperor Orto was engaged in a war with them in the year 960; about which time, from their settlement at the north end of Germany, they infested Canute and Sweno, kings of Denmark. In the year of our Lord 1161, Waldemar I. king of Denmark, vanquished them. This remarkable people, whose name is now utterly lost as a people in Europe, and their memory only retained in a province still called Slavonia, adjoining to Hungary, spread their language from the south shores of the Finland Gulph, to the Adriatic Sea. And to this day the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian, and Slavonian tongues, are reckoned dialects of the old Slavonic tongue. And as all these nations, as well as the *Slavi*, on and near the south shores of the Baltic, as the Venedi, Bodeni, Zigari, Obotriti, Sorabi, Vindi, Vandali, Polabi, Lingones, Warnabi, Circipani, Scevaldi, Doxani, &c. passed all under the general name of *Slavi* by the German writers of the middle ages; as being all nearly of the same language, and Pagans in religion. (Peiseri, *Origines Lipsienses*, Lib. i. p. 35, Francofurti 1700.)

Helmoldus says, that those near the sea were given more to naval excursions than to agriculture.—Their habitations were meanly built of ozers, &c. But their provision, gold, silver, and other precious goods, they usually hid in pits in the earth. Yet it might be true, as Helvicus alledges, that some branches of that populous nation, though where they dwelt does not now appear to be known, might be converted to Christianity, or rather compelled to embrace it, by Louis, although the principal body of them remained Pagans.

864 In Howell's Survey of Venice, he says, that Urso Fartitatio, Duke of Venice, did, amongst other presents, send to Basilus the Emperor, twelve bells to Constantinople, which was the first time that the Greeks used bells: others say this was in 871.

866 According to Petavius, &c. it was now that Charles the Bald, king of France, bestowed Flanders on Earl Baldwin, who had married his daughter Judith, as her dowry.

869 The Danes land in the County of Fife in Scotland, and make a demand of Pictland for the Danish King, to whom they alledged the lately expelled Picts had assigned their right, and being refused by King Constantine II. they commit great ravages there.

About this time also the Danes conquer Northumberland, through the treachery of Earl Bruerne, who had invited thither Ivar, the Danish commander.

872 The glory and ornament of all the Anglo-Saxon race, Alfred, truly siled the Great, ascends the English throne, at a time when the country was grievously harrassed by the Danes; wherefore this penetrating Prince set his people on building ships, which proved of good use, when the Danes afterwards landed from a fleet of three hundred vessels. This King likewise rebuilt the city of London, in the year 886, which had been burnt by the Danes in 839. Till his time the Saxon character was alone used by the Anglo-Saxons in all their writings. Alfred, having been, by French tutors, instructed in suitable learning, introduced the French character, which was more fair and legible; so that the Saxon or German fell into disuse. On his accession to the crown his people were become so ignorant, that it is said there was scarcely a layman that could read English, or a priest who understood Latin. He is commonly said

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to have been the founder of the university of Oxford, in the year 895, where he established four schools or colleges, though Camden says only three. Some, however, pretend, that before his time there were schools of learning at a place called Greyclade, which were afterwards removed to Oxford. His son and successor, Edward the Elder, is said to have founded the university of Cambridge, but in what precise year is uncertain. Mr. Tyrrel, in his *General History of England*, Vol. I. p. 306, says, that Alfred invited from Flanders, then reckoned a part of France, Grimbold, a priest, and John Scotus-Erigena, also a priest, thoroughly versed in all manner of literature, by whose assistance he founded that university, having also got certain learned men from Mercia to teach therein. He also made a survey of all England, which was a model for the famous *Doomsday book*, of William the Conqueror, about two hundred years after. Alfred is also generally believed to have divided England into Counties, Hundreds, and Tithings: yet, without doubt, there were some such subdivisions before his time, though not perhaps so well adapted for the government of the nation as those of this excellent prince. All which, though done at different times, we have here thrown together for brevity's sake.

At this time, as all historians agree, there were scarcely any other but timber houses in England. Alfred, upon restoring peace to his kingdom, began to build his palaces of stone or brick; but his example was not followed by his nobles, &c. till many centuries after. There were woods every where in those days, which afforded a much cheaper material for building than stone or brick: and this was also the case at that time all over Europe, except in Italy.

Helvicus begins his chronology of Denmark, in the year of our Lord 872, with king Ivarus, because, though the Danish historians assert their monarchy to have existed prior even to the incarnation, yet none of their most diligent historians have been able to trace their history in an uninterrupted series of time, till the reign of Ivarus.

874 This year is fixed on, by Angrim Jonas's *Brief Commentary of Iceland*, for the first peopling that wretched island, which had been discovered some time before by the Norway fishers. Its being now peopled was, it seems, owing to the discontents of certain good families in Norway, who retired thither in the reign of King Harald Harfagre, who had changed the constitution of both Norway and Denmark. It is true, that Iceland is an inhospitable and barren country, generally shut up by Ice, whence it took its name, for several months in the year: yet as it opened a new scene for a Cod-fishery, and produces some few other materials for commerce, such as Oil, coarse Cloth, and Brimstone, it certainly merits a place in this work. Stock-fish too is become a considerable article, and in demand for long voyages southward, because, though dried by frost alone, without any salt, it holds dry and sweet during even a China voyage. It is said the Icelanders remained independent till the reign of Haquin, king of Norway, who reduced them to his obedience about the year 1260. This island, however, could not be the Thulé of the Ancients, because, as Heylin well observes, Tacitus, speaking of Agricola, says, "*Insulas quas Orcades vocant domuit, despecta est et Thulé*:" since it was impossible to descry Iceland from the Orcades, it being near five hundred miles to the north of them.

876 It was in the year 876, that King Alfred the Great first thought of engaging the Danes at sea, having observed that his own troops generally had the worst of it in attacking them after they had landed; his fleet, therefore, the same year, defeated one hundred and twenty Danish vessels, and sunk most of them. He afterwards defeated the Danes on several other occasions, and thereby secured his coasts for some time.

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878 In this year Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, Lib. ii. Cap. 7. makes the French fleet of King Louis II, styled the *Stammerer*, vanquish the Saracen fleet twice on the coast of Italy, which gave the French the possession of Calabria. From this time, however, till the year 1097, when France embarked in the Holy War, in the reign of Philip I. Morisotus finds no French maritime wars nor expeditions. But though he does not assign any reason for this, yet Puffendorf, and many others, make it very plain. For towards the close of this century, King Charles the Simple, infirm in mind as well as body, suffered his *Grandeess* to increase so much in power, as did also some of his successors, that they by degrees assumed to themselves the independent property of the provinces of which they were only Governors for the crown. So that Hugh Capet, who ascended the throne in 987, for the securing his possession, found himself at first under the necessity of confirming to his great Lords, what Charles the Simple had supinely permitted them to assume, viz. the titles of Dukes and Counts of the provinces they governed, with the bare reserve of recognizing their vassalage to the crown. Such were the Dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, Britany, Aquitain, Gascony, Languedoc, the Counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse: but the countries of Savoy, Dauphine, and Provence, were then under the German empire, as being part of the kingdom of Arles. Hugh Capet, however, found means to re-annex to the crown, which, at that time, had scarcely any thing properly left of its own, the County of Paris, the Dutchy of France, as it was then called, all the lands between the Seine and Loire, and the County of Orleans: so that, in effect, the kings of France had no maritime territory, which they could call their own, being hemmed in from the sea on every side by their own vassals. This state of things in France continued more or less for some centuries following, until the kings of France, either by failure of issue, conquest, fraud, or purchase, gradually united them all to the crown, excepting Savoy and Flanders.

879 The city of Gaunt, or Ghent, in Flanders, must have been of some account, even so early as this time; since the valour and prudence of our great King Alfred having compelled the Danes, after their great ravages in England, to accept of a truce with him, they went from hence, and ravaged the coast and country of Flanders, and found a great booty in Ghent. Afterwards, joining another body of Danes, they over-ran all Brabant, Hainault, Artois, and Picardy, committing unheard of cruelties; and, under their famous leader, Hastings, ravaged the coast of France, and sailing from thence up the Mediterranean, they, by a stratagem, became masters of Luna on the Tuscan coast, where they committed cruelty at pleasure. Three years after this, they made Carloman, King of France, pay them no less than twelve thousand pounds weight of silver, after cruelly wasting the country.

880 Eyndius's *Chronicon Zelandiæ*, Middelburgi, 1634, quarto, tells us how mean the private houses in the Netherlands were at this time, being either altogether of timber, or, as many country houses still are in divers parts, with the walls made of watlings of rods, or twigs, plastered over with clay. Their noble woollen manufacture was not yet established in Flanders, which, by the advantages it produced, soon changed such buildings into large and sumptuous ones. In this year the Emperor Charles the Fat, is said to have added the date of the Christian æra to his public acts, and is the first who adopted that form.

882 This year is usually assigned for the founding the town of Shaftsbury in Dorsetshire, by King Alfred.

883 About this time, King Alfred, having sent Sighelm, Bishop of Sherburn, to Rome, with presents to the Pope, William of Malmesbury relates, that this Bishop afterwards travelled as far

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far as India to St. Thomas's, now called Meliapour, with gifts for the Christians there from that king, to whom he brought from thence precious stones and spices. Some of which gems, the same author says, remained in his time in the cathedral church of Sherborne in Dorsetshire.

885 The Danes continuing their invasions of England, sailed at this time up the Thames, and from thence up the river Lea, or Ley, into Hertfordshire, near where the town of Ware now stands, where they built two forts, one on each side that river, proposing to winter there: these forts the Londoners, &c. endeavoured to demolish, but were repulsed with great loss: whereupon King Alfred conceived a device, which quite disconcerted the measures of the Danes: by digging large ditches on each side the river Lea, he turned the stream from the channel, and so left the Danish ships dry; so that the Danes were compelled to march off over land, with their wives and children, farther into the country, and the Londoners went in triumph and burnt their vessels, whilst King Alfred's forces pursued their army. It is said the stream of that river was not restored to its usual state till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Some authors place this occurrence in 895. In the same year, the Northumbrian Danes infesting the coast of West Saxony, king Alfred constructed vessels longer than formerly in use, some of which are said to have had sixty oars, being loftier, swifter, and more steady than those of the Danes, by means of which the latter met with a total overthrow near the Isle of Wight; all their ships being either taken or sunk.

886 Historians acquaint us, that about this time King Alfred caused many ships to be built, and he let them, and money also, out to merchants, who, as they relate, traded to the East Indies, and brought from thence precious stones, &c. some of which remain still in the most ancient crown, wherewith Alfred and his successors were wont to be crowned. But this traffic, says Rapin, could be no farther than the Levant, in which it is more than probable he judges right. Others say, that those ships sailed to Alexandria, and from thence their people, passing over the Isthmus, went down the Red Sea to the coasts of Persia, &c.

887 Venice, at this time, was afflicted with many difficulties; on one side she was threatened by the Narenzians of Dalmatia; and on another, by the Saracens of Egypt and Barbary; but the most dangerous of all was a new and unexpected enemy, which she found in the Huns and Avarians, who, now united, had assumed the name of Hungarians; and who, marching through Switzerland into Lombardy, crowded the lagunas or shallows about Venice with their boats made of wicker, and covered with hides, in hopes to possess the riches of Venice, which was now become very opulent. They had actually reduced several of the villages on the islands in the lagunas about Venice, or what was then called only the Rialto. But the Doge, having assembled all his ships and smaller vessels, destroyed the main body of the enemy's boats, and forced the rest to a precipitate flight.

After which, the Venetians obliged the Narenzians, who had for many years disputed with Venice the dominion of the Adriatic, to submit to their superiority. Thus Venice gradually became mistress of the Adriatic Sea, which soon enabled her to get some sort of possession on the continent of Italy; first of Cabo d'Istria, next of Commachio, and afterwards of the entire continent-province of Venetia: in process of time, also, she possessed herself of a great part of the coasts of Dalmatia, &c. on the East side of the Adriatic, beside many isles in both the Ionian and Egean Seas, many of which, however, she afterwards lost to the Turks, together with the Morea. The same year the Hungarians first invaded the German empire and France, to revenge themselves for the tribute laid on them by Charlemagne; and, in their turn, they laid a tribute on the empire, on their engaging to avoid farther ravages.

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About this time, or, as Hakluyt thinks, about 890, our excellent King Alfred received from one Othier, a Norwegian, an account of his discoveries northward on the coast of Norway; a coast which seems to have been before very little, if at all, known to the Anglo-Saxons. There is one very remarkable thing in this account; for he tells King Alfred, “that he sailed along the Norway coast, so far north as commonly the whale-hunters use to travel;” which shews the great antiquity of whale-fishing; though, undoubtedly, then, and long after, the use of what is usually called whalebone was not known; so that they fished for whales merely on account of their fat or oil: “that those countries, till he came to the river Dwina, were very thinly peopled; but in Russia there were great numbers of people on the banks of that river. He farther says, that the principal purpose of his travel this way, was to increase the knowledge and discovery of those coasts, for the greater convenience of fishing for horse-whales, as he calls them, *i. e.* sea-horses, as we now call them, or morfes, as the Dutch name them; which, says he, have in their teeth bones of great price and excellence, some of which he brought, on his return, to the king. Their skins are also very good to make cables for ships, and were so used; seal skins were then also used for tackling and cables.” What is further very remarkable in this man’s voyage is, that almost 900 years ago, he made a most just survey and description of the whole coast of Norway, not only to the North Cape, but down the south east coast of Lapland, and so south into what is now called the White Sea, or sea of Archangel, even to the mouth of the river Dwina in Russia, on which Archangel stands: whereas all this discovery was again utterly lost to us till the year 1553, as will be seen under that year.

After King Alfred had got the better of the Danes, and recovered all his dominions, he made many regulations for the benefit of his people, and for the preventing of robberies, murders, and other disorders, which had been occasioned by the Danish invasions and devastations. To him is generally ascribed the division of England into shires, hundreds, and tithings, that every legal inhabitant might be found in, and be accountable to, some certain hundred or tithing: and if any one was suspected of robbery, &c. by his hundred or tithing, he should thereby be either condemned or acquitted. Thus the whole kingdom was brought into such tranquillity, that it is said, in case a traveller left any money in the fields or highways, if he came the next day, or a month after, according to Ingulphus, he would be sure to find it: the counties were to answer for the hundreds, these for the tithings, and the tithings for the heads of families; husbands answered for their wives, and for children under fifteen years of age, and for all their domestics: a regulation which bears a strong resemblance to those of China at this time. Yet all authors are not agreed as to Alfred’s being the first who divided the country into shires, &c. They say, the Saxon word, Scire, for a division or part of the country, is more ancient than King Alfred’s days, *viz.* in the time of Ina, king of Wessex: yet so wise a prince as Alfred might, without doubt, make many improvements of this kind; such as the increasing number of shires, and adding the other two subdivisions, as before remarked.

In the time of King Ethelred, who began his reign in the year 978, the counties of England were thirty-two in number, *viz.* Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Wilts, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Hereford, Worcester, Shropshire, Cheshire, Berks, Oxford, Gloucester, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Northampton, Leicester, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Bedford, Warwick, Hertford, Essex, Middlesex, Buckingham. King Wil-

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liam the Conqueror's famous Doomsday book added Yorkshire. Afterwards Lancashire, and the bishoprick of Durham, were added, being before, probably, parts of Yorkshire. And, on the re-uniting of the three counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, formerly held by the Scots, to the kingdom of England, they made up thirty-eight counties: it is somewhat uncertain at what precise time the little county of Rutland was added. Lastly, the thirteen Welch counties, of which number Monmouthshire is now reckoned an English one, were added by King Edward I. and King Henry VIII. so as to make up the present number of fifty-two counties in England and Wales.

This great Prince, King Alfred, first invented a Measurer of the Time of the Day, clocks not being discovered even long after this period. "He," says Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, Vol. II. Part iv. Chap. 2. "caused six large wax tapers to be provided, each being twelve inches in length, by the burning of which he measured out the twenty-four hours; and perceiving that the burning of these was unequal, occasioned by the wind through the windows, and the crannies in the walls of his chapel, &c. to prevent that inconvenience, he invented a great lanthorn made of wood, and thin scraped plates of white horns of oxen, glass being then a great rarity in England." Time measuring was probably in use very early, although the dial of Ahaz be the earliest account we have of any such invention. The ancient Greeks and Romans used three different time measurers; one of which was hour glasses, the second was sun-dials, *salaria*, the third was a vessel filled with water, called a Clepsydra, having a small hole in its bottom, by the means of which they measured their time both day and night. Probably sun-dials were the most ancient of the three, as the shadows of houses, trees, &c. naturally suggested a time measurer of that kind.

This most excellent and sagacious Prince invited learned men from foreign countries, for the instruction and improvement of his people, who were sunk into gross ignorance by long and cruel wars and devastations; on which learned persons he settled pensions. Alfred is said to have fought fifty-six pitched battles with the Danes, and at length obliged those of that nation, who were in possession of the kingdoms of Northumberland, East Anglia, and Mercia, to acknowledge him to be the Sovereign of all England, having called the Scottish kings, Gregory I. and Donald VI. to his assistance, who also obtained many victories over the Danes. Being thus established in tranquillity, he made many excellent laws, and particularly that most noble institution of *Trials by a Jury of Twelve of the accused Person's Peers, or Equals*, which we have enjoyed to the present time. It would be, indeed, almost endless, to recount all his excellencies: he departed this mortal life in the year of our Lord 900; leaving by will to each of his daughters one hundred pounds in money, beside the lands he had before settled on them.

890 The famous city of Bruges, in Flanders, is now first fortified with a wall by their Prince Baldwin, surnamed the Bald, as a defence against the incursions of the Normans, of whom he had before slaughtered an almost incredible number.

In the same year, the Normans invaded Bretagne; but Alan, duke of that country, is said to have slain fourteen thousand six hundred of them.

891 The next year, if credit is to be given to the *Annales Fuldenses*, and to Marianus Scotus, the Emperor Arnulph slaughtered no fewer than ninety thousand Normans, without losing so much as one man.

893 In this year, King Alfred being invaded in two different places, by a Danish fleet of three hundred sail, divided into two squadrons, one on the coast of Kent, the other up the river Thames; that wise Prince built vessels longer and higher out of the water than those of the Danes,

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Danes, and some of his galleys were of forty oars, being a kind of half-decked vessels, with which he again discomfited the Danes. In these the archers shot at the enemy, and when they boarded them, they fought with swords and targets.

895. Rollo, the famous Norman and Danish leader, being frustrated in an attempt upon England, entered the river Seine with his fleet; and for several years, says Mezerai, nothing was heard in those parts but the sacking and burning of cities, and laying the country waste. The Abbe Vertot, in his History of the establishment of the Britons among the Gauls, observes, that Rollo's vessels were merely a composition of hurdles, covered with hides sewed together, and that these sort of vessels, though fitter for narrow rivers than for the sea, were in use for some succeeding ages.

- 900 After the discovery of letters in the world, necessity put men, in very early times, upon various materials to write on: with some, pieces of the inner bark of certain trees, as the birch, &c. were strung together.—With others, the broad and tough leaves of certain other trees.—The Egyptians, in the time of Alexander the Great, or perhaps sooner, are said to have been the inventors of a fictitious substance made from a kind of dog-grass, or flag, which they called *Papyrus*; and this was the first manufactured matter for writing upon, being long in great use and repute, because it could be folded together in sheets like our modern paper.—The city of Pergamus has the credit of the invention of dressing sheep's skin, so as to bear writing upon, which is said to have been invented by King Attalus, and which from thence was called *Pergamenum* in Latin, and we and the French call Parchment, being, beyond all other matter, the most proper for recording of things which require a long duration. It was at the close of this ninth century, according to Montfaucon's Essay on the Egyptian Papyrus, published by the French Academy of Belles Lettres, that a better kind of paper, and more easily and universally to be obtained than the Egyptian Papyrus, was first made of cotton, which soon gained the ascendant over the former. In effect, however, the manner of making the cotton paper, introduced the still better and cheaper paper made of linen rags. This last invention, Montfaucon ascribes to the twelfth century: yet others make it so late as 1417; and an octavo treatise in English, intitled, *The General History of Discoveries and Improvements*, says, that rag paper was not invented till about the year 1452: while Rombold, in his Dissertation on Paper, printed at Berlin in the year 1744, fixes its invention to have been in 1470, though probably somewhat earlier. The cotton paper, now invented, very nearly resembled our rag paper; but as the latter was much cheaper in its manufacture, as being made of rags, which before were thrown on the dunghill, it soon drove out of use the cotton paper, which necessarily bore a much higher price. Travellers give us accounts of the various materials of which the paper of India, China, and Japan is made, on which we have no occasion to enlarge; and it is almost equally unnecessary to add, that our modern European paper manufacture is become a very considerable branch of commerce.

About this time the Hungarians, still, according to Mezerai, a bloody and barbarous people, originally from Scythia, seated themselves, where they still are, in Pannonia, after driving the Huns from thence. They soon became a scourge to all the powers beyond the north of the Rhine and Danube, as the Normans were on the opposite sides of those rivers: yet Machiavel's History of Florence observes, that the Unni, or Hunni, coming from Pannonia to invade Italy, were there vanquished by Beringarius, Duke of Friuli, and driven back to Pannonia, which from them took the name of Hungary. The fame which had spread abroad of the great riches of Venice drew those Barbarians into Italy; and being repulsed with great

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900 loss, the Venetians, in their turn, attacked some of the towns of Istria, then deemed part of Hungary, by which they first got any kind of establishment on that part of the continent.

We shall close this century with briefly observing, that Spain, of which Portugal was then deemed a part, affords us nothing hitherto material relating to commerce nor to navigation; the Christian Princes there being as yet wholly taken up with their quarrels with the Moorish Kings of that country, on whom they were, by this time, gradually gaining considerable ground.

TENTH CENTURY. ITS CHARACTER.

All the writers on the state of this century, adopt the same uniform strain concerning the gross ignorance in which Europe still remained; and of the very few materials for history transmitted down to us, by reason of the paucity of writers. Mezerai's account of this tenth century, in his History of France, is to this effect: "the ignorance of those times was extremely great, and for want of historians, we scarcely find any thing worth recording; so that sometimes we are forced to pass over whole years without the mention of any occurrence therein." Monsi. Voltaire, in his General History of Europe from the Time of Charlemagne to the Reign of the Emperor Charles V. observes, "That nothing but poverty, confusion, and barbarism were to be seen in France, both in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The fine manufactures were still confined to Greece and Italy; the French towns were poor, and almost depopulated." Continual wars among the western princes—the ignorance and bad lives of the clergy, the bishops and abbots going personally into the wars and bearing arms—books extremely scarce, the wars and the devastations of the Normans, Saracens, and Hungarians, having destroyed the greatest part of them. From all which, and similar considerations, modern writers think this century may, with justice, have the appellation of the Iron Age. Sir William Temple, speaking of those times, seems almost at a loss "how it should have come to pass, that the infinite swarm of that vast northern hive, the Normans and Danes, which so often shook the world like a tempest, and overflowed it like a torrent, possessing themselves of England, of a great part of France, and of Naples and Sicily, should, about seven or eight hundred years ago, drop their furious expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren or tame, or better contented with their own bad climates." Yet what he adds, in great measure clears up his own difficulty:—"But I suppose," says he, "we owe this benefit wholly to the growth and progress of Christianity in the north, by which, early and undistinguished copulation, or a multitude of wives, were either restrained or abrogated. By the same means, *i. e.* Christianity, learning and civility gradually got footing amongst them—and men began to leave their wilder lives, spent without other cares or pleasures than of food or lust, and betook themselves to the ease and entertainment of Societies: and, with order and labour, riches began, and trade followed."—Memoirs of the United Netherlands.

The multitude of Normans settling in France in this century, took off great numbers of those ravagers, and brought them into a fixed and regular way of life: and notwithstanding all the lamentable and too just descriptions of this century, which we have related, many things may be observed in them, which contributed to the revival and increase of commerce,

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all over the west; such as the building of many noble cities in Germany and other parts, which remain to this day, and the almost wonderful improvement of that country in general, in so short a space as since the time of Charlemagne. The rise of the great manufactures of the Netherlands; the gold and silver mines, and also many of the baser metals found in Germany and other parts; together with the conversion of the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Poles, and Hungarians, to Christianity, towards the end of this century, would naturally create a friendly correspondence, and soon after, a trade with other Christian countries; and notwithstanding that the devastations and ravages of the Danes still continued to the very end of this century, more particularly against England and Scotland, and the depredations of the Saracens in Italy, &c. yet, for the reasons abovementioned, and perhaps for some others, which the judicious reader will not be at a loss to infer from our following memoirs of this century, even this very dark age, with all its barbarism, will be found to be furnished with means preparatory to the introduction of commerce in succeeding times. Our King Athelstan's zeal for the commerce of his subjects, even as far as the Mediterranean Sea; the Moors settling a trade in India, and the growth of the Republic of Venice, were all introductory to the general growth of commerce in Europe.

905 We have seen, that the Normans under Rollo had, by violence, forced a residence in France, ever since the year 895; but in 905 they forbear their former ravages and devastations; for having in that year taken the city of Rouen by composition, and there fixed their principal residence, they now, instead of destroying the neighbouring castles, began to fortify them, in order the better to maintain their settlement in that country. They continued to increase their conquests there; and, in the year 909, laid siege to Paris, and vanquished the King's army, "in which," says Mezerai, "they were encouraged by the rival Princes and great Lords of France, who made use of them against each other, till in 912, their famous leader Rollo, embracing Christianity, Charles the Simple not only made a truce with him, but, making a virtue of necessity, yielded to him, in propriety, that part of Neustria, since from them named Normandy, creating him Duke of that country; and, for the further securing his friendship, gave him his own daughter to wife." After which, huge swarms of Normans came and settled in various parts of France: and Rollo, instead of burning and sacking, now repaired and improved Rouen, his capital residence.

907 In 907 a bloody battle was fought, for three days together, between the Emperor Louis IVth's army and that of the still Pagan Hungarians, to the advantage of the latter, who, in 909, over-ran and wasted all Germany, till that Emperor was compelled to buy their departure with a large sum of money.

912 About this time a new additional Christian kingdom was erected in Spain: Sancho Abacco, the first king of Navarre, having extended his territory of Pampeluna towards Huesca, &c. assumed the title of King of Pampeluna and Arragon. And thus the Christians of Spain, who were the remainder of the Visigoths, gradually gained ground on the Moors of Spain, whose predecessors had taken violent possession of their country.

At this very time also, the German empire began to wear a new face, from the death of Louis IV. the last of the bastard blood of Charlemagne, who died in this year 912; for the hereditary German Princes, in conjunction with the Bishops, now began to elect Emperors out of their own body, and Germany soon became wonderfully improved. But their principal Bishops, in imitation of his Holiness, their head, about this time also began to assume tem-
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poral jurisdiction over their bishoprics, and soon became considerable sovereign princes, as those of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, Saltzburgh, Wurtziburg, Bremen, Munster, &c. Sundry Abbots also assumed a like sovereignty; such as those of St. Gall, Fulda, &c. by which means the clergy, who are very tenacious of their temporal interests, have maintained most of those sovereignties to this day, and have thereby acquired a great weight in the Diets of the empire, and three of them in the election of Emperors. Some of the Bishops of France, as those of Lyons, Rheims, &c. attempted a like sovereignty, but could not hold it for any length of time. From this circumstance, many Dukes, Counts, and Barons, assumed a sovereignty over their respective estates; and as there were constant quarrels between the provinces, what little trade there was became greatly interrupted in most parts of Europe, whereupon many Lords entered into associations for maintaining the public peace, and for protecting Ladies from abuses; hence began that romantic spirit of Chivalry, or Associations of Knights, created with religious ceremonies, which in the twelfth and following centuries, made themselves famous for expeditions to the Holy Land, as well as by propagating Christianity with an armed force in the north end of Germany, Poland, Prussia, and Livonia, as will be shewn in its proper place. Yet all the Dukes, Counts, Bishops, and Abbots, both in France and Germany, still continued to pay homage to their supreme sovereigns, which was termed the Feudal Right, or Law.

As yet there were no great, free, or imperial cities in Germany, and very little commerce or opulence; neither were there any number of walled towns, excepting those on the Rhine and Danube, which had been frontier forts of the Roman empire. But the Emperor Henry the Fowler, who came to the crown in 919, and died in 937, reduced Germany into much better order than it had before been, and much improved it. He established a Militia, and united the Barons, by which prudent measures he soon abolished the tribute till then paid to the Hungarians. He also surrounded many German cities with walls. His son, Otho the Great, improved on his father's plan, assuming also the sovereignty of Rome and Italy, which, however, was very negligently conducted by his successors.

According to the learned Gerrard Brandt's History of the Reformation, &c. in and about the Low Countries, Holland now first obtained that name, given to it by the Normans on account of its low situation, it being before this time reckoned and called part of the country of the Franks: neither, says this author, did the first Counts bear the title of Holland till about the year 1033, or later.

At this time, Conrade, Duke of Franconia, elected King of Germany, for the title of Emperor was not then assumed by the sovereigns of that country, opposed to his utmost the potent Dukes of Lorrain, Swabia, Bavaria, and Saxony, in the maintenance of their hereditary succession, and the sovereignty of their respective countries; which, however, he was not able to prevent.

The Saracens, about this time, having made themselves masters of Calabria, Apulia, and many Italian cities, committed great devastations in that country; from whence they were not expelled until the year 968, by the Emperor Otho, or Otto II. siled the Great.

Notwithstanding the great application of the German Bishops, ever since the time of Charlemagne, to convert the northern parts of that country, amongst the Sclavi, &c. to Christianity, yet we find by Adam Bremenſis, and Lambeccii Origines Hamburgenses, that the Sclavi, and also the Danes, wasted the diocesses of Hamburg and Bremen, purely in hatred to the Christian religion, as did also the Pagan Bohemians and Hungarians about this time.

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And the last mentioned nation not only wasted Germany, but crossed the Rhine, and ravaged Lorraine, and part of France, about the year 920, and repeated their devastations in Italy in the year 922.

- 919 The Emperor Henry the Fowler, who came to the crown in 919, and died in 937, proved a great and wise prince, and greatly improved and strengthened Germany. He was the founder of many famous cities in Saxony and other parts, which he also fortified against the incursions of the Pagan Sclavi, Vandals, and Hungarians, and garrisoned them with the bravest of his foldiers, who, from thence, according to Werdenhagen, were first named Burghers, as the citizens in Germany are called to this day. That wise and politic Emperor, being about to attack the Vandals, in the year 927, did, in the presence of his Dukes, Princes, Marquises, and Earls, elevate some of the stoutest of the commonalty, as also the bravest artificers in cities, to the dignity of the nobility; and, having in the same year, by their assistance, taken the town of Brandenburg from the Vandals, he bestowed it and other neighbouring places on his new created nobility, which is the cause, says Werdenhagen, that, even to this day, there are greater numbers of nobility in that part of the country than any where else in Germany.

Even Leipfick itself was, by this Emperor, first made a walled town, it being doubted by Peiferus himself, in his *Origines Lipfienfes*, whether Leipfick was a town, or only a village, till his reign.

By all which wise measures, he was enabled to drive the Hungarians and Slavomans, for that time at least, quite out of Germany.

- 924 The West Saxon Kings being now become sole monarchs of England, King Athelstan this year found it prudent to remove farther north, and to be crowned at Kingston upon Thames. Dr. Howell says, "That this remove was not so much in respect to London, which, for opulence, and multitude of inhabitants, had not been, during these Saxon times, so considerable, and had also sustained great calamities by fire, as to the invasions of the Danes, which were frequently made up the river Thames; and also to be nearer to the East Angles, amongst whom those rovers had fixed themselves: for the same reason, three of the Kings, his successors, Edred, Edwi, and Ethelred, were crowned, and probably often resided, there, whereby it got the name of Kingstown. It seems that it had formerly stood on a flat ground, liable to the inundations of the Thames; and for that reason it was removed to its present site, when it probably had the name of Kingston given it, its former name being Moreford."

- 925 There must probably have been, at this time, but very little, if any, maritime commerce from England to the countries within the Mediterranean Sea; since, in King Athelstan's reign in the year 925, that wise prince, for the promoting the commerce of his subjects, enacted a law, "That every merchant who made three voyages to that sea on his own account, should be raised to honour, and enjoy the privileges of a gentleman." The connexion which all Christian countries then had with the court of Rome might, probably, allure some of our traders, now and then, to make an adventure thither with a cargo by sea, though, without doubt, most of our correspondencies and visits to that court were made and carried on over land, through France and Lombardy.

King Athelstan, according to Sir Henry Spelman's and Wilkins's Saxon Laws, appointed Mints for the coinage of money to be at the following places, viz. London to have eight mints, Canterbury seven, viz. four for the King, two for the Archbishop, and one for the Abbot

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Abbot of St. Austin's; Rochester three, viz. two for the King, and one for the Bishop; Winchester six, Lewis, Southampton, Exeter, Shaftsbury, and Wareham, two each, and every other great town to have one each.

There is no mention made of any city or town north of London; which shews that this monarch's jurisdiction was not then so extensive northward; the Danes being still masters in the kingdoms of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, though, as in King Alfred's time, acknowledging his superiority.

According to some historians, the Emperor Henry the Fowler, having driven the Vandals out of Brandenburg, or at least reduced them to subjection, he, this same year, created, for the first time, a Marquis of Brandenburg, *i. e.* governor of the marches, or frontiers, which divided that country from the still unsubdued Pagan nations further north, viz. the Vandals, Sclavi, &c. of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, &c. The Royal Author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg hereupon observes, "that as Charlemagne had formerly compelled those people to embrace Christianity, from which they revolted as soon as his army had moved from them, so also did Henry the Fowler, by the like violence, re-convert them, in 928, with a great deal of bloodshed—yet the Brandenburgers revolted to Paganism a second time, headed by Mistevoys, king of the Vandals, who drove the Margrave Thierry out of Brandenburg, but they were, in the end, and by force of arms, reduced a third time to Christianity."

About this time, according to Helmoldus, the most eminent and principal city of Sweden was named Byrca, or Byrk, whither the Christian Missionaries from Germany resorted. He calls it a most famous town of the Goths, situated in the middle of Sweden, having a good haven on the Baltic Sea, whither the ships of the Danes, Norwegians, Sclavi, and other Scythian people usually resorted for commerce. Adam of Bremen calls it by the same name, and also by that of Sictona. Speaking of the magnitude of the Pagan Temple at Upsal, (and he wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica* in 1080) he says, that it was, *totum auro paratum*, *i. e.* adorned all over with gold, and adds, "it is not far distant from Sictona or Byrca." it is, however, agreed that Stockholm was not as yet built. Puffendorf, in his History of Sweden, says, that Byrca, about this time, was one of the greatest and strongest cities of Sweden, being then able to send twelve thousand men into the field, without any sensible diminution of its inhabitants, which, if true, is more, perhaps, than Stockholm can do at present. A Swedish gentleman acquainted the author of this work, that Biorkon signifies the island of Biork, *i. e.* Byrca, and that it stood about thirty miles higher up the bay whereon Stockholm was afterwards built, there being still some few vestiges of its ancient greatness to be traced, where there remains a village named Byrk at this day. This account confirms what Adam of Bremen says of the situation of Byrca, since it is well known that the city of Upsal is not far from Stockholm.

- 131 Miserable was the condition of Italy at this time, being grievously afflicted, says Machiavel, in his History of Florence, by the ravages of two different invaders, viz. the Huns or Hungarians on the side of the Alps, and the Saracens on the side of Naples. Hereby the Pope and the Church were continually molested; and by reason of the divisions amongst the princes of the West, and the weakness of the Greek emperors, Italy remained in an helpless and forlorn condition. In this year the Saracens destroyed the city of Genoa, and wasted its territory, and from this destruction of Genoa, adds Machiavel, sprung the future greatness of the city of Pisa, whither the Genoese now fled for shelter.

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In these times of ignorance there were few to be found, more especially among the laity, who could use the pen, either in the courts of princes, or in the government of cities, so that they found themselves obliged to chuse secretaries and registers from among the ecclesiastics; from whence, even to this day, the writers in secretaries offices, courts of justice, &c. are styled clerks: by which means the clergy insinuated themselves yet further into the management of temporal matters.—Brandt's History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries, Vol. I.

- 933 The Arabian Saracens having long since subdued Egypt and the coast of Barbary, and afterwards Spain, Majorca, Sardinia, Corfica, &c. they at length push their conquests along the shores of the Red Sea, down to the coasts of Africa, south west from the Straights of Babelmandel, in the country of the Caffres. Here, it is said, these Arabians built, soon after, all the towns in that country, for the Caffres were then a naked and miserably ignorant people, having had no towns before. It is also said, that the Arabs were here joined by colonies at different times from Persia, and that they built the towns of Brava, Mombaza, Quiloa, Mozambique, Magadoxa, Sofala, famous for its rich gold mines, and possibly the Ophir of Solomon, Melinda, &c. They also mastered the islands on that coast, and sent some colonies to the great isle of Madagascar. In this condition did the Portuguese find that coast on their first voyage to India. The same Arabian conquerors had driven the native Caffresians up into the inland parts, from whence they brought the Arabs, on the coast, gold-dust, elephant's teeth, skins, &c. These Arabs soon fell into a commerce by shipping to India, having also spread themselves along the whole coast eastward to the river Indus, and from thence as far south as Cape Comorin, where the Portuguese found many of them when they first arrived in India, under the general name of Moors, who then transacted all the commerce of the East, and greatly opposed the settlement of the Portuguese in India; by which, however, when speaking of those in India, we must not understand merely the native Moors of Barbary, as we do in Europe, says the author of Portuguese Asia, but all sorts of Mahometans settled in India, who are there called by the general name of Moors.

It was happy for the rest of mankind, and particularly for Christendom, that the Saracens, who had thus extended their conquests so far and wide, did not long remain united under one general Empire and Caliph, but permitted many independent monarchies to be erected whereby they gradually lost several of them. Thus, in Spain, the Moors of Cordova suffered new kingdoms to be erected at Toledo, Husca, Murcia, Valentia, &c. which gave the Christian princes of Spain great advantages over them. Though, it must be owned, that these Christian princes fell into a similar mistake, and were often at variance among themselves, even so far as sometimes to join with the Moorish princes in Spain against each other, and, in some instances, to intermarry with them.

- 937 King Athelstan drives the Britons of Exeter into Cornwall, and in the same year he expelled the Scots out of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and possessed himself of the kingdom of Northumberland; although Anlaf, a Danish Northumbrian Prince, had sailed into the Humber with six hundred vessels against Athelstan three years before; and had received assistance from the Irish and Welch, and from Constantine, king of Scotland, all whom he is said to have defeated by his fleet.
- 938 Athelstan, king of England, reduces Ludwal, the principal King of Wales, to pay him a tribute of twenty pounds weight of gold, three hundred pounds weight of silver, twenty-five thousand oxen, and as many hounds and hawks as he should require. These successes soon spread

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spread his fame beyond sea, and several princes on the continent courted his friendship. The Emperor, Otho the Great, married a daughter of Athelstan's; Hugh, mayor of the palace of France, obtained another daughter for his son; and Louis, prince of Aquitaine, espoused a third. These matches produced such rich and noble presents for Athelstan, as had not been seen before his time; such as gems, precious stones, vessels of Onyx, rich perfumes, the finest horses with golden furniture, &c. Harald, king of Norway, is also said to have sent Athelstan a ship, whose stern was gold, most probably gilded, and the sails of purple. Our monkish writers, if they liked the tale, made no scruple of employing their exaggerations on the occasion.

- 940 The eleventh article of the treaty of Westphalia, between the Empire and Sweden, makes the date of the first charter from Otho the Great to the city of Magdeburg to be on the 7th of June, 940, before which time it was probably an inconsiderable place; Bardewic being then the only great and principal city of Saxony, and a great emporium, according to Angelius à Werdenhagen, who yet makes this charter to have been granted seven years later. This great Emperor now grants the inhabitants "power to build and fortify their city, and to exercise the municipal law therein; to be a free city, and its inhabitants to be free, &c."—Werdenhagen makes the same Emperor to grant a second charter to Magdeburg, in the year 972, directed to the merchants and their successors, Mercatoribus and posteris suis, "That, not only in his dominions, but throughout Christendom, and likewise in heathen or barbarous countries," such was the respect paid in those times to the head of the empire, says our author, that they frequently made their grants in this style; "they shall have free egress and regress, without paying any tolls in other towns, or at bridges, waters, weirs, &c. excepting only the customary tolls, at Mentz, Cologne, Tiel, and Bardewick." These are the same privileges as are enjoyed by imperial cities at this time.

We find another charter to Magdeburg, in the year 1024, from the Emperor Conrade II. in none of which, however, is the word community or corporation as yet mentioned, as meaning one body politic. Otho the Great also fortified the neighbouring towns, as Hall, Northausen, Halberstadt, Quedlinburg, Helmstadt, &c. But Magdeburg, above all others, was his favourite, which, for many ages after, was the seat of the chief courts of justice of the empire, and deemed its capital. The same Emperor made it also an archbishoprick, as being a frontier against the incursions, &c. of the Pagan Slavi, Vandals, Sarmatians, according to Adam Bremenensis.

- 144 About this time Edmund I. king of England, drove the Welch out of Cumberland, and yielded that country up to Malcolm I. king of Scotland, together with the county of Westmorland.
- 148 The Emperor Otto, or Otho the Great, is said this year to have vanquished the Danes, and to have compelled them to embrace Christianity. He proved equally successful against the still Pagan Hungarians, Vandals, Slavi, &c. who nevertheless afterwards revolted.
- 150 He again reduces the Bohemians, and adds Belgium, Burgundy, and Hungary to the empire, though the last did not long continue in that state. In Italy he vanquishes King Berengarius, deposes one pope, and sets another up in his stead.

Germany was also so happy at this time, and during the reign of so great an emperor as Otho the Great, to have her first silver mines discovered at Goslar in Saxony, which were actually begun to be worked. This occasioned successful searches to be made for the discovery of many others in Germany. Yet German authors say, that the mines of Hartz are more ancient

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ancient than even ~~those~~ of Saxony. From those rich mines immense quantities of silver were dug, whereby the sole medium of commerce in that part of the world was greatly increased, and much additional vigour afforded to commercial enterprise. Yet the mines of Hungary are said to be an hundred years older than those of Goslar, some of which are nine hundred feet in depth, and they are probably the oldest now subsisting in Europe.

About this time also Helmoldus makes mention of the Slavian city of Aldenburg, or Oldenburg, in Holstein, as being then a famous emporium on the Baltic Shore, and much frequented by shipping, within thirty miles of the spot where Lubeck, which was not then in being, now stands. Here was a palace of the kings of Slavia; and it remained in a flourishing state till Queen Margaret of Denmark destroyed its haven; since which time it is much decayed.

Voltaire, in his General History of Europe, conjectures, that it was not till the end of the ninth century, when the Venetians, retiring farther into their lagunas, gave to their assemblage of little isles, which now formed a town, the name of Venice, from the name of the neighbouring coast called Terra Venetorum; and that having, by their wealth and arms, acquired first the province of Istria, and afterwards part of Dalmatia, with Spalatro, Ragusa, and Narenza, their Doge, about the year 950, assumed the title of Duke of Dalmatia.

About the middle of this century, according to Tallents's tables, and those of some other chronologers, the science of numeral Algebra was invented in Arabia by Geber, others say, by Mahomet Moses; but literal Algebra was much later. In this and the preceding century, there were also many learned Astronomers in Arabia; yet we shall see that it was near five hundred years later before Algebra was known in Christendom.

The Emperor Otho the Great, erects Cologne into the dignity of an imperial city, *i. e.* a city subject to none but the empire in general, and to the Emperor himself; enjoying such other valuable privileges as those bestowed by the same prince on Magdeburg.

959 From King Alfred's death, to the reign of King Edgar the Peaceful, we find no mention of any English navy. But when that king ascended the throne, concerning whose power and grandeur, our monkish writers have been so extremely lavish, as to have spoiled, in a great measure, by their exaggerations, what they laboured with so much pains to establish, we are told of almost marvellous exploits.

What Dr. Howell says of him, in his History of the World, may be very true, viz. "That he understood and practised the true interest of his country—which was to be master at sea," &c. He adds, "that he equipped such a fleet, as for number of vessels may seem incredible." A very just remark.

Malmſbury says, "That every summer, immediately after Easter, he commanded his ships upon every shore to be brought into a body; he sailed usually with the eastern fleet to the western part of the island, and then sending it back with the western one, he sailed into the North, and thence with the northern he returned to the East; being exceeding diligent to prevent the incursions of the Danes, Welch and Scots, and courageous for defence of his kingdom against foreigners, &c."

Each of his fleets, as we are told, consisted of one thousand two hundred stout ships, according to Hoveden and Florence of Worcester; making in all three thousand six hundred. Others go so far as to make them amount to four thousand ships. Others add a fourth fleet, which increases the number to four thousand eight hundred. And, to make all this seem the more feasible, they tell us, that to enable him to sustain so great a charge, beside the contributions of his subjects, he had eight petty kings his vassals, bound to him by oath to be ready

M. at his command by sea and land, viz. the kings, or some king, of part of Ireland, or of Scotland, others say of Ireland only, of Cumberland, of the Isles, *i. e.* Mann, &c. and five others of Wales. We may easily suppose he might, though not much to his credit, as his encomiasts say, make those eight tributary princes row him in his barge on the river Dee at Chester; but how he and they together could fit out, and keep up constantly so vast a fleet as never was before, nor probably ever will again be heard of, and in an age too wherein there was so little commerce, is impossible to be ascertained. He was but sixteen years of age when he came to the crown, and he reigned just as many years. It was but about half a century since the Danes were superior both at sea and land; and although probably this king was a gallant and wise young prince, it seems strange so vast a change should so suddenly be effected. Edgar's brother and predecessor, King Edwy, had treated the monks with great harshness; and because Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, had warmly animadverted on that youth's lewd life, he had banished him to Flanders. Edgar acted just the reverse of his brother. He recalled St. Dunstan, as he is stiled, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury. He not only restored the former revenues of the monasteries which Edwy had sequestered, but even built many new monasteries, some say, one every year of his life, and some say forty in all, while others make the number of his religious foundations to amount to forty-eight. Upon these and similar considerations, one must be very little acquainted with the spirit and history of monks, not to know that they generally made princes pious or irreligious, wise or foolish, weak or powerful, in exact proportion to the regard they testified for their order. Yet one honest monk, William Thorne, approached nearest to the truth, who allows the whole number of his ships to have been at most but four hundred. The monks canonized him after his death; and so rich were the convents through the liberality of this and former princes, that in this very reign, according to Ingulphus, the treasure of Crowland Abbey amounted to ten thousand pounds, besides holy vessels, shrines, reliqs, &c. What then must some other more ancient monasteries have had, since this of Crowland, or Croyland, had been founded but thirty years. It was therefore, in our humble opinion, below the dignity of the great Mr. Selden, to introduce into his *Maré clausum* such improbable stories as this of Edgar's naval power, purely to please his master King Charles I. though he afterwards put on a different countenance. Finally, whatever this king's power really was, all historians are agreed, that with him was buried all the glory of the Anglo Saxons; "nothing," says Dr. Howell, "being thenceforth to be heard amongst them but death and ruin."

10 About this time, or rather somewhat sooner, according to the great Pensionary De Witt's Interest of Holland, Chap. 11. Part. I. the woollen manufacture of Flanders, and other parts of the Netherlands, which made so great a figure for the six succeeding centuries, took its rise. That great man observes, "That till now, there were scarcely any merchants in all Europe, excepting a few in the republics of Italy, who traded with the Indian Caravans of the Levant."

"The Flemings, lying nearest to France," continues De Witt, "were the first that began to earn their living by weaving, and sold the produce of their labour in that fruitful land, (France,) where the inhabitants were not only able to feed themselves, but also, by the superfluous growth of their country, could put themselves into good apparel. Which Baldwin the Young, or the IIIrd, earl of Flanders, about the year 960, considerably improved, by establishing annual fairs or markets in several places, without any tolls being demanded for goods either imported or exported." The Flemish historians say, that his father Arnold being

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being very old, resigned the government to his son, in 959, who thereupon fortified the cities of Bruges, Ypres, Furnes, Bergen, or Mons, Bourbourg, Dixmude, Oldenburg, Rouffelaire, Rodembourg, &c. He invited over into Flanders all manner of handicraftsmen for making all sorts of manufactures, to whom he granted great privileges. He also established many fairs at Bruges, Courtray, Torhout, Mont-Cassel, &c. and fixed markets at stated days in every week, where merchants could exchange their goods for others; which was then practised, according to the authors of those histories, because of the scarcity of money.

This judicious account from so great a man, must naturally carry much conviction along with it, as what may be deemed an authentic, though brief, view of the rise of the famous Netherland woollen manufacture, probably prior to that of linen; the former being in a manner absolutely requisite for preserving men from the inclemency of the weather, the latter rather a species of luxury; many barbarous nations at this day living without any linen at all. As men engaged more in commerce, and consequently grew richer and more elegant, they gave the greater encouragement to so cleanly and desirable a commodity as linen to be worn next their bodies, &c. The linen manufacture came first from Egypt into Greece and Italy, and thence travelled westward to France and Flanders; next probably into Germany and England, before it got ground in the more northern and north east parts of Europe, where it has since prospered very much. Others think that the Carthaginians first introduced it into Europe.

It is almost unnecessary to remark in this place, that, at least, some sort of woollen cloth must ever have been made in all civilized countries; and that wherever the Romans planted colonies, they there introduced the weaving of cloth. Mr. Camden, in his *Britannia*, speaking of the antiquity and eminence of the city of Winchester, says, "That there the Roman emperors seem to have had their imperial weaving houses for cloths of both woollen and linen for the Emperor and the army; and, most probably, that necessary art was preserved in Britain after the Romans quitted it, though perhaps in a plainer kind, till the fourteenth century, when King Edward III. introduced the fine manufacture from the Netherlands."

The city of Ypres, in Flanders, is said to have now been built. It has been long famous for the table linen manufacture, vulgarly called diaper, i. e. cloth d'Ypres, or of Ypres.

The *Annales Flandriæ*, printed at Frankfort in 1580, observes under the year 958, "That by reason of the scarcity of money at that time, the Flemings dealt mostly by permutation, or barter of one kind of merchandize for another; which we read was also the practice of almost all the Germans and Sarmatians." Which is a confirmation of Pensionary De Witt's account already quoted under this year.

961 In this year the island of Candia, or Crete, was taken from the Saracens by the Greek emperor Romanus I. or as some relate, in the year 964, by Nicephorus Phocas

Henry duke of Bavaria, at this time, built Munich, the present capital of that country; but was not surrounded with a wall till the year 1175.

If, as historians relate, St. Paul's cathedral church in London, which was burnt down in the year 961, was rebuilt in that same year, nothing can be a clearer proof of the meanness of even our most public buildings at this time; since, as Maitland, in his *History of London*, rightly conjectures, it must, in all probability, have been a small timber building.

962 At this time, a great part of Ireland was subject to Edgar king of England, who had driven out the Danes. Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, gives us that King's pompous description of himself in a charter of his, viz. "I Edgar, king of England, and of all
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the kings of the isles round Britain, with their kingdoms, as far as Norway ; and of a great “ part of Ireland, with its most noble city of Dublin.” Mr. Selden, who has also given us this charter, in his *Titles of Honour*, rightly observes, that this dominion continued not in his predecessors.

The city of Dublin must, at this time, have made a considerable figure, for Sir James Ware, in his *Annals of Ireland*, quotes a charter of King Edgar, dated this very year, at Gloucester, wherein it is termed, *Nobilissima Civitas Dublinia*, i. e. the most noble or eminent city of Dublin.

Denmark, according to the Scholiast on *Adami Bremenfis Historia Ecclesiastica*, was in this year entirely converted to the Christian religion ; King Harold VI. and all his people now openly professing it.

About this time, Edgar king of England adopted an effectual method of clearing his kingdom of wolves, by imposing an annual tribute of three hundred of those animals on the princes of Wales, so that, in the third year, there were no wolves to be found either in England or Wales : yet they remained in Scotland much later. Others place this matter under the year 970.

In this year Baldwin earl of Flanders built the town of Dunkirk ; though it was not famous for either buildings or shipping till long after.

Under this same year Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, which work we shall have frequent occasion to quote in the sequel of this history, says, “ That a palfrey was worth ten shillings ; an acre of land was purchased for one shilling ; and an hide of land, which contained an hundred and twenty acres, at one hundred shillings.” This shews the great scarcity of money and of purchasers at this time ; probably, indeed, their money was at least thrice the quantity of silver that is contained in our present coin. The land, in particular, is amazingly cheap, for which another probable reason is usually assigned, viz. the great difficulty of, and obstruction to, the sale of the barons lands, until the statute of King Henry VII. gave a legal permission for the sale of them.

Scotland, about this time, is said to have been frequently invaded and ravaged by the Danes.

In this year an end was put to the title of King of Italy ; the Emperor Otho having vanquished Adelbert, the son of Berenger, the last king of that country ; which afterwards remained more or less dependent on the German empire, under the immediate government of various feudal princes and states.

970 About this time, according to our English historians, trials by jury of twelve men were first instituted.

973 About this time, says Mr. Camden, in the seventh chapter of his description of Scotland, there was a great friendship and alliance between Edgar king of England, and Kenneth III. king of Scotland, against the Danes, their common enemies, the English king at this time finally resigning to the Scottish monarch his right to the Lothians, and therewith the city and castle of Edinburgh ; both which had been sometimes subject to the Scots and sometimes to the English : “ the English empire there,” says Camden, “ being sore shaken with the Danish wars, and lay as it were gasping and dying.” This account of Camden’s is quite inconsistent with the pompous descriptions of Edgar’s power, as set forth in our monkish histories

974 In this year died the Emperor Otho the Great, justly deserving that name. He raised the German empire to such power and splendor, that historians stile him the founder of it. He

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added Italy as a *fief* to it. He had also the then kingdom of Lorraine, which comprehended the Netherlands, modern Lorraine, &c. He subdued Hungary, Slavonia, &c. and, in short, enjoyed dominions almost as extensive as those of the first Emperor Charlemagne.

We find about this time, that the eighth and last of King Edgar's laws enacted, "That one and the same money should be current throughout his dominions:" so that the private mints of archbishops, bishops, and abbots were now suppressed, and the King's own coin alone was to be current. Yet we find the practice of those private mints revived and kept up even long after the Norman conquest. Another wise part of this law was, that the measure of Winchester should be the general standard. It was likewise enacted, that a wey of wool should be sold for half a pound in money.

977 The republic of Venice had now acquired so much riches by the great extension of her commerce, that she was, in this year, enabled to send provisions and succours to the cities of Capua and Bari, in the kingdom of Naples, besieged by the Saracens; whose fleet that of Venice soon after vanquished.

979 The state of the English coin in the reign of King Ethelred II. who began his reign in this year, and died in 1016, according to M. Westcot's notes on Selden's *Jani Anglorum facies altera*, p. 113, and Dr. Howell's *History of the World*, Vol. iii. Part IV. Chap. 2. was as follows, viz.

1st, Both in this reign, and in that of King Athelstan, a Thrymse was worth three shillings, as Mr. Lambard the antiquary valued it.

2dly, Five Anglo Saxon pence made a shilling, and forty-eight shillings made a pound of silver; Mr. Lambard having seen one of those pennies of Ethelred's coin.

3dly, Thirty pence made a mancus, or mancusa.

4thly, An ore, like a pound, was a mere denomination of weight, fifteen of which made a pound weight: so an ore was worth four shillings of our money.

King Ethelred also made some laws at Wantage, relating to customs on ships and merchandise to be paid at Blyngefsate, or Billingsgate in the port of London, then the only quay, and most proper, as lying nearest to the bridge, which existed of timber even before this time. These are quoted by Dr. Howell, as follows:

" 1. A small vessel arriving there, was to pay one halfpenny for toll.

" 2. If a greater one, bearing sails, one penny.

" 3. For a keele or hulk, being a long and large capacious sort of vessel, four pence.

" 4. Out of a ship laden with wood, one piece for toll.

" 5. A boat with fish, one half-penny, and a bigger boat, one penny.

" Those of Rouen in Normandy, that come with wine, or grampois, (*query*, if not peale,

" of Flanders and Ponthieu, and others from Normandy and France, were

" wont to open their wares and free them from toll, *i. e.* I suppose to pay toll. Such traders

" as came from Liege and other places travelling by land, opened their wares and paid toll.

" The Emperor's men, *i. e.* Germans of the Steelyard, coming with their ships, were ac-

" counted worthy of good laws, and might buy in their ships; but it is not lawful for them

" to forestall the markets from the burghers of London. They were to pay toll, and at

" Christmas two grey cloths and one brown one, with ten pound of pepper, five pair of

" gloves, two vessels of vinegar; and as many at Easter."

As the German merchants of the Steel-yard in London were very early settled there as a commercial society, consisting of those of Cologne, &c. it seems at least probable that the

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tolls here named to be paid by the Emperor's men, as they are called, at the two most solemn festivals, point that society out to us. For as it must be meant of persons constantly or usually residing in London, and there never was any other society of German merchants residing in London but those of the Steel-yard society. Fitz Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who wrote in the time of King Stephen, says, that merchants of all nations had, in his time, their distinct quays and wharfs in London. The Dutch had the Steel-yard; the French, for their wines, had the Vintry, &c.

“ 7. Bread to pay pay toll thrice a week, viz. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. Each pannier with hens to pay one hen for toll.

“ Butter and cheese, traded in fourteen days before Christmas, one penny for toll, and “ another penny seven days after Christmas.”

Some parts of the above laws are expressed so darkly, as to be scarcely intelligible. Yet beside our remark concerning the Steel-yard, a curious reader may make some further good use of them, taken all together. By an agreement between that King's commissioners and those of Wales, a treaty was made concerning the value of strayed cattle, and also about trading or travelling into each others country, viz. a horse was set at thirty shillings; an ox at thirty pence; a cow, twenty-four pence; a swine at eight-pence; a sheep, one shilling; a goat, two-pence. Whereby it appears that horses were then six times as valuable as oxen, five-pence at this time making a shilling.

When we read that in the unhappy reign of King Ethelred, and even in that of Canute the Great, there was so barbarous a practice as English people's selling their own children and kindred into foreign parts, with as little concern as they did their cattle, who can forbear lamenting the ignorant and wretched state of such a country; more especially as it at that time professed the Christian religion. There must surely have been a great redundancy of people, and at the same time a great want of employment for them, or such an inhuman practice would never have been permitted. This shews the infinite advantage of commerce, manufactures, fisheries, and navigation to a nation, by which all their poor may be employed, not only for the benefit of their parents and families, but for the wealth and strength of the community.

80 The Danes ravage Scotland; and the same year they again ravage the English coasts and countries with numerous fleets.

82 In this year they laid siege to London, and greatly damaged it, but could not make themselves masters of it.

While the Emperor Otho the Great was reducing Italy and Rome to his subjection, the Pagan Scavi, in his absence, wasted the Christian part of Germany next to them, and take the city of Brandenburg. In the mean time, the Greek Emperor Basilus, assisted by the Saracens, recovers Apulia and Calabria from Otho; who, in return, drives the Greek garrisons out of Illyria and Dalmatia.

39 About this time Wolodimir, Duke of Russia, or Muscovy, married Anne, sister to the Greek Emperor, Basilus II. by which matrimonial alliance a foundation was laid for the introduction of Christianity into that hitherto almost unknown, Pagan and barbarous country.

Towards the close of this century, the people of Biscay, who had with their Christianity preserved their independence, even when the Moors possessed all the rest of Spain, being now become more potent by their gaining ground on the Moors, began to employ themselves in the manufacturing of their excellent iron, not only for their own use, but for the supply of

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other nations. The port of Bilboa also began to have shipping, and to trade beyond sea, perhaps the first of any nation, west of the Mediterranean sea, in any considerable degree.

- 991 Under the prosperous government of their Duke Pietro Uiscolo, the republic of Venice, with a potent fleet, not only enlarged its former conquests in Istria, but extended them into Dalmatia, and destroyed every thing in the vicinity of Narenza with fire and sword, in revenge for that people's having, during the course of 170 years, infested the Venetians by their piracies. (*Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*, Paris 1729.) "Thus did Venice, about this time, acquire those cities and towns on the East coast of the Adriatic sea, most of which they still retain; such as Trieste, long since however subjected to the House of Austria, Cabo d'Istria, Parenzo, Pola, Zara, Spalatro, Curzola, Lefina, Ragusa, Narenza, and many other places; and from this time the Dukes of Venice assumed the title of Duke of Dalmatia. Besides, although the Saracens in general were enemies to the Christian name, and that those of Sicily and Sardinia more especially, constantly infested the coasts of Italy: yet the prudent Doge and Republic of Venice found means, by their envoys, to settle commerce with the Saracens of Syria and Egypt, then under divers Saracen princes, countries ever famous for the production of rice, sugar, dates, fenna, cassia, flax, linen, balm, perfumes, galls, wrought silk, soap, &c. besides the rich spices and precious stones of India brought to those two countries. With all this rich merchandize the Venetians now traded all over the western parts of Europe, to their immense profit." Yet prior to this great commerce of Venice, Genoa traded to Egypt, Syria, Constantinople, &c. for spices, drugs, silks, &c. with which they supplied most of the western parts of Europe, and thereby acquired immense riches; though this trade declined very much when the commerce of Venice became so very considerable.

Venice also, in the time of this Doge, who reigned from 991 to 1009, obtained of the Greek Emperors, Basilus II. and Alexis, a freedom from all customs and taxes in their empire; by which privilege, it is no wonder she grew rich, says James Howell, in his Survey of the Seignory of Venice. The German Emperor Otho III. likewise granted her various privileges, in the year 996, and a right to set up fairs in several parts of Germany, where the Venetians carried on a vast commerce. *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*. "He also remitted for ever, the cloke of cloth of gold, which Venice was bound by solemn agreement to present yearly to the Emperor."

In this year also, Arnold Earl of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, is said to have first obtained the means of holding his territories of the German empire, and not of France, as had been hitherto done.

- 994 Sweyn the Ist, King of Denmark, besieges London by land and water, but could not take it.

It appears that Olaus King of Norway, was converted to Christianity, and baptized in England, in this year of the reign of Ethelred II. and on his return to Norway, he procured his people generally to become or profess themselves Christians; and he endeavoured more than ever to incline them to peace with their neighbours.

As far as we can learn from such dark times, the first Christian King of Sweden was Olave, who reigned at this period.

- 996 It is generally said, that the German empire was now first made elective, according to the present form, in the reign of the Emperor Otho III. Yet Machiavel, in his first book of his History of Florence, places this event under the year 1002; and assigns the cause of it to be the present-

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resentment of Pope Gregory V. against the Roman citizens who had driven him out; from whom therefore that Pope took the election of the Emperors, and gave it to three spiritual and three secular electors in Germany.

- 997 Stephen Prince of Hungary, having, in this year, begun his reign with establishing the Christian religion in his country, which his father Geiza had also favoured, the devastations so long and cruelly committed by the Hungarians, against both Germany and Italy, may, in a great degree, be said to end at this period. This Prince, for his zeal, stands canonized by the name of St. Stephen. This change of religion naturally produced, first, an amicable correspondence, and next, a commercial intercourse between Hungary and the neighbouring Christian countries: and as Hungary has noble mines of the most precious as well as of common metals, and of many rich minerals, and produces excellent wines, &c. this alteration has been not a little instrumental to the increase of the general commerce of Europe. St. Stephen having married the sister of the Emperor Henry II. was, in the year 1000, honoured with the title of King of Hungary, he having sent to the Pope for his royal crown, &c.

- 998 Historians generally assign this year for the building the city of Luxemburg.

The pusillanimity of King Ethelred II. in giving the Danes 10,000*l.* to depart from England, encouraging them to renew their depredations, they accordingly returned next year, to the very great detriment of the kingdom. In 993, they again besiege London, though in vain, with 94 ships; yet by committing ravages elsewhere, they obtain 16,000*l.* more of that monarch. In 997, they ravage Devonshire, Cornwall, and Wales with a great fleet; and in 998, they winter in the Isle of Wight, laying waste Suffex and Hampshire. In 999, they sail up the Medway to Rochester, defeat the Kentish forces, and then retire to Normandy: And the next year they are repulsed from before Exeter.

- 999 About this time also, according to most writers, the Poles embraced Christianity: and the Emperor Otho III. going to Gnesna to visit the tomb of St. Adalbert, did Poland the honour of erecting it into a kingdom, giving the royal ensigns to its Duke Boleslaus, the second Christian Prince of that country. So great was the power and credit of the Imperial dignity in those early times, and such the power and influence of the Papacy, that they could *create new kingdoms*, and *make and unmake Kings* according to their pleasure.

- 1000 The Chronicon Preciosum, by Bishop Fleetwood, says, that in the year 1000, an ox was sold at two shillings and sixpence, equal to seven shillings and sixpence in our silver money:—And if every other necessary was proportionably cheap, the difference of the expence of living then and now, is as twenty-seven is to one, valuing an ox at present at ten pounds two shillings and sixpence only: *i. e.* living in our days is twenty seven times as dear as it was in the year 1000. But we are not quite certain whether the money was exactly the same as in the times after the Norman conquest, though generally so thought:—a cow was also sold at two shillings; a sheep, one shilling; a swine at eightpence. In which account the sheep is considerably dearer than the others in proportion, which we have hitherto observed to be the case in the valuation of provisions prior to the Norman Conquest, and which probably may have been caused by there having been fewer breeders of sheep in those times than in succeeding periods.

E L E V E N T H C E N T U R Y.

Succession of PRINCES during this Century.

<i>Emperors of the West.</i>	<i>Kings of England.</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>
1001 OTHO III. to HENRY Duke } of Bavaria, to }	1002 ETHELRED II to 1016 1024 EDMUND Iron- } fide, to }	1016 ROBERT the Good, to } 1033 HENRY I. his } son, to }	GRIMUS, to 1003 MALCOLM II. to 1033 DONALD VII. } 1040 or Duncan, to }
CONRADE II. to 1039 HENRY III. } his son, to }	1039 CANUTE the Great, to } 1036 1056 HAROLD Hare- } foot, to }	PHILIP I. his } son, to }	MACBETH, to 1057 MALCOLM III. to 1093 DONALD Bane, } 1093 or VIII. to }
HENRY IV. } his son, to }	1100 HARDICNUTE to }	<i>et ultra.</i>	DUNCAN, to 1095 DONALD Bane } 1098 again, to }
<i>et ultra.</i>	EDWARD the Confessor, to } 1065 HAROLD II. to 1066 WILLIAM the } 1087 Conqueror, to }	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i> SWEYN I. to 1014 CANUTE the } 1036 Great, to }	EDGAR I. to 1100 <i>et ultra.</i>
	WM. RUFUS, to 1100 <i>exactly.</i>	CANUTE III. to 1042 MAGNUS, to 1046 SWEYN II. to 1074 HAROLD VII. to 1076 CANUTE IV. to 1087 OLAUS IV. to 1095 ERIC IV. to 1100 <i>et ultra.</i>	

As it may be of use to exhibit the succession of Princes in the kingdoms of Europe with which England had the greatest correspondence or connection, to be prefixed to this and every succeeding century, it may not be amiss to remark in this place, that the above-named monarchies are the only ones proper for this century. Spain in this, and even in several succeeding centuries, continued to be divided into sundry inconsiderable monarchies of Christians and Moors, though Castile was become the most potent of the former, and being constantly at enmity with each other, that country afforded as yet little or no materials for our history. Italy was partly subject to the German empire and the Popes, and partly under the government of several other princes and republics: Norway, Sweden, and Poland, afforded nothing as yet material, or much to be depended upon, relating to our main scope; and the same may be said of Bohemia and Hungary. The Greek empire we have professedly excepted from our principal design; though we shall have frequent occasion to treat of it in a cursory manner, when treating of affairs nearly connected with it: and as to Russia, it will, in effect, remain to us a *terra incognita* until the sixteenth century.

THE CHARACTER OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

There is no doubt, but that in the eleventh century, order and regularity began more and more to appear in the southern parts of Europe. Yet in the more northern parts, and especially in the countries within the Baltic sea, there was little else but barbarism, rapine, and ignorance. for although Christianity was preached in Denmark in the ninth and tenth centuries, and also

in Norway and Sweden in the tenth century, yet those countries had afterwards relapsed into Paganism, as had likewise some of those parts of Germany lying north of the Elbe, and also in Bohemia and Hungary. As to Sweden in particular, whatever their historians may boast of their antiquity, it seems to have been in a great measure unknown to the more southern parts of Europe till after this century. Poland, though in part converted to Christianity, is said to have retained so late as the thirteenth century, their most shocking and horribly barbarous customs of killing their old men past their labour, and also such children as were born imperfect.

In the middle and southern parts of Europe, the case was more promising. Germany was improving very fast. England, it is true, was feeble, and was overpowered by the Danes in the former part of this century, yet it afterwards resumed its native vigour: Nor was France in a much better situation. Spain remained divided between the Christian and the Moorish Princes; the former, however, still gradually gaining ground of the latter, the fatal error of the Moors of Spain having been the subdivision of their strength into additional monarchies. The Switzers and Grisons remained in absolute obscurity, under the dominion of the German empire. Genoa, though in the tenth century it had been sacked by the Saracens, was in this century very much re-peopled, and greatly flourishing in commerce, so as to be able to take the isle of Corsica from the Saracens or Moors. The republic of Pisa also was very potent, especially in naval strength. Venice was yet more prosperous in commerce; and, as Voltaire observes in his General History of Europe, "while the barons of Germany and France were building castles, and oppressing the people, Venice received their money, by furnishing them with all the merchandize of the East, the sea being covered with the vessels of the Venetians, who were enriched through the ignorance and barbarism of the northern nations." In this century the Greek empire, which was in a continual state of declension, was perpetually harassed between the Bulgarians on the north side, and the Turks and Saracens on the east and south.

The ignorance of this century in point of geographical knowledge, seems almost incredible. The Germans had not as yet discovered the further eastermost parts of the neighbouring Baltic sea, any more than Ptolemy the geographer had done 900 years before. Adam, Canon of Bremen, who wrote his treatise *de Situ Daniæ et reliquarum Septentrionalium Regionum*, about the year 1080, speaking of Norway and Sweden, calls them, *duo latissima aquilonis regna, et nostro orbi adhuc fere incognita*, "two widely extended kingdoms of the North, hitherto almost unknown to our world." And that, "eastward of Sweden, where it borders on the Riphean mountains, there are vast deserts and mountains of snow, where are herds of monstrous men, which shut out all approach; also Amazons, Baboons, and Cyclops, having but one eye in the middle of their foreheads: Himantopedes, skipping or leaping with one foot only; and man-eaters without speech." In describing the Danish isles in the Baltic, he describes Holmus (most probably Bornholm) lying next to the coast of Sconen and Gothland, as "a most famous harbour for the shipping which the barbarians send into Greece:" (*quæ à barbaris in Græciæm dirigi solent*) Among the isles of the Baltic, he mentions a very large one called Curland, and another as large named Eastland, whose inhabitants are Pagan and savage, &c. All which shews how little they knew of the countries within that sea. The same author describes Norway as extending to the utmost parts of the north, along a tempestuous ocean, from whence it derives its name of Nordwegia, or Nordinannia; and that it at length,

length terminates at the Riphean mountains, where the world ends. The ancients describe the Riphean mountains in Sarmatia Europea; and that the Tanais, or Don river, rises out of them. So this monk makes Norway run to the middle or heart of Russia. Indeed the ancients knew as little of these supposed Riphean mountains as this author did; it was sufficient, when they described any part far beyond their knowledge northward, either by the Riphean mountains, continually covered with snow, or by the Hyperborean or icy ocean. So it is plain the extreme limits of Norway were not then known; nor, perhaps, had its north coasts been navigated by any one but by Oðher, who, as has been related, so justly described its shape and boundaries to King Alfred, in the ninth century. The same Monk of Bremen, speaking of the Orkney isles, says, "It is said they are within one day's sail of either Scotland or England." All which shews, that there were no geographical maps in his days. Yet this author's ignorance of Norway is very excusable, when we shall see hereafter, that till the year 1553, they knew not that there was any open sea to the north of it.

In this century the Danes fiercely ravage, and afterwards conquer England. Norway in vain attempts the conquest of Scotland. The Normans become masters of Naples and Sicily: and, on the conquest of England by the Normans, the feudal law is more firmly established there, and consequently takes place also in Scotland. On the other hand, many considerable circumstances happen as introductory to commerce; such as Doomſday book, for ascertaining the property and value of lands, &c. A foundation laid for gilds or corporation towns: and the privileges of the Cinque Ports now also take their rise, with many other interesting circumstances.

We shall open the history of this century with a considerable revolution in Italy.

1002 About the second year of this century, certain Norman gentlemen, with their attendants, returning from a pilgrimage they had made to the Holy Land, according to the superstition of those times, happened to land at Salerno in Italy for refreshment. At the same time a Saracen or Moorish fleet anchored before that city, and demanded a large contribution of the inhabitants, to save them from military execution. This contribution Guaimare, Prince of Salerno, was contentedly preparing to raise from his effeminate subjects, while the Saracens landed, and encamped before that city, to regale themselves in jollity and feasting. The Normans, though consisting of no more than one hundred persons, in the mean time, so effectually animated both prince and people in that city, that instead of paying the stipulated demand, they attacked the Saracen camp, and gave them a total defeat, driving such as remained alive precipitately to their ships. The Normans being very amply rewarded by the Prince of Salerno for so bravely delivering him and his people from their enemy, returned home to Normandy. The report, however, which they made of their being so liberally rewarded, soon allured other Normans, and especially such as were forced to fly for misdemeanours, duels, plots, &c. to seek for adventures in Italy; where, towards the latter part of this century, under Tancred and Robert Guiscard, they made themselves masters of the fine country afterwards called Naples, and also of the charming island of Sicily; where they not only vanquished the natives, but also, with a few hundreds of horse and foot, routed large armies of the Greek Emperors, and drove the Greeks quite out of Italy, and the Saracens out of Sicily, after they had held it about 230 years; which surprizing conquests, however, were not absolutely compleated till the year 1102, by Roger, grandson of Tancred. To gain the Popes effectually over to their side, they found themselves

11. D. themselves obliged to declare both Naples and Sicily to be fiefs of the Papal see; and the Popes, in return, dignified both countries with the pompous titles of kingdoms. Yet while such great alterations happened, there was but little trade of any importance in these countries during this century, the free cities and states carrying on the principal commerce.

004 The city of Bremen, as we have observed in the preceding century, was become a place of some importance. And in the year 1004, Lindenbrogius quotes a charter of the Emperor Henry of Bavaria, granted to the Archbishop and his successors, “of power to establish a fair, “*mercatum*, at Bremen, and to appoint fines, tolls, &c. as also the settling public weight and value of money, which was to be of fine silver.” Their charter likewise takes the merchants of Bremen under his Imperial protection and favour, in the same manner as in other cities of a similar description. And lastly, “none were to have any authority over the Bremeners, “but the said Archbishop, next to himself.” The Emperor Conrad II. in the year 1035, confirmed the said grant and power to Bodelaus, then Archbishop; the fair to be held during seven days, and twice in the year.

By the public weight of money, mentioned in both the first and second charters, it seems that money in Germany at this time was not currently coined, but transactions of buying and selling were done by weighing the silver only; which is somewhat remarkable, considering that most of the other European nations had current coins long before.

003 The Danes having, in 1003, destroyed the city of Exeter, the next year they sacked
005 Norwich, and burnt Thetford; and, in the year 1005, they possessed themselves of the isle of Wight.

006 In the year 1006, Sancho, king of Navarre, assumed the high title of King of Spain; which title, however, was not continued; but every Christian and Moorish prince in Spain had, hitherto, in a great measure, kept the title of their respective dominions; as Arragon, Navarre, Leon, Castile, Cordova, Seville, Granada, &c. till the reign of King Ferdinand the Catholic. Though the Prince of Castile, even long before the time of Ferdinand, was frequently dignified with the title of King of Spain.

In the same year, Olaus king of Norway, was martyred by his own Pagan subjects, on account of his being a Christian, and has ever since been stiled the patron Saint of that country. He had been baptized in England, as related under the year 994. Canute the Great succeeded him on the throne of Norway, being also king of Denmark, who, it is well known, became a zealous Christian when king of England.

About this time the Christian princes of Spain gained considerable ground on the Moors of that country. They had quite cleared Castile of those infidels: and Sancho, or Sanches, who had married the heiress of the last Count of that province, thereupon assumed the title of King of Castile. His son Ferdinand afterwards marrying the heiress of Leon, added that province to Castile, with the title of King of both countries.

007 In England, the government of King Ethelred was so feeble, as to be forced to agree, in the year 1007, to pay an annual tribute of thirty-six thousand pounds to the Danes. It is shocking to read the lamentable ravages committed by those barbarous rovers on our coasts. And indeed it was a most inexcusable negligence in our kings, successors of Edgar, not to have attended to the increase of their naval power before all other considerations, as without that safeguard, neither king nor people could enjoy even the prospect of security.

008 In this year, the Emperor Henry II. made a donation of the isles of Zealand to Baldwin, earl of Flanders; which proved the occasion of a quarrel for four hundred years after,

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between the Hollanders and the Flemings; the former having had a like donation of those isles by Louis the son of Louis le Debonnaire.

It was in this same year, 1008, that King Ethelred II. in his distress, adopted a new mode of forming a warlike fleet, by making the owners of every hundred and thirty hides of land, to fit out one ship for the nation's defence.

- 1010 Bremen was now first fortified, having, however, according to Werdenhagen and others, been a considerable place before. The German writers think it to have been a town in Ptolemy the geographer's time, by the name of Phabitanum. It is, however, generally agreed, that Hengist and Horsa brought the first Saxons into Britain in three long vessels or ships, from this same city of Bremen, in the year 449.

The Florentines take Fesoli, which proved the beginning of their greatness, by ruining that once great and noble city for the aggrandising of Florence, which either now, or rather somewhat sooner, had assumed an independent state, or at least acted with pretensions to it, as Machiavel seems to think, by permission of the Emperor.

The same year is usually assigned for the burning of both Oxford and Cambridge by the Danish ravagers; so that all learned studies intirely ceased at both places until the year 1133, when Lectures on Divinity began again to be read at both places, and since which time, to the present day, learning has remained uninterrupted, and greatly flourished.

- 1011 The Normans of France, we shall henceforth call them only Normans, who had settled in France with Rollo, over-ran Friesland, and burnt the city of Utrecht, then considered as a part, and the capital city of Friesland.

- 1012 The ravages of the Danes in England still continuing not only on the coasts but in the inland parts, those invaders every year burning and laying waste towns and cities, such as they were in those times, the wretched King Ethelred II. was compelled by them to agree to an annual tribute of forty-eight thousand pounds, or one hundred and forty-four thousand of our money. This stipulation was, however, on the disgraceful condition that the Danes should leave forty-five ships with Ethelred for the defence of England against all foreigners, Ethelred agreeing to supply their crews with victuals and cloathing. To supply this great expence, as it may be properly termed for such early times, a yearly tax of twelve-pence on every hide of land, *i. e.* on every hundred and twenty acres, was raised throughout England. Wherefore the money so raised got the name of Dane-geldt, and was continued from this time for thirty-eight years, and till remitted by King Edward the Confessor. Yet this Danish squadron, intended to be the safeguard of the nation, served only to convey intelligence to Denmark of the most proper time and place for fresh annual invasions, till at length they took possession of the whole kingdom five years after, under their King Canute, surnamed the Great.

Dr. Howell rightly observes, that in those times there were two kinds of payments called Dane-geldt, viz. one occasionally paid to the Danes to buy them off when they made fresh invasions, the other was a stated annual tax for the use of their fleets left for our protection. And this last tax was continued after the Norman conquest, notwithstanding the Confessor's declaring it to be for ever taken off, even so late as in the reign of King Henry II. after which it was discontinued, other methods being taken for scowering the seas, and the defence of our coasts.

Hamburg was now sacked a fourth time, by two Vandal or Slavian Pagan princes, according to Lambecius and Cardinal Baronius, because of its attachment to the Christian religion.

About the year 1013, says Grotius, in his *Annals of the Netherlands*, book xv. the Chinese, who had great dealings all over India, got possession of the Spice Islands after much bloodshed: yet they quitted them in about sixty years. Next the people of Malacca possessed them; but they were driven out by the natives. The Arabians and Persians succeeded them, and introduced Mahometanism amongst them. Those isles were utterly unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans; yet they enjoyed the merchandize of cloves, by means of the people of the East. Long after the fall of the western empire, when the Genoese got the port of Caffa, in the peninsula of the Taurica Chersonesus, they for a while enjoyed the Spice trade; and to them succeeded the Venetians. When a new Greek empire was established at Trebisond, (*Trapezium*) that trade was drawn thither through the Caspian Sea; and on the increase of the Turkish power, they brought the spices from thence by caravans to Aleppo. The Soldans of Egypt restored the trade by the Red Sea to India, and back again to Alexandria down the Nile. Finally, the Portuguese got possession of the Spice Islands in the year 1512, but have been since driven out by the Dutch, who are the present owners of them.

The timber bridge across the Thames at London had been built some years before the Norman conquest, according to all our historians. We find it mentioned when the Danish king Canute the Great sailed up to this bridge in the year 1016, with a great fleet; and because that he could not pass the bridge, he dug a trench on the south side of the Thames, through which he brought his fleet to the west side of that bridge, and so besieged the city. And Earl Godwin, in the year 1052, passed this bridge with his fleet through a draw-bridge, to the west side of it.

To make a bridge, even of timber, over so great a river, shews that London must then have been a considerable place.

In this year, Odin, a Dane of the blood royal, who had been educated in England by King Canute's direction, is said to have converted great numbers to the Christian religion, by preaching in the Danish island of Zealand; as also in Sweden and in Finland. This is a proof that Christianity had not as yet been fully established even in Denmark, and much less in Sweden.

Knute, or Canute, king of Denmark, afterwards styled the Great, makes an intire conquest of England: which is all that is needful to be said on a matter that is so fully related in all our histories.

About two years after the conquest of England by King Canute, he is said to have raised for the maintenance of his army, and as a gratuity to induce them to return home contented to Denmark, the sum of eighty-two thousand pounds, or two hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds of our money and it is said that London alone advanced fifteen thousand pounds, or forty-five thousand pounds of our money. If that be true, London must then have been a very considerable and opulent city.

Though others write, that the whole sum raised on all England was but seventy-two thousand pounds, of which London alone paid eleven thousand pounds, being more than a seventh part of it. Now, if about this time, which was in the year 1044, the rate of living or the prices of most necessaries were fifteen times as cheap as in our days, this seventy-two pounds of their money was equal to, or would go as far as three million two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our money, and not nine millions, as some of our London historiographers have ventured to maintain.

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And here it is proper to remark what Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, judiciously writes concerning the polity of the Anglo-Saxons, prior to the Norman conquest, viz. "That besides the Saxon Kings own demesne lands, they received large sums from mulcts, and from the Dane-gelt tax. And when any military expedition was on foot, they also made considerable levies on their people, which they called hite-gelt." He farther observes, from Doomsday Book, that several towns contributed by prescription towards naval preparations. "It was a custom for the town of Warwick, if the King went by sea against his enemies, to send him either four boatswains, *i. e.* boats pilots, or else four pounds in money. Exeter, when the King made any expedition, either by land or sea, served after the rate of five hides of land. Gloucester paid thirty-six dickers of iron, besides one hundred iron rods fitted to make nails for the king's ships. Leicester was bound, when the King was on a sea expedition, to send him four horses to London, for the conveyance of arms and other necessaries. Colchester paid, out of every house that was able, six-pence yearly, for the maintenance of the King's soldiers, either by sea or land. Most of the principal towns paid money to the King upon several accounts, and sometimes to the Earl or Alderman of the Shire. Others paid certain personal services to him and his armies, &c. They had many customs extremely different from those of modern times, by which money was levied on the people, as well as personal service. Such as Burghote, *i. e.* for building or repairing of cities or castles. Brigbote, for the erection and preservation of bridges. Dane-gelt, which was, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, said to amount to forty-thousand pounds yearly, and was afterwards termed Hydagium, because imposed on hides of land. Money was also raised on cattle, and called Horn-gelt. The Normans, when they became masters here, called these sorts sometimes by the Latin and Greek word for taxes; and sometimes according to their own word Tallagium, from Tailler, to cut or divide; and sometimes also, Auxilia and Subsidia."

11020 The city of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, says Dr. Howell, was at this time so famous for its great number of merchants and ships trading every where, that they obtained in this year, of the Saracen Caliph of Egypt, a safe conduct to traffick freely in all his dominions. By which favour, and by means of their large presents to the Caliph, they obtained in a manner whatever they would. He gave the Amalfians also leave to build a church at Jerusalem, and a house near the Holy Sepulchre, for the reception of Latin Pilgrims; and, afterwards, another house for the same purpose, which, in time, became the famous hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. We shall see hereafter, that the invention of the Mariner's Compass was ascribed to Amalfi.

11021 Avicenna, the famous Arabian philosopher and physician, is generally said to have lived at this time, and to have written an hundred books on philosophy and medicine.

At this time Boleslaus, king of Poland, reduced Russia to be tributary to the crown of Poland: but since those times many large provinces, and even some Tartarian kingdoms, have been by conquest annexed to Russia.

11030 Sweno, king of Denmark, attempts the conquest of Scotland, when almost his whole army is cut to pieces by Malcolm II. king of Scotland.

Under the year 850, we have taken notice of the first remove of the Turkish nation, till then unknown, and made a cursory mention of their rapid success: yet it may not be amiss to remark in this place, that Tangrolipix, their prince, who had before been settled in Armenia, was now called to the assistance of Mohammed, king of Persia, against the Saracen Caliph of Babylon,

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Babylon, whom he vanquishes and kills. Soon after this event he becomes master of the throne of Persia, and also of the Caliphate of Babylon, when he invades the territories of the Greek empire in Asia, with great fury and cruelty.

Malcolm II. king of Scotland, divides his kingdom into baronies, and publishes the law-book named Regia Majestas, for the good government of his kingdom.

- 035 About this time died Rodolph III. the tenth and last king of Arles, or Burgundy, who bequeathed his kingdom to the German Emperor Conrad II. Thus Burgundy, which had been a kingdom, a second time, for the space of one hundred and forty-four years, viz. from the death of Charles the Bald, now became a province of the empire. It then contained a large dominion, viz. both the modern Burgundies, Dauphiné, and Provence. Yet this union with Germany lasted but a short time.

- 041 The last of the three Danish kings of England, Hardiknute, dying, the Saxon line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor, in whose reign, William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the reign of William the Conqueror, and who cites Clifford for it, says, that "London was a noble city, frequented by merchants from all parts of the world."

- 042 Aba, king of Hungary, rebelling this year against the Emperor Henry III. the latter gave part of Upper Hungary to Albert of Bavaria, with the new name of Austria; alluding to its southern situation in respect of Germany.

- 043 Dr. Fleetwood, formerly Bishop of Ely, in his valuable work intitled Chronicon Preciosum, observes, that this was a very dear year for corn; a horse load of wheat, equal to a quarter, or eight bushels, being sold for sixty pence, or one hundred and eighty pence of our money, and a bushel for seven pence halfpenny, *i. e.* twenty-two pence halfpenny of our money. If then the usual, or lower price was about one shilling per quarter, *i. e.* three shillings of our money, which is probable enough, then living was about ten times as cheap as in our time, supposing every other necessary to be proportionably cheap, which at this distance of time cannot be exactly ascertained, and that the pound of silver was the same as since the conquest.

At this time Sandwich in Kent was a famous station of the English Navy, to which place King Edward the Confessor sailed with thirty-five ships.

- 044 The Danes invading Scotland, King Duncan sends Macbeth and Banquo against them, who defeat the Danes with great slaughter.

The same year the nobility and commonalty of Hungary relapse into Paganism, not only pulling down many of their churches, but murdering most of their bishops. Yet three years after, King Andrew, who had accepted this tributary crown from the Emperor on the condition of his professing Christianity, and propagating it in this country, restored the bishops, repaired the churches, and even made it treason to forsake christianity.

- 045 Sir Robert Filmer, in his discourse, Whether it may be lawful to take Use for Money, says, "That (excepting an imperfect clause in the council of Calcuith about the year 787,) till this year, when King Edward the Confessor began his reign, who had lived long in France, and had been seasoned with the principles of that kingdom, we find no prohibition of Usury in England, and that he then first banished Usurers out of England."

Usura, or use money, had been in practice in the Roman empire, both Pagan and Christian: yet all men are not quite agreed on the exact meaning of Centesimum, which, though literally signifying the hundredth part, some think signified cent. per cent. The Emperor Constantine the Great directed, That he who lent two bushels of corn was to receive a third,

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Usuræ nomine (quæ lex ad solas pertinet fruges: nam pro pecunia, ultra singulas centesimas, creditor vetatur accipere) “ But this law related only to corn: for as to money, it is plain, by the “ above law, that the creditor is debarred from taking more than the hundredth part;” than which assertion nothing can possibly be more decisive: yet Sir Robert Filmer quotes Accursius and others, who will have this centesima to mean as much as the principal in a year, which surely cannot be the case. Others think it was one per cent. per month: yet though we cannot at so great a distance of time arrive at absolute certainty, it must be allowed in general, that it was permitted under the Christian Emperors to take Usury, there being a title *de usuris* both in the Codex of Theodosius and Justinian; nay, the very bishops, in those more primitive times, increased their stock by use upon use, which exorbitances procured the seventeenth Canon of the Council of Nice, against the clergy’s taking interest of money. Yet it still continued among the laity until the eighth century, when Charlemagne, in his capitularies, determined, that it ought not to be permitted even to the laity. “ The Canonists, in succeeding times, strictly supported Charlemagne’s prohibition; whereby the ecclesiastics were “ made the judges of almost all agreements between man and man: so that a temporal judge “ being sometimes ready to give sentence upon a contract, has been stopped by the eccle- “ siastic, on a pretence that the bargain was usurious. Nevertheless, the necessities and exi- “ gencies of men, in matters of commerce, &c. by degrees got the better of this prohibi- “ tion.”

1049 The city of Dort, in Holland, we find, by Eyndius’s *Chronicon Zelandiæ* (in 4to. anno 1634, lib. ii.) was, in this year, well frequented by foreign ships, and stored with merchandize.

1050 King Edward the Confessor, for the ease of his people, sorely afflicted by famine, remitted the annual tax of eighty-thousand pounds for Dane-gelt, formerly imposed on them by his father Ethelred II. (Dr. Howell had then called this tax forty-eight thousand pounds, which he now calls eighty thousand pounds). We have before observed, that this same tax was revived after the Norman conquest, under the name of *Hydagium*.

1054 About this time, the Archbishop of Hamburg having sent not only Missionaries, but Bishops into Norway for the propagation of Christianity there, “ this,” says Angelius à Werdenhagen, “ not only occasioned more frequent voyages to that country, but likewise gave “ greater confidence to the merchants of Old Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, to trade “ thither.”

1056 That stone buildings were still very rare in the more northern parts of Europe, appears from the judicious Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, who relates, that Bezelinus, Archbishop of Hamburg, who came to that see in the year 1056, first rebuilt his cathedral church of stone, to prevent fires, it having been only of timber before. He also built in that city a large palace for himself of stone, with lofty towers.

7 1060 Bela, king of Hungary, at this time, compels his subjects, who had again relapsed into Paganism, to continue in Christianity, under pain of putting idolaters to death. This King was the first who coined silver money in Hungary.

1063 From several historians of this century, we find, the city of Pisa was a flourishing and potent republic at this time. The *Histoire de l’Origine du Royaume de Sicile et de Naples*, (Paris, anno 1701) speaking of the year 1063, says, “ That Pisa could then fit out to sea above “ two hundred galleys;—and that she had rendered herself formidable not only to the Genoese “ her neighbours, and to all the rest of Italy, but even to very far distant nations: for, after
she

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“ she had raised to herself a potent dominion in Tuscany, and had reduced the isles of Sardinia and Corsica to her obedience, she, by a most Christian generosity, made war on the Sultān of Egypt, and drove the Saracens out of a great part of Palestine and Syria, and likewise harraished them in Sicily.”

064 Genoa likewise was in great power and commerce by this time. We find from the voyage of Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, to Jerusalem, in Hakluyt's second volume, that a whole fleet of merchant ships from Genoa arrived at Joppa, upon which fleet he embarked for Europe in this year.

Before and about this time, many thousands of religious persons from all the Christian states in Europe, were constantly travelling as pilgrims to Jerusalem; who, bringing home frightful accounts of the ruin of churches and convents in Syria by the Turks, prepared the way for the subsequent holy war on that account.

065 King Edward the Confessor refounds the monastery which had long before been established, but was afterwards destroyed by the Danes, at a place by the river Thames, near two miles west from London, since named Westminster on that account; which most noble abbey, together with the royal palace adjoining, gradually raised the town of Westminster; though it was very inconsiderable, even long after this time.

By this time, according to Rapin and others, the parishes of England were so much increased in number, as to have amounted to near as many as at present: and this seems to have been the case probably as early as King Edgar's reign, although the people of England did not perhaps, at that time, amount to a third part of the present number. Nothing therefore can be a more uncertain guide for judging of the populousness of our country, nor of its cities and towns, than that of the number of their parishes, seeing it depends on the disposition of the great landed nobility and gentry in different periods; for to them, the crown, and the bishops, was owing the erection of parish churches on the lands of their vassals and tenants. Those erections were at first deemed only chapels, and were occasionally served with priests from the respective cathedrals, which, in old times, supplied the place of our more modern universities, as colleges for the bringing up of youth for the church; but afterwards the founders of those chapels procured clergy to be constantly settled at those chapels, which thereupon got the name of parishes; and it was natural for those who had endowed them to have the right of presentation to such livings.

066 We are now come to a very great revolution in the frame of the English government, in the conquest of this kingdom by William duke of Normandy, who, in the year 1066, landed on the coast of Suffex with a fleet of nine hundred, or, as some relate, of a thousand sail, chiefly, says Dr. Howell, of flat bottomed boats or hulks, furnished him by his principal vassals and dependents. We have nothing to do here with this conqueror's pretensions to the crown of England; it is sufficient for us just to mention, that King Harold, son of Earl Godwin, who came to the crown in the beginning of this same year, was invaded by Harfager, king of Norway, with a great fleet at Tinmouth, being joined by Harold's own brother Toston, both of whom Harold slew, and also discomfited their army; from whence he was obliged to march into Suffex, where he lost his life in the battle which gave William the crown. Thus ended the government of the Anglo Saxon kings. The Norman government introduced many new laws, customs, and usages hitherto unknown in England. Among other alterations, the feudal law is, by most authors, considered as one of no small importance; others think our Saxon ancestors had something of that kind before, though not to its fullest

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1066 full extent. Feudal tenures were far from being marks of the general liberty of the people, but were extremely grateful to the kings and superior lords and barons, to whom they afforded much pomp and power, not unlike the present constitution of Poland, with respect to their landed nobility and gentry. In succeeding times, those feudal customs grew up into a considerable system of laws, termed the *Jus Feodale*, or the Feudal Law, by which both superior and vassal had a property in one and the same estate: the superior had what was termed the *dominium directum*, whereby the estate was to revert to him, in case the vassal in possession became incapable, either by death without issue, or by disloyalty, of doing the service and homages due from his tenure. The vassal enjoyed what was termed the *dominium utile*, that is, the sole profits and power over his estate, so long as he performed what his tenure required. In process of time, the great lords and barons of England sub-divided, or increased, the number of knights fees or holdings, so far as to render the number of their vassals too formidable to the crown itself; which proved the cause of several bloody wars in different reigns, and especially in those of King John and Henry III. In peaceful times, however, and where the bulk of the people could acquire any degree of property, this feudal law could not hold long; for as the superior could not sell, because the entire profits of the estate belonged to the vassal, so the vassal could not sell, because he was not proprietor. Sir William Temple, in his memoirs observes, “that King William the Conqueror instituted sixty-two thousand knights-fees; that he allotted the lands into such different quantities as would then support a baron, and also a knight, or man-at-arms, who was either obliged to serve personally, or else to contribute, as the king liked best, in a due proportion to the number of knights-fees in each barony. At first twenty pounds a year was deemed a knight’s-fee; and as the money pound, then and long after, weighed thrice as much as ours, and the rate of living then was not probably above a tenth part of our modern expence, a knight, with this twenty pounds yearly, was able to live as well as a modern landholder of six hundred pounds annual rent. In this manner did our first Norman kings support their wars, without any payment to officers or soldiers. And the kings supported their civil government and households by the vast number of baronies they reserved to themselves in every county; beside quit-rents and chief-rents on the estates of others, escheat by forfeitures, wardships, &c. And even the bishopricks and abbies were, by the Conqueror, brought under knights service for the lands they possessed. The crown vassals, possessing large estates, were at first but few, though afterwards greatly multiplied: purchasers were desirous to hold immediately of the king, rather than of a subject; and kings encouraged this commerce, as it lessened the power of the great barons.” The Conqueror, in order to secure the crown to his posterity, shared out the lands of the English amongst the chief of his numerous followers, who, as Sir Robert Cotton observes, “were generally the younger sons of the best families of Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders; retaining to himself, in each county, a portion of lands, to support the sovereign dignity; and also certain small acknowledgments from other lands, called fee-farm rents. These lands were stiled in Latin the *dementia regni*, now the ancient demesnes. The lords to whom he divided the lands were stiled *barones regis*, i. e. the King’s immediate freeholders; for the word *baro* imported then no more. And as the King to these, so these to their followers, subdivided part of their shares into knights-fees.” So there was a standing ordinary revenue out of each county for the king, by his reserved lands, and also a standing military force for his defence; every vassal of the crown being bound to march with a number of armed men and horses, proportioned to the number

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 566 number of knights-fee which he held of the crown; and every sub-vassal, or he who held knights-fee of those immediate vassals of the crown, was bound to march armed, under the command of his lord, with a like proportion of men. All the King's vassals were bound to give their attendance in his parliaments; not only the barons and freeholders, but also the bishops, abbots, and priors attended in this capacity; but such as held lands of a subject were not bound to perform that service, but to attend the courts of their own superior lord. In length of time, the King's obliging so many vassals to an expensive attendance in Parliament, came to be considered as a grievance, which, we shall see, was remedied in England in King John's or King Henry III's reign, in Scotland much later, viz. not till the reign of their King James I. 1427, by their electing two or more of the lesser barons in each county to represent all the rest, which laid the foundation of the House of Commons in England: but the Scots held their Parliament in one house to the very last. It is not certain at what period the Commons of England began to sit in a separate House; so negligent were our ancestors in recording, or at least in preserving, the records of many things: probably, the pride of the greater barons, who were summoned by name, made them separate themselves from the representatives of the lesser ones. In a Parliament, held in the year 1376, Peter de la Maré is mentioned as Speaker of the House of Commons, which separate House therefore must have at least existed prior to that year. An ingenious anonymous author of several Essays concerning British Antiquities, published in Edinburgh in 1747, makes the following fine remark on the feudal constitution: "the idea of a king, where the feudal law took place, is not that of a chief magistrate, or governor, but that of a paramount superior, having the whole property of the kingdom vested in him; his vassals attached to him by homage and fealty, and supported by him out of the produce of his lands, which made a very strict connexion and union between them. The idea of a Parliament was that of a court, where all the King's vassals were obliged to attend for administering justice, and for making regulations to bind the whole society." In fine, as the feudal law was in a great measure opposite to the arts of peace, commerce, and true liberty, it began sooner to decline in England than in Scotland, as industry and commerce flourished earlier in the former than in the latter country. Yet the barons continued more or less powerful, until King Henry VII. procured a law to be passed, for the enabling of lords of manors or baronies to alienate them; and towards his reign, and in that of his son Henry VIII. settlements came to be broke in upon by fines and recoveries, by which means the crown became again more powerful than the lords or barons; soon after which trade and commerce increasing very fast, the Commons of England gradually gained the ascendant. Yet those feudal tenures, or superiorities, with respect to such as held directly of the crown, remained unabrogated in England till the twelfth year of King Charles II. but not in Scotland till after the last rebellion in 1746.

The kings of England, for many ages, had no other support but, First, Their own demefne lands, which, as we have before observed, were very considerable all over the kingdom. Secondly, Their customs on merchandize outwards and inwards, though, in former times, but very inconsiderable. Thirdly, The reserved rents, dues, and profits of the estates held of them by the various tenures then in use, as by wards, reliefs, marriages, forfeitures, &c. By all which means, our kings, in time of peace, were enabled to keep up a very great and splendid court of their tenants and vassals, whom the old lawyers stiled, *in pace decus, et in bello præsidium*, i. e. his ornament or glory in peace, and his safeguard in war. The great lords and barons in those times kept great retinues of their own vassals about them, usually

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1066 attending them in troops, as well on journies as at home in their palaces. The King, by his wardship, had the entire income of the minors estates till they came of age; allowing, till then, only (proportioned however to their rank) a bare maintenance to the wards. Fourthly, By reliefs, he had a quarter of a year's rent, and sometimes more when his ward came of age. Fifthly, By the marriage of a vassal, or tenant, a fine was always paid to the King, or other superior lord. Sixthly, By forfeiture, the whole estate reverted, or to use the old term, escheated to the crown, or other superior lord, if held of a subject.

A knights-fee at first being but twenty pounds per annum, so his relief (*relevium*) was five pounds when he came of age; but afterwards the knights-fees were made forty pounds yearly. A barony was reckoned thirteen knights-fees, or four hundred marks yearly, so one hundred marks was a baron's relief. An earldom was valued at twenty knights-fees; so he paid one hundred pounds for his relief. It is, however, observed by some, that William the Conqueror seemed to have tempered, or softened the feudal law thus introduced, or at least much increased, by him, by establishing, at the same time, the Court of Chancery. This feudal law prevailed, more or less, for many centuries all over Europe, and was certainly hostile to true liberty and commerce: it is therefore little to be wondered, that whilst the former remained in force, the two latter continued so long in a languid condition. We hope therefore that it will be thought unnecessary for us to make any apology for dwelling so long on this article of feudal tenures, since it introduced so great an alteration in England, and was attended with such very important consequences.

Many of our English historians assert, that there were no Jews in England, until King William the Conqueror brought hither a number of them from Rouen in Normandy, for a sum of money which they presented to him. But that there were Jews in England, at least a little before the conquest, *i. e.* in the last year of Edward the Confessor, is clear from that King's laws handed down to us, of which Mr. Tyrrel, in his *General History of England*, has given the substance: for the twenty-second law says, "That all Jews that were in the kingdom were to be under the King's protection; so that none of them could put themselves into the service of any great man without the King's leave; for that Jews, and all that is theirs, are the King's."

Yet the very next following law "forbids all Usurers continuing in his kingdom: and such as should be convicted of exacting of usury should forfeit his goods, and be deemed outlawed." Now, as the Jews were, in those times, according to Tyrrel, most famous for their traffic in usury, this twenty-third law seems to have been purposely intended as a check on all usurious practices, as it immediately follows the law which affords them toleration.

In this year 1066, according to Lambecius's *Chronicon rerum Hamburgensium*, the Obotriti, a nation of the Sclavi, having first murdered their own Christian prince, Godeschale, relapsed into Paganism, and over-ran all the Trans-Elbian country, they also sacked and destroyed the castle of Hamburg; this being the fifth time that Hamburg was destroyed on account of its professing the Christian religion.

Mr. Camden, in his *Britannia*, with Bishop Gibson's additions, gives an instance of the simple manner of living in this age, from certain yard lands held of William the Conqueror by one William de Ailesbury, at Ailesbury, "by the tenure of finding litter for that King's bed-chamber, (I hope, says Camden, the nice part of the world will observe this) whenever he should come thither, and also sweet herbs for the King's chamber, two green geese if he came thither in summer, and to provide him three eels whenever he should come thither
" in

566 " in winter ; all which he was bound to do thrice in a year, if the King came so often
" either."

We may here observe, with Mr. Tyrrel and others, that from the close of the reign of Egbert, king of Wessex, in the year 837, till the time of William the Conqueror, being about two hundred and thirty years, the Danes never gave England any long respite from their barbarous invasions and ravages, not only on the coasts, but also in the inland parts ; which may serve to account for the very few materials to be found in England for commercial history during that period.

At the Norman conquest, it is said, that there were not above one hundred abbeys or monasteries in England : yet Bishop Tanner, in the preface to his Treatise on Religious Houses in England, observes, " That the greatest and richest monasteries, viz. Westminster, Glastonbury St. Albans, Christ-Church and St. Austin's, both in Canterbury, Abingdon, Shaftsbury, Peterborough, Ramsey, Croyland, Tavistoke, Bury-St.-Edmund's, &c. were founded before the conquest. That the conquering Normans violently seized on some of their best manors, rifled their treasuries, seized on their plate, infringed their liberties, and put Normans in the places of many of the English Abbots. He also reduced all the church lands to the tenure of knights-fees and baronies, thereby subjecting them to attend the King in his wars, and to other services and taxes which secular estates were liable to, yet the Normans afterwards ran violently into the same devotion themselves. So that within 150 years after the conquest, or before the first year of King Henry III. there were founded and re-founded four hundred and seventy-six abbeys and priories, beside eighty-one alien-priories. After the last named period, there were many chantries, houses of friars, hospitals, and colleges founded, but very few houses of monks, nuns, or canons ; I think but one Benedictine house. After the death of King Edward III. which was about 160 years before the dissolution, no monastery for monks, nuns, or canons, except Sion, and five charter-houses ; so that the nation, in general, seemed to have quite lost its taste for these kind of institutions, a great while before the subversion of them."

According to Werdenhagen, the city of Lisse in Flanders, was, by its Earl, Baldwin the Meek, fortified with a wall, ditches, and castle, and adorned with a palace, about this same memorable year 1066 ; which year we shall close with observing, that then, and even, probably, long before, as agreed by all our historians, and may be demonstrated from undoubted vouchers, a pound of silver in tale, of coin and of denomination of accounts in England, actually weighed a pound Troy weight, or twelve ounces ; and so it held on, as will be seen, till the reign of King Edward III. when the nominal value of the coin began to be raised, or, which is the same thing, when a smaller quantity of silver passed for a pound, than was really contained in a pound weight, as is more fully explained in the introduction to this work.— After which it went on, gradually sinking, till at length twenty shillings, or two hundred and forty pence, or nominal penny-weights in coin, came to weigh but one-third of a just pound weight of twelve ounces, or two hundred and forty real penny-weights, as at present, which remark is highly necessary for our readers to retain in their memory throughout this work. Wherefore, in judging of the real cheapness of living in those times, compared to modern times, there are three considerations absolutely requisite, viz, First, the mean or middling price of corn and other necessaries in the money of that time. Secondly, what proportion their money bore to our modern money of the same denomination. And, thirdly, the ratio or proportion of the ancient price compared to the modern price. Thus, if a quarter of wheat, at this

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1066 this time, was valued at two shillings, when their coin was thrice the weight and value of our modern coin, then that quarter cost as much silver as six shillings of our money; and as the mean price of a quarter of wheat, in our days, is about forty shillings, then I say, that if six shillings of our weight bought a quarter of wheat in the year 1066, which now costs near or about forty shillings, then every other necessary, bearing nearly the same proportionable difference in price, the expence of living then was six and two-third times as cheap as in our days: and this is the only just rule of determining this point, though, nevertheless, frequently misunderstood; for it is the quantity of silver bullion alone, and not the mere denomination of the coin then and now, which must be constantly kept in view in all enquiries of this sort: till at length, in the reign of King Edward VI. the silver coins became exactly of the same weight and value as in our days. It is also to be remarked, that till long after this time, there was no silver coin higher in denomination than a penny, nor any gold coin whatever till the reign of King Edward III.

Camden, in his *Britannia*, exhibits the following short state of the rise, &c. of the Cinque Ports, or five ports on the coast of Kent and Suffex: "King William the Conqueror looking upon Kent as the key of England, set a Constable over Dover Castle; and, in imitation of the ancient Roman custom, constituted him Governor, *i. e.* Warden of five ports, viz. Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich, to which Winchelsea and Rye are annexed as principals, and some other little towns as members only. And because they are obliged to serve in the wars by sea, with each five ships, they enjoy many and large immunities; such as, first, freedom from subsidies. Secondly, from wardship of their children as to body. Thirdly, from being sued in any courts but within their own town. Fourthly, Such of their inhabitants as have the name of barons, support the canopy at the coronation of the Kings and Queens of England; and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports has within his jurisdiction, in several cases, the authority of Admiral, and other privileges."—Since Camden first wrote, Seaford is added to the above-named seven towns, and all the eight towns have their members of Parliament, dignified with the title of Barons of the Cinque Ports. Their old privileges are now become in some measure obsolete, as the grounds of them are ceased since the establishment of our present naval power; yet we shall have occasion hereafter to be somewhat more particular and explanatory concerning the Cinque Ports. Under the year 1070, Hakluyt gives the date of King William's first charter to the Cinque Ports; and Lambard, in his *Perambulation of Kent*, says, "That Dover, Sandwich, and Romney, were, even in the time of King Edward the Confessor, discharged of almost all manner of impositions which other towns bore, in consideration of such naval services."

1070 About this time, according to Adam of Bremen's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Albert, Archbishop of Hamburg, sent missionaries for the propagation of Christianity not only to the Orkneys, but into Iceland and Greenland. He also ordained many bishops in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the Baltic isles. It is no wonder that this old author ignorantly describes old Greenland, or Groenland, as a large island, "Situated farther in the ocean than Iceland, about five to seven days sail from Norway, over-against the Swedish or Riphean mountains. The third great island," adds our author, "in the northern ocean is Halagland, which lies next to Norway, and not smaller than the other two;" by which he probably meant Danish Lapland. "That about the summer solstice they have there fourteen days continual sun, and are as many days without sun in the winter solstice; the reason whereof," he, as bad a geographer as he was, observes, "is from the rotundity of the world, which the Pagans are ignorant of, and therefore do much marvel at this variation, &c."

Archbishop

1070 **D.** Archbishop Nicholson, in his *English Historical Library*, observes, "That at the time of the Norman conquest, all great sums were generally paid by weight and touch. Thus the monks of Ely paid the Conqueror seven hundred marks, according to Speed, in the year 1073. And that Prince Edgar Atheling's allowance was a pound weight of silver daily.— Purveyances at this time were changed into money, viz. Instead of bread for one hundred men, one Shilling; one pasture-fed ox, one shilling; one ram or sheep, four-pence; pro- vender for twenty horses, four-pence."

Now as their silver money was thrice the quantity of ours, at least universally believed to be so from the Norman Conquest, if not long before that period, we may observe, that a pasture-fed ox cost but three shillings of our money, which is indeed surprizingly cheap. By this rule, the rate of living at that period, on a comparison of its prices of provisions with those in our days, all other necessaries being supposed proportionably cheap, which however is uncertain, must have been above twenty times cheaper than in the present age.

It is not very easy to reconcile what Mr. Drake has advanced in his *History and Antiquities* of the city of York, under the year 1070, with the undoubted authority of the Conqueror's famous Doomsday-book, which was finished anno 1086. The former says, that York city was entirely consumed by fire in the year 1070; while the account of the latter imports, that in the year 1086, which is but sixteen years after, there were near upon two thousand houses in it; so that it must have been rebuilt in that short space, according to these accounts, which is not very probable, since there were then, in the city and suburbs, including the Archbishop's ward, near two thousand houses of all kinds. And if double this number be allowed to London, as seems to have been the proportion, if not now, at least in the following century, then London had twenty-four thousand souls in it; though, from Drake's history it should seem to have been smaller than York.

"York," says Mr. Drake, "while the Romans held Britain, was, for some time at least, more eminent for grandeur and magnificence than London itself. The former was then actually a Roman colony, and was honoured with the residence of many Roman Senators, and even of some Roman Emperors. It was eminent for commerce in the times of the Saxon Kings, and ships came up to the heart of the city from Germany, Ireland, &c. but it underwent great devastations at the Norman Conquest; yet its happy situation on a navigable river, and in a most fertile country, soon recovered it in a considerable degree."— "Mr. Drake thinks that the tide, in those times, was much stronger in the Humber and Ouse than of later times. The huge Danish fleet, which sailed into the Humber, in the year 1066, consisting, according to some authors, of five hundred sail, and to others, of one thousand sail, with sixty thousand men, sailed up the Ouse, as far as Rickall, within six miles of York, where they landed their troops; and Mr. Drake thinks it would be impossible in one day to bring so large a fleet up so far, with their horses, armour, &c. though ships were undoubtedly much smaller in those days than at present, notwithstanding the tide still flows up to York, where it usually rises two feet and a half. York, says he, at the Conquest, was a greater city than London; and, according to Leland's *Itinerary*, the streets of its suburbs extended every way into the country to the towns distant a mile round it." He also quotes Hardyng, "That, before the Conquest, Canterbury, and other cities, surpassed London in greatness; and that, in those days the city of London had, indeed, much building from Ludgate towards Westminster; but little or none where the chief or heart of the city was in his time, (viz. in King Henry Vth's reign) except that in divers places stood houses, but they

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“ they flood out of order. But, after the Conquest, London increased, and shortly surpassed all others.” As there was very little foreign commerce before the Norman Conquest, it is not much to be wondered at, that the middle, and more eastern parts of the present city of London were so little built on; and it was natural enough for the people to build more towards Westminster, as the Court and all its attendants lived there, who were, without doubt, supplied from London with most of their necessaries, Westminster being then, and long after, an inconsiderable village.

About this time, says Vossius, musical notes, as at present, were invented by Guido Aretinus.

- 1072 The city of Delft, in Holland, is said to have been built at this time by Godfrey Duke of Lorrain, who had usurped the province of Holland, in conjunction with the Bishop of Utrecht, then a potent temporal Prince, of which Bishop he held it for six years; when Thierri, its lawful Earl, recovered that province again.

In the same year, according to Lambecius, Hamburg was twice set on fire by the Pagans, and brought to the last desolation and misery, merely from their zeal for the Christian religion.

- 1074 During the troubles in the German empire, to which the kingdom of Burgundy had been annexed, in the year 1035, many of the Emperor's provincial governors made themselves masters of the respective provinces they governed. Otho of Flanders had the country about Besançon, with the title of an Earldom. Barthold of Saxony had Savoy, from whom the present house of Savoy is descended; though others derive the present house of Savoy from Humbert Count of Maurienne, who lived about the year 1034. Guigne, Earl of Grifavadan, had that part of it which he called Dauphiné, in favour of his son, who married Dauphiné, daughter of the Earl of Albion and Viennois, whose successors were called Dauphins of Vienne: and Berengar's successors, as Isaacson expresses it, had Provence. Here it is sufficient, once for all, to remark, that all these provinces, Savoy excepted, in length of time, and by various means and revolutions, have been long since united to the crown of France, and have greatly contributed to the aggrandizing of that kingdom.

- 1076 In Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, chap. xxiv. we find that in the year 1076, the King of Dublin, the capital of Ireland, was also King of the isle of Man, and likewise of the Hebrides, or western isles of Scotland; at one of which, viz. Ila, that King, named Godred Crovan, died in this year.

In England, a general synod enacts, “ That all bishops fees, *i. e.* cathedrals and residences, should be removed out of villages into great towns.” And from this order it has gradually prevailed, that wherever a cathedral church was placed, if a corporation, that town was from thence to assume the appellation of a city. Thus Carlisle, Peterborough, &c. are at this day called by the more honourable appellation of cities, while Liverpool, Newcastle, and others, are only called towns, though much larger and richer than many of the former. Yet this distinction was not always so strictly observed in old times as at present; since we find several eminent places called cities, even by monkish writers, which never had a bishop's see, as Bristol, which possessed that title long before it had a bishop. Even Camden's Britannia gives Shrewsbury, and some other eminent towns, the appellation of *civitas*, which have never had a bishop's see, nor cathedral.

In this same year ecclesiastical tyranny had arrived to so great a height, through the ignorance, and consequent bigotry of the laity, that Pope Gregory VII. had the audacity, the first of any Pope, not only to excommunicate his sovereign, the Emperor Henry IV. but to inflict on him the most vile and shameful penances, to which he as shamefully submitted.

The

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The fruitful and extensive province of Livonia, or Liefland, together with those of Prussia and Courland, which had been subdued by Eric King of Sweden, in the year 948, but had, after his death, recovered their liberty, were again, in 1077, made tributary by Canute King of Denmark, and even held in subjection to that crown for a considerable time after, and till the Poles conquered them; after which Conrade, Duke of Mazovia, brother of Lescus King of Poland, joined with the Teutonic Knights of the Cross, and, wresting them from the Poles, divided them between themselves. But this, according to Puffendorf, did not happen till the year 1239, when Conrade having possessed himself of the provinces of Mazovia and Cujavia, which, not being strong enough to protect them against the invading Prussians, induced him to call in those Knights of the Cross, who were then driven by the Saracens out of Syria. To them he gave the country of Culm, provided that, by their assistance, such places as he should conquer in Prussia, should be divided between them; which afterwards proved the occasion of great wars between those knights and Poland.

078

In this year William the Conqueror, for securing and keeping in awe the city of London, laid the foundation of, what in those days was judged to be, a strong citadel, with a broad and deep ditch, supplied with water from the Thames, well known by the name of the Tower of London.

In the same year, the Venetians gave effectual assistance to the Greek empire, by vanquishing the fleet of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, who was besieging Durazzo. That wise republic, probably, did not wish such an active people as the Normans to be so near neighbours to them.

In this year also, Duke Robert, son to William the Conqueror, going on an expedition against Scotland, founded a castle on the river Tyne in Northumberland, where there stood a small village called Monkcester, which, after the erection of this castle, gradually increased to a great and opulent town, by the new name of Newcastle upon Tyne. The prodigious quantity of pit-coal, afterwards dug out of the bowels of the earth in its neighbourhood, of which great quantities were exported to foreign countries, long before the demand for them at London was considerable, has not a little contributed to make this place great, rich, and populous.

This same year gave birth to the famous New-Forest in Hampshire, occasioned by William the Conqueror's immoderate passion for hunting. That arbitrary Prince, to gratify this humour, dispeopled a country of above thirty, some say above forty, miles in compass, demolished thirty-six parish churches, several petty towns, and many villages and single houses, to make a forest for the habitation of wild beasts. And, beside the injury he did, in this respect, to numerous individuals whom he turned out of their habitations, and to the trade and correspondence of that part of the country, some authors allege, that he did not make the owners of the lands or houses the least amends. This large tract of ground lay open for many ages, exposing that country to invasions, till King Henry VII. erected castles for its security. At present there are many towns and villages in it.

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Although the Danish ravages, before the Norman conquest, had greatly distressed the city of London, yet William of Malmesbury, who wrote soon after the conquest, calls London "a noble and rich city, frequented by merchants and factors from all parts." The romancing Fitz-Stephen, who also lived at this time, goes further, in saying, "That London had now one hundred and twenty-two parish churches and thirteen convents; and that a muster being made of men in it fit to bear arms, they brought into the field forty-thousand foot" and

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“and twenty thousand horsemen.” It will require but little trouble to demonstrate this account to be extremely beyond truth; since, even now, the entire city of London within the bars, or the Lord Mayor’s jurisdiction, cannot muster such a number of either horse or foot, although the city is now much better filled with houses, and more closely built, than it was long after this time; so uncertain is it to trust to the accounts of those old monkish writers. And, indeed, we need the less to wonder at this wild account, since, in our preface, we have shewn even more gross mistakes made, relating to the populousness of London, scarce one hundred and fifty years ago, by such as ought to have known better.

The city of Julin, on the isle of Wollin, opposite the mouth of the river Oder, on the Baltic shore of Pomerania, is celebrated in very lofty strains by Adam of Bremen, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written about the year 1080. He calls it, *nobilissima civitas Julinum*, &c. “the most renowned city of Julin, a most celebrated mart both for Barbarians and “Greeks.” What he meant by Greeks cannot well be comprehended; unless, the subjects of the Greek empire, living next Poland, or on the confines of Hungary, and the coasts of the Adriatic, might resort to this place over land for commerce; for it is not at all probable that they made so long a voyage as from Greece to the Baltic, by sea, in those early times. The same author says, “There are very many great, and scarcely credible, “things spoken of this city; as that it is the greatest city in Europe, inhabited by the Sclavi, “*cum aliis gentibus Græcis et Barbaris*, with other Greek and Barbarian nations; that their “neighbours, the Saxons, are also permitted to live there, provided they do not publicly “profess Christianity. Yet, though this city still remained in Paganism, nevertheless, in “point of justice and hospitality, no people whatever are more honourable and generous. “This city is filled with the merchandize of all the northern nations, and abounds in every “thing that is curious and rare.”

These are likewise the very words of Helmoldus, who lived in the twelfth century, in treating of Winet, in the neighbourhood of the isle of Usedom, in his *Chronica Sclavorum*, who certainly transcribed the identical words of Adam of Bremen, and applied them to Winet instead of Julin, unless these two are only different names for the same place, which is not very probable; because, though the two islands are near each other, the one isle is named Usedom and the other Wollin. It was so famous a city in the year 1127, that, in that year only, according to some authors, there were twenty-two thousand citizens baptized in it. Each foreign nation of merchants in Julin had a separate and distinct street to live in; so that, according to Helmoldus, it gave place to no city but Constantinople: yet it remained obstinate in its adherence to Paganism till the year 1150, according to Werdenhagen, though others give the same account under the year 1127.

This account, however, of Julin, is the more to be credited, as coming from an author so well spoken of, as Adam of Bremen is, by Gerard John Vossius, Cardinal Baronius, and others, as being what they call, *verus chronographus*, a fair or true historian. Yet he, like all the other monkish writers of those times, has given credit to the usual legends of miracles and prodigies believed in those dark times; and may also have magnified the condition of Julin, a place which probably he never saw, as being at a considerable distance from Bremen, and also a Pagan city. We shall treat of its destruction in the following century.

The city of Copenhagen, which, for some centuries, has been the capital of the kingdom of Denmark, if in being, does not seem to have been considerable enough to be as yet mentioned by Adam of Bremen’s Treatise, *De situ Daniæ, et reliquarum septentrionalium Regi-*
onum,

D. onum, written about this time : for, in describing the island of Zealand, or Seland, in the Sound, which he says was, in his time, famous, as well for the strength or number of its inhabitants, as for its wealth or plenty of corn, he makes Roschild, an inland town, now chiefly famous for being the burying-place of their kings, to be its principal city, and the then residence of their sovereigns : and, without naming Copenhagen, he mentions Aarhusen and Alberg, &c. in Jutland, and Lunden in Schonen : “ at which last-named city,” he says, “ there is much gold, which they get by their piracies on the barbarous nations on the Baltic Sea ; and, by reason of the tribute paid to him, the King of Denmark tolerates those piracies.” Neither does our author make any mention of Stockholm, but describes Byrca and Upsal, which he says are near to each other, to be the chief towns of Sweden. Here the scholiast on our author mentions the golden chain which surrounded the top of the Heathen temple at Upsal, of which Puffendorf, &c. also make mention. And, in that part of Sweden named Gothland, he mentions *civitas magna gotthorum, Scaran ; et civitas magna, Sictona, i. e.* the two great cities of Scaran and Sicton. Here our author displays the ignorance of that age, by his romantic account of the regions to the east of Sweden, “ where the herds of monstrous men forbid our approach, &c.” as already mentioned in this work. He also describes Helsingburg, on the shore of Schonen, which province, he says, abounds in people, corn, and merchandize, and has three hundred churches : to the isle of Zealand he gives half, and to Fuhnen one third, of that number.

Italy, at this time, was miserably divided between the Emperor and the Pope ; and, the emperors in general losing ground, the great cities of Italy gained more freedom. The citizens of Florence, says Machiavel, remained united within themselves, without aiming at any thing further than their own safety, until the year 1215, when they became divided into several factions ; and particularly with the other cities of Italy, into those famous parties of Guelphs and Ghibelines.

2 Poland is degraded from being a kingdom by the Pope, because King Boleslaus II. had murdered St. Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow ; wherefore, the future Princes of Poland contented themselves with the title of Dukes, till, by Papal permission, its Prince Primisslaus re-assumed the royal title, in 1295, after having been above two hundred years deprived of that honour.

5 The city of Toledo is taken from the Moors of Spain, and made the capital of the Christian kingdom of Castile.

6 In this year, the famous Doomsday Book, still remaining in the Exchequer, and written on vellum in Latin, was finished by direction of William the Conqueror ; being that ever-memorable survey of all the lands of England held in demesne, as well in Edward the Confessor's time as in his own ; by which means he exactly learned the quantity of acres of land in the kingdom. Dr. Brady, in his Treatise of Burghs, has taken the pains to extract from that book what he found relating to burghs : and he observes, “ That what we now call cities, towns, and burghs, made but a very small figure in this nation in the Saxon times before the conquest ; they were not then corporations, or bodies-politic, and were frequently called promiscuously towns or cities. Thus, in Doomsday Book, Leicester, which never had a bishop, and Gloucester, which had none then, are styled *civitas*. The great distinction,” he says, “ grew after cities were made counties by charter. By the greater and lesser Doomsday Book, it appears that the burghs, by which, we conceive, was then probably meant all the housekeepers and tradesmen in towns, who paid all taxes, had most-

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1086 " ly their patrons, under whose protection they followed their occupations, for which they
 " paid a certain acknowledgment. Other towns were in a yet more servile state, as being
 " what they called, *in dominio regis, vel aliorum*, altogether under the absolute power of the
 " King, if in his demesne, or else under some temporal Lord, Bishop, or Abbot, as part of
 " their demesne lands. And, in this last case, they were at the disposal of their lords, whe-
 " ther king or subject, without whose consent they could not devise their estates even to their
 " own children. Under their authority they were permitted to carry on their respective
 " callings or trades; for which, in return, they were bound to pay them such customs,
 " duties, &c. as should be imposed on them. But, as this last-named arbitrary imposition
 " could not but be disagreeable to the inhabitants, these gradually obtained, in lieu thereof,
 " to have a certain fixed sum levied annually on their respective towns, which was called
 " their fee-farm or farm: but yet, on extraordinary and emergent occasions, if the King re-
 " quired a tallage, &c. either for the redemption of his person, the marriage of his eldest
 " daughter or sister, or the knighting of his eldest son, then the burghs were to bear their
 " share thereof. London, it seems, had earlier immunities than most other towns, which
 " perhaps was the reason that it and Winchester were not inserted in Domesday Book, as
 " appears by the Conqueror's brief charter to that city," granting, " That all the burghesses,
 " French and English, shall be law-worthy, as in King Edward's days; and that each child
 " be his father's heir; and I will that no man command any wrong to be done you."—
 To be law-worthy, was to enjoy the benefit of a freeman, with respect to the law; which the
 inhabitants of many other towns, in those days, did not, being bound to submit to the abso-
 lute will of their Lord; a condition still kept up in many manors in England, as copy-
 holders frequently know to their cost. " In most burghs," says Brady, " very many bur-
 " gesses remained in that servile state, as others did in a middle or neutral state, between ser-
 " vitude and freedom, till our ancient Norman kings granted by their charters, that there
 " should be merchant or trading guilds, communities, and societies in burghs, and gave them
 " free liberty of trade, without paying toll or custom any where, other than their own fee-
 " farm rent in lieu of them, where that was reserved. It wants not probability, that William
 " Rufus, Henry I. and King Stephen, being all usurpers, granted large immunities to burghs,
 " to secure them to their party. And by the time that Glanville wrote, which was in the
 " reign of King Henry II. they had such great privileges, that if a bondman or servant re-
 " mained in a burgh, as a burghess or member of it, a year and a day, he was, by that very
 " residence, made free. And so it was in Scotland; he was always free, and enjoyed the liberty
 " of the burgh, if he were able to buy a burgage, and that his lord claimed him not within a
 " year and a day. The immunities granted by those kings were certain charters, for dis-
 " charging the burghesses of such towns from toll, passage, pontage, lastage, stallage; and that
 " they should have all liberties, &c. belonging to free burghesses or freemen, upon paying
 " their fee-farm: they were also to be free from certain fines or mulcts; from suit to hundred
 " and county courts, or any where else but in their own burgh, excepting in pleas of the
 " crown. And upon account of these and similar liberties, the prince, or other lord of the
 " burgh, either received toll and customs for the goods bought and sold, or else, in process
 " of time, a fee-farm rent, or annual composition, as aforesaid, in a stated sum, always less
 " than the true value, and also a reasonable tallage or aid, when for his necessity he saw
 " reason to impose it; and whenever the King made a tallage on towns of his demesnes, the
 " towns and cities, which had been granted to his great lords and bishops, were to be reason-
 " ably

n.
986 “ ably tallaged by them in like manner ; as in the instance of New Sarum, made a city, and
 “ given to the bishop in the eleventh of Henry III, in the year 1227.” Mr. Madox, in his
 Firmā Burgi, Chap. xi. Sect. 2. speaks more like an Exchequer-man, as he was, and a servant
 of the crown. “ The kings of England,” says he, “ made their towns free burghs, *ad*
 “ *cremementum vel meliorationem villarum*, for the increase or bettering of the town ; not to defeat
 “ themselves of their ferm due from the towns. This was the great end for which franchises
 “ by charter were then wont to be granted, viz. to enable the townsmen to live comfortably,
 “ and to pay with more ease and punctuality their yearly ferm, as he writes this word, and
 “ other duties to the King.” So run many of their charters, viz.

“ King Henry II. to London, *ad emendationem civitatis, i. e.* for bettering that city.

“ King Richard I. to Winchester and Lincoln, the like.

“ King John, to London, the like, anno 1199, 1mo. regni.

“ ———, and to Yarmouth, *ad emendationem burgi de Gernemutha*, anno 1208.

“ King Henry III. to London and Gloucester, the like, anno 1227.

“ King Edward I. to Kingston upon Hull, which he had built, for the amendment of their
 “ town, and the improvement of the King’s rents there, anno 1298.

“ King Edward II. 9 regni, anno 1316, to Carlisle } for bettering or amending their

“ King Edward III. 1mo regni, anno 1327, to London } towns.

“ ——— 6to regni, anno 1333, to Exeter, which city was of the ancient demesnes
 “ of the crown, to the end they might live in greater quiet, and the better attend their trades
 “ and business.

“ ——— and 10mo. regni, to Gloucester, the like, anno 1337.

“ King Richard II. 19 regni, anno 1396, to York, the like.

“ King Henry VI. to Gippewic, *i. e.* Ipswich, the like, 24 regni, anno 1446.

“ King Henry VII. 20 regni, anno 1505, to Lincoln. Out of his affection to the Mayor
 “ and Burgeses, for the better keeping of the peace there, and for the sound government and
 “ general good of the Burgeses, or Inhabitants.”

“ The Kings of England,” says Madox, *ibidem*, “ in ancient times, were found to be mer-
 “ ciful and gracious lords to the inhabitants of their towns : for it was entirely in their choice
 “ to let their towns to a Provost, or Custos, with power enough to oppress the townsmen ; or
 “ they might let out their towns at a rack rent, or otherwise, to any farmer whom they pleas-
 “ ed to gratify. It is manifest, therefore, that they gave the inhabitants of their towns an
 “ ample proof of their grace and clemency, in granting them the option of taking their towns
 “ at Ferme. Those towns having commonly good pennyworths of the crown. The
 “ Ferme,” says Madox, “ usually consisted in lands or houses, in or near the town, in mills,
 “ fisheries, &c. which were either originally in the crown, or else fell to it on various occa-
 “ sions ; and which the crown bestowed on the said towns, reserving a rent thereout called
 “ the ferme : these were called demesnes of the crown, and such as are found in Doomsday
 “ Book are reckoned the ancient demesnes. When any such towns met with losses by fire,
 “ captures at sea, inundations, &c. or fell to decay through length of time, loss of trade, &c.
 “ our Kings were commonly disposed to shew particular marks of their grace to such their
 “ demesne towns, by frequently remitting all, or part, of their Ferme, for one or more
 “ years.” Here Mr. Madox gives many instances thereof : such as,

To Durham, by King Henry I. sixty shillings remitted in part of one hundred shillings
 fine.

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To St. Edmundsbury and Dorchester certain arrears.

To Waringford, now Walingford, because of their poverty, the like.

To Guldeford, now Guildford, six shillings and eight pence, by Henry II. anno 1173.

• King John to Dunwich, forty pounds, in part of one hundred pounds, and one mark for their ferme: and King Henry III. remitted them yearly twenty pounds, and gave them forty-seven pounds ten shillings for repairing their harbour.

Henry III. observing the houses, in the city of Winchester, to be ruinous, by reason of their poverty, reduced their ferme, for twenty years, from eighty pounds to one hundred marks, as did likewise King Edward I. Other remissions to various towns, were for walling them, or repairing their walls or towns; as Edward I. to Northampton and Dunwich, Edward III. to Portsmouth, Henry IV. to Southampton, and also to Hethe, now Hythe, "because the last named town had had upwards of two hundred houses burnt down, with all the goods, &c. therein, to the value of six hundred pounds and upwards; having also lost five ships by storms at sea, and in them one hundred men; by reason of which, and of their having been lately visited with the plague and other misfortunes, the inhabitants were about to quit the town, and settle elsewhere." Also King Henry VI. to Gipwick, now Ipswich, then impoverished, and also to the city of York; and King Henry VII. to Bedford, for the like reason.

As, from the Norman conquest downward, the cities and towns of England were either vested in the crown, in the clergy, or in the lay baronage, "Those in the crown," says Mr. Madox, "which are named in the venerable record called Doomſday Book, are many of the present principal cities and towns of England, and are named thus in that book, *Terra Regis*, i. e. the King's Land:—*Rex habet*, such a land, &c." And we have before hinted Dr. Brady's conjecture, for it seems to be no more, why London and Winchester are not named in Doomſday Book.

All the particulars of which, as transcribed by Dr. Brady, relating to burghs, give but little assistance to our present undertaking, as they do not ascertain the exact number of people, or houses of any one burgh; but merely, or at least principally, the quantity of annual revenue arising to the crown from a certain number of the burgesses living in such respective towns, who seem to have been no other than the housekeepers, who were able to pay the King's dues and taxes; and therefore, in reckoning up the houses which paid to the crown, they always specify how many lie waste. For instance, "In the city of York, in the time of King Edward the Confessor, there were six wards, besides the Archbishop's ward. One of these was destroyed when the castles were built. In the other five there were one thousand four hundred and eighteen mansions inhabited, i. e. (says Brady in his margin) such as were let for an annual rent, and the inhabitants bound to reside in them. Of all these mansions, there are in the King's possession, inhabited, and paying custom, four hundred and nine, great and small; and four hundred, not constantly inhabited, the best of which pay one penny, and others less; and five hundred and forty mansions so uninhabited, as that they yield nothing at all. The French" i. e. the Normans, "hold one hundred and forty-five." Total houses one thousand four hundred and ninety-four; beside those in the Archbishop's ward, of which no number is specified; which houses, without doubt, paid toll and custom to the Archbishop as their lord paramount; and, perhaps, York might have houses in it subject to other Lords: so that by this survey, we are not enabled to ascertain the magnitude of this city, or its number of houses and people.

Dr.

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Dr. Brady has not named another town in all this large county, though without doubt, there were not a few.

"In the city of Canterbury, King Edward had fifty-one burgesſes paying rent, and two hundred and twelve others under his privilege and jurisdiction. Now," *i. e.* in the Conqueror's time, "the burgesſes paying rent are nineteen; the others, which were thirty-two, are dead, and yet there are two hundred and twelve under the King's privilege and jurisdiction. The burgesſes had forty-five houses without the city, of which they had the rent and custom, but the King had the jurisdiction and ſoke. The burgesſes alſo had of the King thirty-three acres of meadow, which was toward the maintenance of their Guild, or belonging to their ſociety." Total houses, three hundred and eight; which, without doubt, was far from being all the houses that were then in Canterbury: but was only the total number of houses there which paid toll or custom to the King.

In Romenel, *i. e.* Romney, there are eighty-five burgesſes. It is called the Archbishop's land or manor, worth fix pounds to their Lord yearly.

"Leiceſter city, (*civitas* it is called) in the time of King Edward, paid yearly to the King thirty pounds by tale, and fifteen sextaries, or gallons, of honey. And when the King marched with his army by land, there went with him twelve burgesſes of this burgh; and when he went by ſea againſt an enemy, they ſent him four horſes to London," as remarked elſewhere, "for carrying of arms and other neceſſaries." This ſhews Leiceſter to have been a place of good account in thoſe days, although the number of its houses, burgesſes, and people are not here ſpecified.

"In the old burgh or city of Norwich, the King and Earl have the jurisdiction and custom of one thouſand two hundred and thirty-eight burgesſes. Stigand had the jurisdiction and protection, or money for the protection of fifty; and Herold of twenty-two.

"In the new burgh were thirty-fix French and fix Engliſh burgesſes; every one of whom paid an annual custom of five pence, beſide their mulcts or forfeitures. Now there are forty-one French burgesſes, vaſſals to the King and Earl; and Roger Bigot hath fifty; and Ralph de Belloſago hath fourteen; Hormer, eight; and Robert, a manager of battering engines, five; Fulcher, a vaſſal to the Abbot, one; and Iſaac, one; and Ralph Woolſface, one; and three in the Earl's bake or grinding houſe. Total burgesſes or houses, one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-fix.

"Thetford, had nine hundred and forty-four houses, including empty ones; now only ſeven hundred and twenty burgesſes, and two hundred and twenty-four houses void."

"King Edward held Yarmouth; (*Gernemue*) it had always ſeventy burgesſes. Nothing farther of theſe burgesſes in *Doomſday Book*. Our Kings kept this burgh in their hands, and received, by their officers, the profits of the port, till the ninth year of King John, who then granted the burgh in fee-farm to the burgesſes for ever, at the yearly rent of fifty-five pounds. The ſeventy burgesſes above-named, we find, in the twelfth of King Henry III. were merchants and traders at ſea, and upon the water." But nobody will ſuppoſe that they were all the houſekeepers then in Yarmouth.

"Dunwich holds of Robert Mallett, and has two hundred and thirty-fix burgesſes, and twelve bordars," *i. e.* cottagers, from the Daniſh word, *Borde*, (*Domuncula*) *i. e.* "a little houſe," ſays Skinner in his *Etymologicon*, "and twenty-four Frenchmen."

Lenn, *i. e.* Lynn, is barely mentioned, but not as a burgh.

S U F F O L K.

- 1086 “ In the burgh of Gipswic, *i. e.* Ipswich, there were, in the time of King Edward, five hundred and thirty-eight burgesſes who paid cuſtom to the King. Now there are only one hundred and ten burgesſes who pay cuſtom, and one hundred poor burgesſes, who can only pay one penny per head, and three hundred and twenty-eight manſions lie waſte.
 “ Eye is the land of Robert Mallet; there is a market, a pound for cattle, or rather a park for deer; and to the market belong twenty-five burgesſes, and to the manor forty-eight ſockmen, who had one hundred and twenty-one acres of land.”

S U S S E X.

“ The burgh of Lewes, in the time of King Edward, yielded ſix pounds four ſhillings and one penny halfpenny for rent and toll, and he had one hundred and twenty-seven burgesſes in demefne.

“ Pevenfel, *i. e.* Pevenſey, belongs to Earl Moreton, who had ſixty burgesſes there. In King Edward's time it had twenty-four burgesſes, vaſſals to the King, who paid fourteen ſhillings and ſix-pence rent; toll twenty ſhillings; cuſtom for the uſe of the port one pound five ſhillings; for paſture ſeven ſhillings and three pence. The Biſhop of Chicheſter had five burgesſes; Edmer, a prieſt, fifteen; Ormer, a prieſt, five; Doda, a prieſt, three.” With others here named, who had amongſt them fifteen burgesſes, ſpecifying their annual payments.

In the city of Chicheſter, no mention of any burgesſes, only of houſes and dwellings; and paid thirty-five pounds yearly between the King and Earl Moreton.

The burgh and port of the caſtle of Arundel, with the cuſtom of ſhips, yields twelve pounds.

H A M P S H I R E.

“ In the burgh of Hantune, *i. e.* Southampton, the King has eighty-four men, or tenants at leaſt, (no mention of burgesſes) paying ſeven pounds yearly rent.” Without doubt theſe eighty-four men were burgesſes; but the titles, I preſume, were variously reported by the different perſons who gave in the ſurvey.

Wincheſter not mentioned.

D E V O N S H I R E.

“ In the city of Exeter the King has three hundred and fifteen houſes, more or leſs, paying rent; forty-eight lying waſte, ſince the King came into England. The burgesſes of this city have twelve plough lands without the city, which pay no cuſtom, unleſs to the city itſelf.” This laſt paragraph ſhews that Exeter had a Guild or Community at this time.

“ Barnſtadle has forty nine burgesſes in demefne, who, amongſt them all, pay the King forty ſhillings by weight, and to the Biſhop of Coutancei in Normandy, twenty ſhillings by tale.

“ Lide-

o86 D. " Lideford is in the King's burgh, having twenty-eight burgesſes within the burgh, and
 " forty-one without. Among them all they pay the King ſixty ſhillings by weight."

B U C K I N G H A M S H I R E.

" Bochingham, with Borton, has twenty-seven burgesſes, and eleven bordars, *i. e.* cotta-
 " gers, and two ſervants: there is one mill of fourteen ſhillings rent, meadow ſufficient for
 " the eight plough lands, paſture for the cattle of the town: for all its dues it pays ſixteen
 " pounds white money.

" Biſhop Remigius holds the church of this burgh, and four plough lands belonging to it.
 " There are three villans, three bordars, ten cotars, *i. e.* probably lower cottagers, and one
 " mill of ten ſhillings rent. It was worth ſeven pounds to him.

" In this burgh the biſhop of Coutance has three burgesſes, and Earl Hugh one, Robert
 " D'Oyley one, under the protection of Azor the ſon of Tot; he paid ſixteen pence, and
 " to the King five pence." Here follow the names of ſeveral other perſons, who held amongſt
 them all the remaining twenty-two burgesſes, and were moſtly either Normans or Bretons,
 and held the burgesſes under the protection or patronage of others therein named, and whoſe
 burgesſes paid them ſome money, as well as ſome alſo to the King.

" Marlave, or Marlow, is termed *terra Reginae Matildis*, only a great manor, but no burgh.

N O R T H A M P T O N S H I R E.

" Northantone, Northampton, ſixty burgesſes in the new burgh, forty demefne burgesſes.

H E R T F O R D S H I R E.

" The burgh of Hertford, in the time of King Edward, was taxed as much as ten hides,
 " now not ſo much. There were one hundred and forty-fix burgesſes under the liberty of
 " King Edward. King William has eighteen others, that were the men, or under the pro-
 " tection, of Earl Harold and Earl Leuin.

Q " The town of Hertford," ſays Dr. Brady, " ſent afterward burgesſes to Parliament
 " eighteen times; but from the ſeventh of Henry V. till the twenty-ſecond of King James
 " they ſent none, although it was the ſhire town."

S T A F F O R D S H I R E.

" In the burgh of Stafford the King has in demefne eighteen burgesſes."

S U R R E Y.

" Guldeford, *i. e.* Guilford, was the King's land, but no burgh.

" Gatton was the Biſhop of Bayeux's land, but no burgh."

But why Southwark, and Kingſton are not mentioned by Brady, if in the ſurvey, is un-
 known to us.

WARWICKSHIRE.

- 1086 . " In the burgh of Warwic, the King has in demesne one hundred and thirteen houses, and
 " the King's Barons have one hundred and twelve;" and then the survey notes all the Bishops,
 " Abbots, Earls, and Barons that were possessed of those last mentioned houses.
 " The King holds Colehill, and ten burgesses in Tamworth."

WILTSHIRE.

- " In Cricklade, the King has five pounds of the third penny.
 " 1. The King holds Aldeborn. To this manor there were six burgesses of Cricklade, pay-
 " ing yearly sixty-four pence.
 " 2. The Bishop of Salisbury holds Ramsbery, &c. In Cricklade there are five burgesses,
 " servants, or base tenants to this manor, who paid five shillings yearly.
 " The church of Glastonbury holds Bradbury, &c. In Cricklade one burgess, paying
 " five pence by the year.
 " 4. The church of St. Peter at Westminster holds the church at Cricklade, and has there
 " many burgesses, and the third penny of the same town, yielding, all together, to that church,
 " nine pounds.
 " 5. The church of Shaftesbury holds Ledington, &c. In Cricklade one burgess, *i. e.*
 " one burgess belonging to that manor, who paid six-pence per ann."

SOMERSETSHIRE.

- " The King holds Bath, where he hath sixty-four burgesses, paying him four pounds by the
 " year; and there are ninety under the protection of other men, which pay sixty shillings
 " yearly."
 " Milburn holds of the King, fifty-six burgesses, paying three pounds.
 " In Taunton there is only mention of sixty-four burgesses, who paid thirty-two shillings;
 " but there are many privileges noted to belong to that town.
 " Givelcheſter (Ilcheſter) one hundred and seven burgesses paying one pound, and the mar-
 " ket eleven pounds."
 " Bristol city is not mentioned by Dr. Brady, yet Camden quotes Doomsday Book as men-
 " tioning it.
 " Neither is Bridgwater nor Minehead named.

BERKSHIRE.

- " In the burgh of Walingford King Edward had eight virgates of land, upon which were
 " two hundred and seventy-six houses, paying eleven pounds rent." Then follows a long
 " and rude catalogue of all the houses belonging to this town, and their owners, both on the
 " Berkshire and Oxfordshire sides of the Thames. By charter of King Henry II. there were
 " many and large liberties and privileges granted to the burgesses of Walingford, " because they
 " had sided with him and his Mother Maud, and held out their castle for the Empress against
 " King

086 " King Stephen: he grants them for ever all the privileges they enjoyed in King Edward the Confessor's time, and his successors—Shall have a Merchant Guild, with all its customs and laws, and to be governed by their own Alderman. He remits the rent, or gable (*gablio meo*) of eleven pounds per ann.—Gives them liberty by land or water, to traffick through England, Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, without paying any tolls, &c. in as ample manner as his citizens of Winchester ever enjoyed them." King Henry III in the fifty-first year of his reign, in the year 1207, recites and confirms this charter

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

" In the burgh of Huntingdon there were four furlongs; in two of which are one hundred and sixteen burghesses, paying all customs, and the King's tax; and under them are one hundred bordars, which help them to pay the tax. Of these burghesses Ramsey Abbey had ten, with jurisdiction and soken money, and all custom. These Eustachius, the Earl, took by force from the Abbey, and they are now, with the rest, in the King's hands." The further description of these two furlongs gives an account of the different proprietors, and what houses had been destroyed for a place on which to build the Castle.

" 2. In the other two furlongs, or rather ferlings, (*ferlingi*) there are one hundred and forty burghesses, paying all customs, and the King's tax; and they had eighty houses, for which they did, and do give, all customs; of which the Abbey of Ramsey had twenty-two in the time of King Edward."

DORSETSHIRE.

Dorchester, described as a very great manor only.

Poole, not mentioned in Doomsday Book.

Corfe Castle, then no burgh.

LANCASHIRE.

" Newton, the King's ancient demesne, but no burgh."

No other town named in this county.

WORCESTERSHIRE AND LINCOLNSHIRE.

No burghesses mentioned.

Yet Lincoln must have been a very large city at this time, though Dr. Brady does not mention it, since Camden, from Doomsday Book, says, " They then had in it one thousand and seventy inns for entertainment."

This might possibly give rise to an old vulgar rhyme or gingle, viz.

" Lincoln was, London is, and York shall be,

" The greatest city of the three."

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

1086 • “ Gloucester paid thirty-six pounds by tale, in the Confessor’s Reign, and twelve gallons of “ honey:” “ At which time, and in that of the Conqueror, its chief trade,” according to Camden, in his *Britannia*, “ was the forging of iron for the King’s Navy,” as being in the neighbourhood of the Forest of Dean, abounding in Iron Stone, which had been much worked when the Romans were in Britain, “ and some honey.”

From these extracts it plainly appears, that the ascertaining the magnitude of cities and burghs, was no farther the intent of the famous survey of Doomsday Book, than as it served to inform William the Conqueror of his revenues arising from them. There is also mention made therein of Wales, which did not then belong to England; and the four northern counties, which at that time belonged to Scotland.

Dr. Brady remarks, that many places, not particularized by him, are in the survey either called burghs, or have burghesses mentioned in the description of them, which are not at present esteemed burghs. The following places have barely the appellation of burghs, on account of some burghesses living in them, without any thing further being mentioned of their quality or condition, viz. Turkfey, Lowth, and Stamford, in Lincolnshire; Staining, in Suffex; Sceptesbury, or Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire; Downeton, Theodalsvise, Saresberie, Wilton, Malmesberie, Crichtade, and Calne, in Wiltshire; Lideford and Totnefs in Devonshire; Colchester and Malden in Essex; Winchelcomb, in Gloucestershire; Hereford; Snottingham, Henistston, probably Helfton, Lescarret, or Leskard, Faweston, probably Fowey, Dunheved, or Launceston, which was the Earl of Cornwall’s castle, and the head of the county, Bodmin, which had sixty-eight houses, held of St. Peter’s, Westminster, and St. Germans, all in Cornwall, and are all described as ordinary towns, parishes, or villages; as are likewise Okehampton and Honiton, in Devonshire; Marleborough and Downeton, in Wiltshire; being no burghs. Salisbury as yet not a burgh, but described as a very great manor, and as other country towns; and Heytesbury the same.—That in several shires, now having many burghs, the names of those burghs are not to be found in this survey; as in Somersetshire, Hampshire, Suffex, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; for the doctor thinks, what may be said in most cases, “ that the “ original of many, if not of all our present burghs, was probably from charters since granted “ them; as particularly those of many Cornish burghs, whereby they were exempted from “ tolls in fairs;—from being compelled to plead, or be impleaded, any where but in their “ own burghs, &c.—Others had a Merchant Guild, *Gilda Mercatoria*, granted to them: all “ which burghs were incorporated between the years 1154 and 1344; many of whose charters were granted by the Earls and Dukes of Cornwall, and afterwards confirmed by the “ Crown. Yet it is observable that few or none of those Cornish burghs have arrived to any considerable degree of prosperity; partly owing to natural impediments, and partly to want of industry. It is not quite certain, that all the towns named burghs in Doomsday Book, were really so, in a modern incorporated sense; we may be sure, however, that such as are said to have had a guild, or community, were of the nature of our modern corporations, though not, perhaps, in all respects, the same in those early times.

We shall conclude this subject of Doomsday Survey, with observing, first, That the summary view we have here given of it, may very much contribute towards a clear understanding of

M. of the state and condition of all the different ranks and classes of people in England, from the King to the meanest cottager or villain. 2dly, That the survey is said not only to have increased the royal revenue very much, but likewise to have reduced it much nearer to a certainty than before; which last consideration is of great importance to a prince or state.

Beside King William the Conqueror's one thousand four hundred and twenty-two manors, as Echard and others reckon them, and his other lands in Shropshire, Rutlandshire, and Middlesex, he had all the quit-rents, tolls, &c. specified in Doomſday Book, collected from all parts of the kingdom. He had also a perpetual land-tax named Hydage, formerly called Dane-gelt. He had moreover escheats or forfeitures for treason, felony, or failure of heirs; also fines and wardships, &c. All which is said to have amounted together to above one thousand and sixty pounds daily, equal to thrice that sum in our modern money, being at least three hundred and eighty-six thousand nine hundred pounds per annum, of their money; and of our money one million one hundred and sixty thousand seven hundred pounds yearly revenue; and this raised on no more than about two millions of people, if what is mentioned in the introduction to this work be exact. This sum Mr. Echard thinks equal to five millions of money in our times; and we conceive his opinion, in this particular, to be tolerably correct, considering the rates of living then and now, computed from the prices of provisions and all other necessities of life, workmens and servants wages, soldiers and sailors pay, salaries of officers, &c. so that we may safely conclude, as we have already observed, that the rate of living was then in general ten times cheaper than in our days. This famous Doomſday Book, is even, at this time, esteemed a most valuable treasure of antiquity, from whence many useful informations and evidences have been collected for evincing the old tenures, rights, possessions, boundaries, limits, &c. of cities, towns, cathedrals, castles, baronies, and manors.

7 Pursuant to the order of the general synod of the clergy, already mentioned, for removing the sees or cathedrals of Bishops in England, from villages or small places to great towns, that of Thetford, though at this time not an inconsiderable town, was removed to Norwich, a place, even then, of considerable magnitude, as appears by the survey.

In this same reign of King William the Conqueror, who died in this year, the parish church of St. Mary in Cheapſide, London, is said to have been built; being the first church built with arches of stone, and for that reason was named St. Mary de Arcubus, in Latin, i. e. St. Mary le Bow, in such English as was then in use, being a mixture of Norman, Danish, and Saxon. And for the same reason, the first arched stone bridge erected at Stratford, four miles east from London, built by Queen Matilda, wife of King Henry I. and daughter to Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, about fifty years later, gave the name to that village, ever since called Stratford le Bow; though now increased to two considerable villages, named Bow and Stratford.

The Conqueror's son and successor, King William II. siled Rufus, is said to have found his father's treasure, lodged at Winchester, to be sixty thousand pounds in silver, or one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of our money, besides gold and jewels. For this, Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, quotes Ingulphus, who lived at that time. That sum was equal, on the comparative expence of living, to at least ten times as much, or six hundred thousand pounds in our days.

8 It seems to have been about the close of this century, that Merchant Guilds or Fraternities, which were afterwards siled Corporations, came first into general use in many parts of

A. D.

1090 Europe. Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, chap. i. sect. 9. thinks they were hardly known to our Saxon progenitors, and that they might be probably brought into England by the Normans, although they do not seem to have been very numerous in France in those days.—Probably both the French and Normans might borrow them from the free cities of Italy, where trade and manufactures were much earlier propagated, and where, it is possible, such communities were established.

They were of two general kinds, viz.

First, of cities and towns, to whom their sovereigns gave privileges by charters, of which there are many instances, both foreign and domestic, in early times. Mr. Madox quotes a charter granted to the cities of Mantua in Italy, by their Prince Guelfo Duke of Este, in this very year 1090.

At first, the word *guild* in England was only applied to the body or community of a city or town, or of a religious body or community; for there were ecclesiastical guilds as well as secular ones. Afterward we find the aggregate body of the merchants or traders of a city or town called the *Gilda Mercatoria*, and the head officer thereof was usually called Alderman of the Merchants Guild, whose office seems to have been similar to that of Dean of Guild in the royal boroughs of Scotland. Secondly, in process of time, as trading towns increased in number of inhabitants, the retailers and artizans in great towns obtained charters for incorporating their respective callings; *i. e.* for engrossing and monopolising all the business of their town, in exclusion of non-freemen: they also obtained the names of guild, fraternity, and corporation.

All the historiographers of London agree, that a violent tempest having, in this year 1090, blown down the roof of St. Mary le Bow church in Cheapside, four of the rafters, of twenty-six feet in length, were pitched in the ground of that street, that scarcely four feet of them remained above-ground. “For,” says James Howell, in particular, “the city of London was not paved, but a moorish ground.” This inclegance was not peculiar to London in those times, but was also the case of many cities in foreign countries.

We find the last-named kind of guilds pretty early in London after the Norman Conquest. Mr. Madox takes notice of several guilds in London as early as the year 1180; 26 Henry II. that were amerced to the crown as adulterine, *i. e.* set up without warrant from the King; as the goldsmiths, butchers, glovers, curriers, &c. On the other hand, there were then also several warranted or lawful guilds; as the weavers, saddlers, &c. Yet the oldest ~~charter~~ now in being, of the most eminent companies in London, are of a later date, viz. the goldsmiths and skinners not till the year 1327; the grocers, anciently called pepperers, in 1345; the mercers, in 1393, the haberdashers, in 1407; the fishmongers, in 1433; the vintners, in 1437; the drapers, in 1439; the ironmongers, in 1464; the merchant-tailors, in 1466; and the other companies are still later.

The Lord Chief Justice Hale, in his *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, makes the following instructive remark on this subject: “It appears very plainly by those ancient guilds that were erected in England for the woollen manufacture, as at Lincoln, York, Oxford, and divers other cities, that in the time of King Henry II. and Richard I. this kingdom greatly flourished in that art. But by the troublesome wars in the time of King John and Henry III. and also in the times of Edward I. and Edward II. this manufacture was wholly lost, and all our trade ran out in wools, wool-fels, and leather, carried out in specie; and that manufacture, during those warlike times, had its course in France, the Netherlands, and the Hanse towns. But by the wisdom and peaceable times of Edward III. he regained that art hither
“again,

“ again, after near one hundred years discontinuance. So that we are not to conclude, that every new appearance of any art or science, is the first production of it.”

Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, chap. i. sect. 9. observes, that King Henry II. beside his charter to London, in the year 1090, “ confirmed to his men or Burgesses of Southampton, their guild; and their liberties and customs by sea and land. He having regard to the great charges which the inhabitants thereof have been at in defending the sea-coasts.” From this and some other reasons, it seems probable that Southampton had been a place of note, and had privileges bestowed on it before this time.

About this period, it is probable that the feudal law was first introduced into Scotland, in the reign of Malcolm III. and not in the time of Malcolm II. as many have thought. Before the feudal law took place in that part of Britain, there were probably no written charters for titles to lands, as many think; the dates of the oldest charters, now known, being no further back than this King’s reign, who came to the crown in 1057, and died in 1093. Malcolm having married the Saxon Lady Margaret, sister to Prince Edgar Atheling, on that account, and from the severity of the Conqueror, there retired into Scotland great numbers of Englishmen, or Anglo-Saxons of note, and settled there; and many of their posterity remain there to this day, and are some of the noblest blood of Scotland. With them were likewise first introduced into that country the modern titles of Earl and Baron, instead of the former title of Thane. After this period, it is further to be observed, that the Scots generally copied many of their laws from those of England, for at least two centuries after.

The feudal law did, as it were, naturally introduce written deeds, or charters for lands, whether holding immediately of the crown, or mediately of a subject. Their Kings brought the land proprietors to subject themselves to military tenures, by granting them written charters for that end. Possession alone, before this time, ascertained the property of lands, as at this day of moveables; of which there are still some instances in the isles of Orkney, where, it is said, that so late as the reign of James VI. there were some proprietors of lands who never had accepted of a charter for them. These feudal tenures added greatly to the power of the crown: and as William the Conqueror had seized on the lands of the Saxons who had opposed his conquest, he very wisely re-granted those lands to his Normans by military tenure. Malcolm, followed the example of William in this respect; and, probably, introduced also the yearly payments to the Scottish crown called burgh-mails, which were the same with the *see-farm* rents of burghs in England; the word *mail* signifying annual rent, according to vulgar acceptance, in Scotland even to this day; that word coming probably from the name of a halfpenny, or half a sterling, most frequently called a mail in ancient times. Mercantile arts and industry coming later into Scotland than into England, the former country, therefore, retained the feudal law and customs longer than the latter.

Under this year Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, quotes Ingulphus for certain rates of living, &c. “ That if the men of Croyland would have any turf out of the Abbot’s marsh, they must either give one day’s work, or else three halfpence, equal to fourpence halfpenny of our money, for one to cut turves for Croyland Court. And every one that watched with persons lying dead in the infirmary, was to have two-pence for every night. The serjeant of the infirmary’s reward for looking after the sick, if the party died, was a coat, or four shillings. He was to have his livery of meat, drink, and bread, or four shillings per annum stipend. The coat, says the bishop, is reasonably valued at four shillings, but two-pence per night for watching, or sixpence of modern money, was an

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“ extraordinary recompence.” To which we may add, that in plentiful years, we may gather from the prices of provisions, that the rate of living then, was about ten times as cheap as in our days.

1096 This year is commonly assigned by historians for the city of Genoa's first assuming a republican form. In the ninth century, Pepin King of Italy, son of Charlemagne, had erected that city and country adjacent into a county, in favour of his kinsman Ademar. But the Genoese, now grown great and powerful, renounced their obedience to the Count, and erected themselves into a republican government. For several succeeding centuries that republic made a conspicuous figure in Europe, as well in point of naval wars, as of a most extensive commerce. Their wars were principally with their sister republics of Venice and Pisa, which proved often extremely fierce and bloody, as well as those they waged with the Saracens or Moors. It would take up too much of our time to recount them all, though we shall think ourselves obliged to give a cursory view of them, in the sequel of the work, as they exhibit many surprising particulars relating to the vicissitudes of commerce, as well as to naval greatness in various periods. From this time downwards, to the beginning of the sixteenth century, scarcely any state in Europe has undergone more vicissitudes and revolutions than Genoa has done; unless, perhaps, we except the kingdom of Naples. Genoa having been first destroyed by the Lombards, and next by the Saracens, induces Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, to think, “ That no regular series of their history can be traced earlier than the year 1100; the many invasions of, and revolutions in Italy, prior to that period, having made men in those times confine or contract their concern to their own preservation alone;” as has ever been the case in other parts of the world afflicted with such calamities.

This year is memorable for the rise of the wars of the western Christians in Palestine, for the recovery of that country and particularly the city of Jerusalem, from the Saracens, or rather Turks, and therefore named the Holy War. We must here premise that, upon the declension of the Greek empire, the countries of Egypt and Syria fell into the hands of the Mahometan Persians, who connived at a few Christians remaining in Jerusalem, and permitted Christian strangers to visit the holy sepulchre, who went thither either for that purpose, or for traffic; while those of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, importing many useful commodities which those infidels wanted, were permitted to build a monastery and hospital for the reception of pilgrims. In this state Jerusalem remained till this expedition commenced, when Gerard, then master of that hospital, and his associates, assumed the habit of the order of Knights Hospitallers: whereupon many noblemen and gentlemen coming to Jerusalem, joined themselves to this new order, vowing irreconcilable enmity to the infidels. And while the Christians held Jerusalem, those knights proved of infinite service, and the order was enriched by the bounty of Christian Princes, till that city was taken by Saladin. But Solyman, the Prince of the Turks, having in the year 1080, established his capital residence at Nice in Lesser Asia, he began to exercise great cruelties against the Christians of that country, and of Syria and Palestine, and more particularly against those residing at Jerusalem. This made a great noise all over Europe, and occasioned Pope Urban II. to summon the Council of Clermont, where he engaged the Christian Princes to enter into this war. Peter the Hermit has perpetuated his name to all posterity, by being made that Pope's instrument to excite the Princes and people of the west to undertake the recovery of Jerusalem, and of all the Holy Land, from the Mahometans. By this stroke of policy the Pope gained two principal and important ends, viz. First, he took care that he himself should be the general treasurer for all the money collected

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1096 lected from every corner of Christendom; so that he had it absolutely in his option either to apply it to its original purpose, or to divert any part of it at pleasure for the advancement of the Papal power and wealth. Secondly, he got those head-strong Princes, who were not quite so complaisant as he wished for advancing the Papal power, out of the way, most of whom perished in that hot eastern climate, which did not suit their northern constitutions; and such of them as returned, brought back unsound bodies and empty purses; having also contracted such heavy debts for their fitting out, as they were not able to discharge in many years after. Among others, the zeal of Robert Duke of Normandy was so unbounded, that he pawned that noble Dutchy to his brother King William Rufus, for the loan of ten thousand marks.— And it seems King William found it so difficult to raise this sum in England, that he was forced, for that purpose, to oppress his barons, who were obliged, for the same end, to extend the oppression to their vassals. The clergy either were, or pretended to be, under the necessity of melting down the church plate, and even the shrines of the saints; which, if true, shews the great scarcity of money in England, already exhausted by the great sums that Prince had drawn from his people. It was made meritorious, as well in England as every where else, in the rich to give money, instead of going to the holy war in person; by which means the Pope amassed vast treasures; “and while the Emperors, whose dominions till this period had surrounded the Pope’s on all sides, were engaged personally in this romantic war, the Popes, says, Fuller, stole a castle here, and a city there, from the Imperial territories in Italy. So that by the time the Christians had lost all Syria, the Emperors had lost all Italy, which was either swallowed up by the church, or by private princes, and upstart free states.”

Thirdly, another view of the Pope was, to reduce the Greek church to his subjection, by means of the armies of the west marching through Greece; which was the only point wherein he failed. The greatest gainers, after his Holiness, in these wild expeditions to the East, were the free states and cities of Italy, viz. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence. For they, and more especially Venice and Genoa, were not only well paid for the use of their shipping in transporting the princes, lords, and great men, and the soldiers, arms, and provisions to Judea; but they also obtained great privileges and much commerce in the cities and ports taken and planted by the western Christians, who, to distinguish themselves from the Greeks, were now called Latins. These wore a red cross on their upper garment, and were therefore termed *Crusaders*, or *Crossed*. Their first enterprize commenced in the year 1097; and though the history of it occupies large volumes, yet it no further concerns us in this work, than to remark, as we go along, how far it affected the concurrent state of Europe, in wealth, commerce, and population. It lasted one hundred and ninety-four years, viz. from this year, when they began with the siege of Nice, to the year 1291, when they lost Ptolemais; and in that space of time, it is thought to have drained Europe of above a million of men, beside much treasure finally left in Palestine in the hands of the Turks. We must here observe, that the Greek Emperors of Constantinople soon became extremely jealous of those expeditions of the Latins, and of their settling in Syria; and are therefore said to have used them very ill, in their passing at different times over-land through Greece into Syria: in mere resentment for which, as it is pretended, the Latins took violent possession of that empire, which they held near sixty years. And as the two maritime powers, Venice and Genoa, took different sides in this quarrel between the Latins and the Greeks, Venice siding with the former, and Genoa with the latter, they both, in their turns, became great gainers by the contest, and obtained considerable parts of the declining Greek empire, which they have since lost to the Turks.

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“ At the taking of Cafarea, in the year 1110, by the Latins, the Genoese had for their share
 “ of the booty,” according to the Chevalier de Mailly, their historiographer, “ a vase of one
 “ entire emerald, which is one of the greatest curiosities in the world, and is still lodged in the
 “ treasury of Genoa.” So powerful were the Genoese in those times, more especially in ship-
 ping, that Baldwin, the successor of Godfrey of Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, assigned them
 two entire streets in that city, and also two in Joppa, for them to live in. He likewise
 granted them part of the duties on merchandize collected at Aleppo, Cafarea, and Ptolemais,
 or Acie, on condition of their defending those three places against the infidels; and gave them
 in sovereignty the town of Biblio, or Great Gibel, in Syria, which their Admiral, says de Mailly,
 had been chiefly instrumental in taking from the infidels. And, finally, to testify the high
 sense he had of their great assistance, he caused to be engraven in capitals, before the altar of
 the chapel of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, these words, *PRÆPOTENS GLNULSIUM*
PRÆSIDIUM, i. e. *The most powerful protection of Genoa.*

In this year, King William Rufus erected three great and eminently useful edifices in Lon-
 don, viz. First, the new walls round the Tower of London. Secondly, the old timber bridge
 across the Thames having been carried away by an unusual inundation, he caused a new one
 to be built, though still of timber, for which expence he is said to have heavily taxed his
 people. And, thirdly, he first erected a great and noble hall at his palace of Westminster, for
 grand entertainments, all which must have been very expensive works.

The Venetians accompanying the first Crusade to Syria with two hundred ships, en-
 gage with the Pisan fleet at Rhodes, and take eighteen of their ships, after which they
 make themselves masters of Ascalon, where, it is, said, one hundred thousand Turks were
 slain.

Donald VIII surnamed Donald Baner, brother to King Malcolm III. surnamed Canmore,
 having usurped the crown of Scotland, in prejudice of his nephews Edgar, Alexander, and
 David, Skene, in his Exposition of the old law-book named *Regiam Majestatem*, says, that
 “ for help and supply, he gave all the isles of Scotland to Magnus King of Norway,” Cam-
 den expresses it otherwise, viz. “ That to support such his usurpation, he invited Magnus
 “ King of Norway to his assistance, giving him the Orkney isles in property for his said assist-
 “ ance, which isles the Norwegians held till the thirteenth century.” Skene adds, “ where-
 “ through, and for other occasions,” or causes, “ many bloody and cruel battles followed,
 “ untill the battle of Largs, in the year 1263, in the time of Alexander III. and of Acho
 “ King of Norway, who departed this life in Orkney the same year. And the Scots having
 “ been victorious, Magnus King of Norway, son and successor to Acho, made peace and con-
 “ cord with the said King Alexander in 1266.” [See that year.]

“ About this time, Jerusalem being taken by the Christians of the Crusade, the house of
 “ Knights Hospitalers, dedicated to St. John of Jerusalem, was much increased and adorned.
 “ Their profession was to fight against the infidels, and to protect all pilgrims in their coming
 “ to or going from the holy sepulchre, &c.” The rest relating to this order, may be found
 in Fuller, Maimbourg, and many other authors. It is sufficient here just to remark, that not-
 withstanding their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, yet, by the stupid bigotry of those
 times, they acquired no fewer than nineteen thousand manors in Christendom: and as to their
 chastity, St. Bernard himself witnesses, that they passed their time, *inter scorta et epulas*, amongst
 whores and banquets.

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1100 Out of upwards of three hundred thousand soldiers, which Godfrey the new King of Jerusalem had brought with him from Europe into Palestine, there were but twenty thousand left; yet with these he defeated the Sultan of Egypt's vast army of five hundred thousand men, with which he came in order to besiege Jerusalem. The Genoese, Venetians, Pisans, Florentines, and Sicilians, with respect to sea-service, were superior to all other nations; yet those trading Italian states were not quite so disinterested as other nations were: "For before they would yield their assistance," says Fuller, "they covenanted with the King of Jerusalem for certain profits, pensions, and mercantile privileges, in all the places taken. They were merchant-pilgrims, applying themselves to profit and piety at the same time. In Tyre they had their banks, and drove a great trade of spices, and other eastern wares."

The last year of this century is generally fixed on by historians for the first formation of the famous Goodwin-sands, on the coast of Kent, so dangerous, and, too frequently, so fatal to shipping. It is said, that all that tract, which at low-water is dry in the Downs, was till then firm land; and having once belonged to Godwin Earl of Kent, took the name of the Goodwin, or Godwin-sands. It was occasioned by a violent inundation of the sea, which rose to an unusual height, and swept away people, cattle, &c. And those lands having been very low before, the sea has ever since flowed over them every tide.

This possibly might be the same inundation that forced the Flemings to retire to England, though by some authors related to have happened in the preceding year; King William Rufus having settled those Flemings in the county of Cumberland.

Before we close this century, we must observe from Camden, and all our other historians, that, at this time, the Jews in England were very prosperous and rich; yet their wealth, in succeeding reigns, brought much misery upon them; they being cruelly tortured by King John, to oblige them to discover their hidden treasures.

To say the truth, all foreigners, even though they were Christians, coming to England for the benefit of commerce, have, in old times, been generally looked upon with an evil eye by the bulk of our people; and many very impolitic hardships have been put upon them both by Kings and Parliaments, as will be seen hereafter. This antipathy to foreigners, shewed itself eminently in cities and towns corporate, by excluding them from their privileges; which those monopolists so far improved, that at length the word foreigner, as it still does, came at London to denote even every Englishman within their precincts, as well as every real foreigner, who was not free of their corporation. An evil, in our age at least, perceived by all discerning men, who with well to the freedom of commerce; though, it is to be feared, too deeply rooted to be cured without great difficulty.

Lastly, about this time heraldry, or coat-armour, began to be in use, according to the opinion of several historians, and particularly of Mezerai, and also of Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, being introduced by the European Crusades going to the Holy Land; very probably intended merely, or principally, for a mark of distinction of each particular noble house or family. Yet though this holy war certainly rendered heraldry much more universal than it was before, yet some think that it had partly existed in more remote ages, even as far back as the Romans.

In this year, Venice leagues with Hungary against the Normans of Apulia, and takes Brundisium from them.

In this same year died William II. surnamed Rufus, King of England; who, although he had no other right but what was transferred to him by his father, by which he possessed the same

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1100 property in the lands of the kingdom, nevertheless laid great impositions thereon; so that, according to some authors, no man could call any thing his own. In such a situation, neither the laity nor clergy, against which last he is said to have committed many violences, could be very secure; neither could merchants nor commerce flourish under such a government.

T W E L F T H C E N T U R Y.

Succession of PRINCES during this Century.

<i>Emperors of Germany.</i>	<i>Kings of England.</i>	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>
HENRY IV. to 1106	HENRY I. to 1135	EDGAR, to 1107	ERIC III. to 1106
HENRY V. to 1125	STEPHEN, to 1154	ALEXANDER } 1124	HAROLD VIII. } 1135
LOTHAIRE, to 1138	HENRY II. to 1189	I. to }	or Nicolas, to }
CONRADE, to 1153	RICHARD I. to 1199	DAVID I. to 1153	ERIC IV. to 1139
FREDERIC Bar- } 1190	JOHN, to 1200	MALCOLM IV. } 1165	ERIC V. to 1147
barossa, to }	and beyond.	to }	CANUTE V. to 1155
HENRY his son, } 1198		WILLIAM, the } 1200	SWENO, to 1157
to }		Lion, to }	WALDEMAR } 1185
JOSEPH, brother } 1200		and beyond.	I. to }
to Henry, elected, but ex-communicated by the Pope. and Otho of Brunswick elected, to and beyond.	<i>Kings of France.</i>		CANUTE VI. to 1200 and beyond.
	PHILIP I. to 1108		
	LOUIS VI. the } 1137		
	Gros, to }		
	LOUIS VII. the } 1180		
	Young, to }		
	PHILIP II. Au- } 1200		
	gustus, to }		
	and beyond.		

THE CHARACTER OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

This twelfth century was a very busy one in most parts of Europe. The holy war had been carried on with vigour for some time; but the second crusade proved most unfortunate, and after that it continued to droop. The Christian cities lately built, and building, on the south shores of the Baltic in Germany, Prussia, and Livonia, opened new scenes of naval commerce, and enlarged the communication between the countries of the North and the rest of Europe. Learning, however, remained at a very low ebb in the Christian states of the West, whilst the Saracens or Moors of Barbary and Spain, cultivated it with great attention. Averroes, a native Moor of Cordova, or Corduba, in Spain, an able physician, who died in the year 1198, had translated the works of Aristotle from the Greek into Arabic, when, it seems, they were utterly unknown amongst the Christians of the West, who for a long time after, as Baron Holberg in his Chronology observes, had no other but a Latin translation of them from that of the same author in Arabic. Mezerai gives a sad account of the state of France before Louis VI. surnamed the Gros, came to the crown in the year 1108. "Violence reigned, and justice was trampled under foot. The clergy, merchants, widows, and orphans, as well as the rest of the people, were exposed to rapine and plunder by the lords and gentry, who had all of them castles from whence they were wont to fall out to rob on the highways, and on rivers, in the defenceless countries. The cities of France, to defend themselves, had formed communities, and created popular magistrates, with power to assemble and arm themselves; which, it seems, that wise King, Louis VI. readily confirmed, and

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“also granted them many other privileges for enabling them to oppose the overgrown power of the lords, already too formidable even to the crown itself.” In England, as well as in France and other parts of the West, the royal records of the affairs of state seem to be nearly co-eval with the beginning of this century, as appears by that noble printed collection of ours in particular, called Rymer's *Fœdera*, of which we shall make such a great and important use from this century. The more Christianity spreads and prevails in parts formerly Pagan, so much the more do the Popes and Clergy domineer and triumph over the consciences and common sense of the laity; till at length the Pope arrives at the almost incredible insolence of literally kicking the crown with his foot off the kneeling Emperor's head! In England, Germany, and France, many new scenes open; corporations, or towns corporate, start up every where, which prepared the way for the increase, or rather the introduction, of commerce into the northern and western parts of Europe. By the new discovery of the countries at the east end of the Baltic shores, and by the founding therein of many new Christian cities, which soon grew considerable, a beginning is made to the famous mercantile Hanse-confederacy. The important kingdom of Ireland is first subjected to the crown of England. Maritime and mercantile laws are promulgated. Yet the two furious factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines taking their rise in this century, for a long time disturb Italy; the free states of which country however, though deeply engaged in those factions, carry on a considerable commerce to the Levant, &c. and are very powerful with their fleets. Distillery is first brought into Europe; likewise the manufacture of wrought silks, together with the management of the silk-worm, are now first introduced into the west.

The second crusade was headed by Guelph duke of Bavaria, who, from being a zealous champion for the Popes against the Emperor Henry IV. gave name to the party called Guelphs, Hugh, brother to the king of France, Philip Augustus; Stephen earl of Blois; Stephen earl of Burgundy; William duke of Aquitaine; Frederick earl of Bogen, Hugh, brother to the Count of Toulouse; beside many archbishops and bishops. It consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand persons.

1101 This crusade for the Holy Land was indeed more numerous than the first, but proved nevertheless much more unprosperous; vast numbers of the crusaders falling into the hands of the Saracens, from ambuscades laid for them, as their historians say, by the treachery of the Greek emperor Alexius. So that they were almost all cut off, or else died, without doing any thing memorable; to the immense loss of Germany, France, Italy, &c. which were thereby greatly depopulated and impoverished.

The Venetians sent no less than one hundred ships to the coast of Syria: the Genoese had likewise a powerful fleet there; and Baldwin king of Jerusalem is said to have granted the latter a third part of all the towns on that coast, which they should take from the infidels.

Dr. Brady, in the appendix to his *Treatise of Cities or Burghs*, has exhibited several ancient charters granted to the city of London, after that compendious one granted by William the Conqueror, already mentioned. The earliest of which is one from King Henry I. in the year 1101, being the first year of his reign, whereby he grants to that city, “the fee-farm of “the county of Middlesex for the yearly rent of three hundred pounds, or nine hundred “pounds of our money, and power to appoint a sheriff for that county out of their own “body. That the citizens shall not be sued out of their own city; shall be quit of scot and “lot, dane-geklit, &c. Neither shall they be obliged to go into the wars. No stranger shall

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“ lodge within the walls; nor shall lodging be forcibly given there to such, either by the King’s officers, or any other person. All the men of London shall be free from all toll, passage, lastage, and all other dues throughout England and all the sea ports. The clergy, barons, *i. e.* the governing citizens, like to what aldermen are now, and citizens, shall enjoy and keep peaceably their wards, liberties and customs. Shall have free liberty to hunt in Middlesex, Essex, and Surry, as their ancestors had.” The rest relates to obsolete, and, at present, little understood privileges, relating to their courts of Hustings and Folk-motes, and the lands and debts of citizens, &c. All which, however, tend to shew the special regard which this King, and his successors who confirmed them, had for their capital city.

King Henry I. is said, by Hoveden, to have corrected what he calls the false ell of the merchants, making the extent of his own arm to be the true standard, or ell, for the future.

He also commanded the halfpence and farthings to be made round; for before this time they were square, and that if they were entire, they should not be refused in payment. In the coining of them they were struck almost through across, so as to be easily divided into halves.

This same King laid a tax of three shillings on every hide of land, or one hundred and twenty acres, for a portion for his daughter Maud when married to the Emperor Henry IV. which became a precedent to all future kings on the like occasion. There was another tax of the same sort usually demanded by our Norman kings, viz. for making the King’s eldest son a knight. Otherwise, in time of peace, says Selden, those kings had such numerous demesne lands all over the kingdom, and other constant as well as casual revenues, that they had no need of asking money of their subjects.

In this first year of King Henry I. records or registers of the several public acts, &c. of the crown first began to be regularly kept. Wherefore Thomas Rymer, Esq; historiographer to the late Queen Anne, began, at this year, his invaluable work, intitled, *Fœdera, &c. or, A Collection of Treaties, Conventions, Letters, Grants, &c. between the Kings of England and foreign Princes and States; and also many Charters, Grants, Proclamations, &c. of those Kings relating to Matters with their own Subjects, &c. transcribed from the public archives in the tower of London and the chapel of the Rolls; which collection was continued by Mr. Sanderfon, keeper of the records, and now consists of twenty volumes in folio.*

The late Mr. Carte, in a printed advertisement, in the year 1744, relating to his then intended History of England, says, “ That our records began to be kept in the reign of King Richard I.” I suppose he meant more generally, “ when the acts and grants of our kings, under the seal of their Chancery or Exchequer, began to be regularly enrolled and kept in proper repositories. That the survey of the lands of the kingdom in Doomsday Book, and the sheriffs accounts for one year of Henry I. and for all the reign, except the first year of Henry II. among the rolls in the Pipe-office, are indeed more ancient; but these are not properly acts of our kings. Nor were the acts of other kings in Europe usually enrolled and entered upon record before that time. In France,” continues he, “ before that time, the Chancellor only kept copies of all grants under the Great Seal, which, at his demise, were delivered over to his successor; and the like method was probably observed in England, and perhaps in other parts of Europe. But an accident of our King Richard 1st’s surprising King Philip Augustus in an ambush, and seizing of his Great Seal and the copies of all his grants, made them fall into the method of registering in books and reposi-

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"ing in secure places the copies of all grants, &c. And this method seems to have been introduced at the same time into England."

- 1102 Monsieur Voltaire, in the third part of his General History of Europe from Charlemagne to Charles V. having observed, that in the ages of ignorance and barbarism which followed the fall of the western Roman empire, the Christian states of Europe received almost every part of learning from the Arabs, as Astronomy, Chymistry, Physic, Arithmetic and Algebra, tells us, that the Cherif Ben Mohamed, usually stiled the Geographer of Nubia, being driven out of his own dominions, retired to Sicily, where he presented to King Roger II. who came to that crown in the year 1102, and died in 1129, a silver globe which weighed eight hundred marks, on which he had engraved the known parts of the earth, and corrected the famous Ptolemy the geographer.

The Moors cruelly persecuting the Christians in the Balearic Isles of Majorca and Minorca, the Pisan fleet, at the Pope's request, invested those isles for the space of six months, and at length vanquished and killed the Moorish King, and brought away much spoil—See Campbell's History of the Balearic Isles.

In or about this same year, the laborious Hakluyt, in his second volume, tells us of a great fleet of busses of English, Danes, Antwerpers, and Flemings, which contained about seven thousand men, that arrived at Joppa; and that after their devotions at Jerusalem, and being employed by King Baldwin in some warlike attempts against the Turks, they returned home to Europe.

- 1104 Baldwin I. king of Jerusalem, having, in this year, erected a military order of knighthood with the title of the Holy Sepulchre, for the protection of pilgrims, instituted, in the following year, another order of the same kind, with the title of St. John of Jerusalem, which had, as before has been related, by the interest of the merchants of Amalphi, obtained leave of the Sultan to erect an hospital in Jerusalem. They were the famous order that has now the sovereignty of the isle of Malta.

- 1106 Lindenbrogius acquaints us, that in the year 1106, a colony of Hollanders was settled in Holstein near Hamburg; for which purpose the Archbishop of Hamburg grants a charter, "to certain people on this side the Rhine, called Hollanders, to come and settle themselves in certain uninhabited marshy parts of his diocese, they paying him annually a certain quit-rent in money, for each habitation." He also therein takes especial care to stipulate for the tithes they should pay, viz. "The tenth sheaf of corn, the tenth lamb, pig, goat, and goose, also the tenth measure of honey and of flax. A colt they were to redeem (Denario) for a penny, and a calf (Obolo) for a halfpenny, &c."

Mr. Madox, in his Firma Burgi, Cap. X. Sect. 20. relates, "That the weavers and bakers were the two most ancient Fellowships or Guilds in London;" which is natural enough, since food and cloathing are most immediately necessary to mankind. "In King Henry I's reign, who reigned between 1100 and 1135, the weavers of London rendered to the crown a rent or ferme, as it is called in the stile of the Exchequer, for their guild, and had, in after times, great disputes with the city of London concerning their high immunities and privileges." We find also in this century, weavers companies or guilds at Oxford, Winchester, &c. and also fullers, paying fermes or annual fines to the crown for the privileges of their respective guilds.

- 1107 We have a most curious and accurate dissertation on the state of coins in Scotland at this time, in the learned and judicious Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's preface to that magnificent work

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1107 of Mr. James Anderſon, *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Theſaurus*, Edinburgh 1739. He thinks, “ that the uſe of money or coins ſeems to have been received much later by the Scots than by their neighbours the Saxons, Franks, Germans, and other nations, amongſt whom their hiſtorians find many coins ſtruck by their Kings as early as the ſeventh and ſixth centuries, and ſome even as far back as the fifth century. But amongſt us,” ſays Ruddiman, “ there are no coins to be found earlier than thoſe of King Alexander I. who began his reign in the year 1107. Poſſibly, indeed, the coins of our preceding Kings may have been utterly loſt, either from being quite worn out by uſe, or conſumed by age, or elſe may lie buried in the earth. But that ſuch coins muſt be but few in number, and not much more ancient than the time of the ſaid King Alexander I. ſeems to me probable; becauſe very many Roman coins, and ſome very ancient ones of other nations, have been found in fundry parts of Scotland, but not one Scotiſh coin older than the before-named period. The reaſon whereof I conceive to be, that in thoſe old and rude times, the northern inhabitants of this iſle, being ſituated as it were at the extreme part of the earth, beyond the limits of the countries into which the Roman arms had introduced Roman luxury, and for that reaſon living in their primitive ſobriety and continence, they either knew not the uſe of money, or had it in ſmall eſteem.

“ Even after the Scots had, by further communication with their neighbours the Britons and Saxons, or perhaps the Romans, in Britain, learned the greater commodiouſneſs of money as the medium of commerce, in lieu of the primitive practice of mere permutation, or barter, they continued without any coinage of their own: partly, perhaps, becauſe of the ſcarcity of artiſts, but more probably from the want of ſilver bullion; and they probably contented themſelves, for ſeveral centuries, with the money which they brought from foreign parts. What makes this the more probable is, that of all the hoards of money which have been found hid in the earth in various parts of Scotland, there have been much more of Engliſh than of Scotiſh coins dug up.” A ſtrong proof that there was, in thoſe old times, a greater quantity of Engliſh than of Scotiſh coins current in Scotland.

Mr. Ruddiman proceeds to prove, that what the old Scotiſh writers aſſert, concerning King Donald V. who began his reign in the year 854, coining money at Sterling, from whence they infer, as ſome Engliſh writers alſo do, “ that the firſt ſterling money took its name from thence, is a mere romance; and that there was no ſuch name as ſterling money known till ſome years after the death of William the Conqueror.” Next he lays down, what will in the ſequel of our work be rendered unqueſtionable, from Rymer’s *Fœdera*, and from Engliſh Acts of Parliament.

1ſt, “ That there was exactly the ſame computation in England and Scotland in reſpect to their coins.”

2dly, “ That the very ſame purity or fineneſs of the bullion in the coins of both kingdoms, continued for ſeveral centuries.”

3dly, “ That for ſeveral centuries alſo, the coins of the ſame denomination in both kingdoms, contained the very ſame quantity and weight of bullion, and alſo the ſame figure and ſhape in both nations.” And, fourthly, “ Very near the ſame workmanſhip and faſhion in both nations.”

5thly, He ſhews, “ That the Engliſh, French, and Scots,” as alſo the Dutch or Netherlanders, as we have ſhewn under the year 802, “ had anciently, as at preſent, the ſame denominations of pounds, ſhillings, and pence; twelve of the laſt making a ſhilling, and
“ twenty

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“ twenty shillings one pound: which last name came from *poundus*, the Latin word for weight, and did undoubtedly, for sundry centuries, contain in it a pound weight, or twelve ounces troy of silver, as the ounce contained twenty pence, or as usually termed twenty penny-weights: so that the penny was really then, as well as now, a standard weight in England, as well as a coin. Which coins, in both nations, remained in great purity for sundry centuries; until partly by the poverty, partly by the covetousness of princes, and partly also by the deceit of coins, a very great change was gradually brought about in the intrinsic value of the coins of the several nations of Europe. For a pound of silver money, which at first was a real pound in weight, became gradually diminished in weight, though still retaining the ancient name, and became likewise corrupted from its ancient purity, by being mixed with baser metals.”

Here Mr. Ruddiman produces his authorities, with respect to French money, from Franciscus Blancius's *Historical Commentary on French Money*, from the time of Charlemagne downward; and then shews the gradual diminution of the real value of the English and Scottish coins: and that till about the year 1355, the coins of both the Britannie kingdoms were exactly the same in denomination, weight, and fineness: but in the year 1601, the Scottish penny, and their groat, the highest silver coins which both they and the English had till long after, had gradually sunk to one twelfth part of those of England, though the denominations remained the same: and so it continued till the happy union of the two kingdoms, in the year 1707, when all the Scottish gold and silver coins were called in, and coined into English sterling money. Yet amongst the commonality of Scotland, they can scarcely still forbear reckoning their old way, by Scottish pounds and marks, though now inconvenient; and they still retain their old copper coins, though now much worn out. There was no smaller copper coin in Scotland at the union in 1707, than that of two-pence, being equal to one sixth part of a penny English. King James VI. of Scotland seems to have been the first that coined a Scottish copper penny, as did also King Charles I.; but they being worn out at the Restoration, the two-pence, already mentioned, has ever since been the smallest denomination, and the highest copper coin was three of them, which were equal to an halfpenny sterling, both which were coined in the reign of King William III.

1109 We have the authority of Helmoldus, Lib. I. Cap. xxxix. that linen cloth, at this time, was used as money, in exchange for all other things, in the isle of Rugen, on the coast of Pomerania. The once famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, had, it seems, conquered the then heathen people of this isle, laying a tribute of four thousand four hundred marks weight of silver on them; but they had so little either of gold or silver amongst them, and so little esteem for them, that they could not make up the quantity imposed on them. “ If,” says he, “ they by chance got any gold or silver by their piracies, or in war, they either bestowed it in ornaments for their wives, or laid it up in the treasury of their Idol God.”

1110 Several authors relate, that in this year the citizens of Genoa, as well as those of Florence and Lucca, erected themselves into free states or commonwealths; being much about the time that the Normans absolutely conquered the country afterwards named the kingdom of Naples. Yet Petrus Baptista Burgus, in his account of the Genoese dominion in the Ligurian Sea, is of opinion that the Genoese had assumed their liberty at an earlier period, viz. on the extinction of the race of Charlemagne in Italy, when that country was greatly distracted by divisions; and De Mailly, as already observed, declares the freedom of Genoa to have taken place in the year 1096. Others would carry the freedom of the Genoese as high as the year 720, though

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though with little probability. Upon the whole, although Genoa might not be absolutely independent till about or near the latest of these periods, it is, nevertheless, agreed by historians, that even while the Genoese were subject to the Lombard kings, and still more while they were governed by the race of Charlemagne, that city was much addicted to maritime commerce, and very potent at sea; and it is perhaps not improbable, that the figure they then made in their more precarious situation, might give a handle to their historiographers, in after ages, to make their independent condition more ancient than it really was. Perhaps, too, somewhat of a similar kind may be said of the other two republics. Certain it is, that these three cities availed themselves of the weakness and negligence of, and the disputes between, the Emperors and the Popes, to set up for themselves long before they found means to be recognized as free states. The same may be also observed of other cities and principalities in Italy.

Fuller, in his Holy War, makes Sidon, the most ancient city of Phenicia, and which was of old famous for the fine crystal glass made there, to have been, in this year, subdued by the Crusaders, principally by the help of the Danish and Norwegian fleets.

It was not till this period that the Christian religion became triumphant in Sweden, in the reign of Ingo, who came to that crown during the course of this year, when, according to their great historian Puffendorf, the worship of their idol at Upsal was totally suppressed.

In this year, learning began to be revived at Cambridge, which university had been founded by King Edward the Elder; but being ruined by the Danish depredations, it lay dormant till this time.

1111 David, brother to Alexander I. king of Scotland, then living at the court of England, was married to Maud the daughter of Voldroft earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon; by which match those two earldoms came afterwards into the possession of the crown of Scotland.

1112 Towards the close of the last, and in the former part of this century, there had been great inundations or overflowings of the sea in Flanders; so that great numbers of poor Flemings were forced to take shelter in England. They came thither in such swarms, as to be thought a burthen to the nation. King Henry I. planted them in the waste parts of Northumberland and Cumberland, but chiefly about the city of Carlisle. But afterwards, very wisely considering, in imitation of what the Romans had done, that those Flemings might be serviceable to him for the keeping of Wales in awe, he transplanted them into the south parts of that country, giving them the county of Rhos, now Rofs, and a part of Herefordshire, lately conquered from the Welch princes; where their descendants proved successful against the incursions of the Welch, and remain there until this day, greatly differing both in point of industry, customs, and language, from the Welch aborigines. Some add, and particularly Verslegan, in his Restitution of decayed Intelligence, that King Henry foresaw that those Flemings might be profitable to the realm, by instructing his subjects in the art of cloathing, already in great perfection in Flanders and Brabant.

1115 The Moors remained, at this time, in possession of the island of Majorca, being, in the years 1114 and 1115, unsuccessfully attacked by the joint fleets and armies of Berenger king of Arragon and count of Barcelona, and by the republics of Genoa and Pisa.

About this time, Baldwin king of Jerusalem, by the assistance of the Genoese fleet, made himself master of many towns in Palestine; in which, says Fuller, the Genoese were allowed

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1115 one third of the spoil, and also a whole street to be solely possessed by them in every town they took.

The Moors, or, as historians often call them, the Saracens, are now triumphant on the Italian coast. They subdued and burnt the city of Pisa; and afterwards reduced the island of Sardinia, then possessed by the Pisans. Whereupon, the latter made an alliance with the Genoese, by whose assistance they recovered Sardinia from the Moors, after defeating them in a naval engagement. To this succeeded very cruel wars between those two republics for the possession of Sardinia and Corsica, in which the Genoese were at length successful.

In this same year, two hundred Venetian ships overcame seven hundred of the Saracen ships besieging Joppa, and raised that siege. The Venetian fleet then besieged and took Tyre, which the conquerors gave to the patriarch of Jerusalem. This success, exciting the jealousy of Emanuel the Constantinopolitan Emperor, he commanded the Venetians to proceed no further; at which the latter were so enraged, that they took from him the isles of Scio, Rhodes, Samos, Mitylene, and Andros. On the other hand, the Genoese, then also powerful at sea, took part with the Greeks, who, by their assistance, obtained the restoration of their empire about fifty years after this time; by which means Genoa came in for a share of the Greek isles and havens. In this manner those two rival Republics played their opposite games for many years.

Thus did these Latin Christians, under the cloak of zeal against Mahometanism, feather their own wings, at the expence of an ancient declining Christian empire. The Venetians never lost sight of their commercial interests; taking care, in every one of their successful expeditions for the Holy War, to stipulate for themselves considerable privileges and immunities, from customs and taxes in the conquered cities; wherein they, as well as the Genoese, had particular streets solely reserved for their own nation; and at the taking of those places, as at Tyre and Joppa, they were sure to carry home great plunder.

1120 The Venetians were in this year so powerful at sea, that their Doge Dominicus Michael, with a fleet of two hundred sail, obliged the Saracens, a second time, to raise the siege of Joppa, having entirely destroyed their fleet lying before it.

1121 In this year, Middelburg, the capital city of the province of Zealand, which had been but a village, or at best an open town, was now surrounded with a wall. It is called in Latin, Metelliburgum, by some supposed to have been built by Metellus the Roman general; though the most probable etymology is from its having been built in the middle of the isle of Walcheren, and that it cannot justly boast such high antiquity.

1125 Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, says, this was a very dear time in England for corn; wheat being sold at six shillings per quarter. And so it must have been, considering the time we are upon. For if the usual price of corn was, as we may suppose, two shillings per quarter, *i. e.* six shillings of our money, and that other necessaries were nearly in proportion, the rate of living then was six and two-thirds at least cheaper than in our days, supposing forty shillings to be at present a moderate price for a quarter of wheat, and if all other necessaries had happened to be still cheaper than the wheat, then the rate of living would have been proportionably cheaper; always remembering that the silver coins of England were then thrice the weight and value of ours in modern times.

The Genoese and Pisans fell out about the island of Corsica, as they had before done with relation to Sardinia. The Saracens, Genoese, and Pisans, had each, in their turns, possessed those two islands; and after the Saracens had been quite driven out, these two Christian re-

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1125 publics could never agree about the possession of them : so that they had many bloody naval engagements on that account, both in this and the next century, till the final destruction of Pisa. The Genoese now attacked the Pisans with eighty galleys, and totally routed their fleet : yet Pisa, in this same year, or as Morisotus has it, in the year 1127, renews its efforts ; and Genoa again proving superior, they carry the war home to the city of Pisa, which the Genoese besiege both by sea and land, and reduce it to accept of very dishonourable conditions of peace. Amongst other marks of submission, Genoa obliged them to stipulate, not to build their houses higher than one story. Yet, in the year 1128, Pisa makes one more effort at sea against Genoa, but are again totally vanquished near Messina.

1126 We have before observed in the preceding century, that Merchant Guilds in English towns, were in use even prior to the Norman conquest. What they were in all respects, is not now exactly known. They doubtless participated of a community in a certain degree, yet they do not seem to have been incorporated, or made bodies politic by charters, as they now are in most parts of Europe, until the former part of this century. It is said that the French Kings first incorporated those communities as a check to the insolence of their overgrown vassals, the Dukes, Counts, &c. and to protect such of them as held of subjects, from their extravagant power. And probably King John of England had the very same points in view, when he created so many corporations in the next century. In France, the chief points constituting such communities, were a Mayor, Eschevins, and Common Council, or a Fraternity, a Belfrey, and Bell to convene them, and a common Seal and Jurisdiction. The most ancient of these French corporations was St. Riquier in Ponthieu, incorporated by King Louis VI. in the year 1126, and their number was much increased by Louis VII.

Dr. Brady observes, that, about the same time, the laws and customs of the burghs of Scotland were published by King David I. who began his reign in the year 1124, and died in 1153. Skene, on *Regiam Majestatem*, says, that David sent certain learned men into foreign countries, to learn the laws and ordinances of them ; which they performed in two years time : and from their reports he framed his *Leges Burgorum*, i. e. Burgh Laws. The King's Chamberlain made an annual circuit through all the burghs of Scotland, to punish crimes, and to take an account of the Brethren of the Guild, as, to this day, the burghers are called there, by themselves, and of the other inhabitants by themselves.

In England, King William Rufus, Henry I. and King Stephen, granted large immunities to burghs ; and in King Henry the Second's reign they were arrived at such high privileges, that if a bondman or servant remained in a burgh a year and a day, he was by such residence made free : and it was the same in Scotland, *Leges Burgorum Scotie*, c. xvii. Dr. Brady further observes, that when there was a competition for the crown, both parties made use of the burghs to serve their own purposes. Thus Henry II. in his sixth year, grants a charter with large privileges to the burghesses of Wallingford, for the services they did him and his Mother Maud the Empress, against King Stephen ; as also to those of Winchester and Oxford. By these charters they were called free burghs, and their burghesses free burghesses ; because they were thereby discharged from tolls, passage, pontage, lastage, stallage, &c. and from every burden excepting the fixed fee-farm rent of such town ; and this throughout all England, excepting London. And the same privileges did David I. of Scotland, grant to his burghs, as appears by his burgh laws ; wherein he directs every house to find in their turn, one man to watch and knock at their doors with a staff.—And, in the reign of his Son, King William, surnamed the Lion, it was enacted, that the merchants of the kingdom

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1126 dom should have their merchant guild, with freedom from tolls, &c. as in his father's reign. These same merchants were no other than the ordinary tradesmen or retailers, and such as frequented fairs and markets; being then so named all over Europe, as they continue to be in the northern parts of this island. Thus in a plea between the Abbot of Westminster and the tradesmen that resorted to his fair there (xxx Edward I.) they were often called *Mercatores*, or Merchants. Even every inland burgh that had a charter, had a *Gilda Mercatoria*; and their ordinary tradesmen were stiled *Mercatores*.—Yet, in such burghs, every inhabitant was not a burghess, in regard to the freedom of tolls, &c. but only such as were of the *Gilda Mercatoria*, i. e. of the freedom, and who contributed to the common charges of the burgh, as at present.

Notwithstanding King Edward the Confessor's severe laws against usury, yet in a council held at Westminster, in this year, by the Pope's Legate, Cardinal de Crema, it was only made prohibitory to the clergy; who, in case they practised it, were to be degraded. And in another council held at Westminster twelve years after, it was decreed, "That such of the clergy as were usurers, and hunters after sordid gain, and for the public employments of the laity, ought to be degraded." "After which," says Sir Roger Twissden, in his preface to Sir Robert Filmer's Treatise on Usury, "I do not find any law made about it in England."—And he concludes, "That neither from Scripture, nor the practice of the primitive church, nor from Alstedius, Calvin, &c. is either the giving or taking of use for money lent, in its own nature sinful amongst Christians, so as no other circumstance made it so." Our less informed readers are here to take notice, that the word Usury, called in Latin, *Usura*, and *Fenus*, always meant no other than interest or use for money in general; though of late we confine that word to exorbitant and extravagant interest alone; such as pawnbrokers, &c. are accused of taking of the necessitous.

1127 After the Civil or Roman Law had remained in oblivion in the West for six centuries, the very books of it being deemed to be lost, a mere accident brought it into light, and at length established it far and wide over Europe. About the year 1127, an old copy of the Pandects or Digests of the Emperor Justinian the Great, happened to be found at Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, when that city was taken by the Emperor Lotharius II. Mr. Selden, in his preface to his Titles of Honour, says, that the Emperor gave this copy, as a precious monument, to the Pisans; and it is now in the Great Duke of Tuscany's library. Under this Emperor it began to be professed at Bologna, the first of any place in the west of Europe; and it made so swift a progress, as to be publicly taught at Oxford about the year 1150, though never received in England as the general basis of their laws. And besides Italy, and Germany, it made its way into France, Spain, and Scotland; though not till very late in the last country. The particular laws and usages of the barbarous nations who conquered the western empire, and particularly the introduction of the feudal law by the Lombards about the year 570, had quite driven the civil law out of use till this time, and indeed even out of remembrance. The civil law contained many curious points relative to the regulation of trade, commerce, and navigation; to which, on the contrary, as has been elsewhere remarked, the feudal law was not so favourable.

1130 We have already observed, that, so early as about the middle of the sixth century, the breeding of silk worms, and, soon after, the actual manufacture of silk, was introduced into the eastern empire by Justinian. Nevertheless, the people of the western parts of Europe contented themselves, for about six hundred years after, with fetching what little wrought silk they used, from Constantinople and Alexandria; none, indeed, but princes and noble families of

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1130 of the west, wearing silk garments in those early times. Possibly, silk might not have been so soon rendered common in the western parts of Europe, but for their expeditions to the holy land; in which Roger II. king of Sicily having engaged in the year 1130, and, in his return, having taken Athens, Corinth, and Thebes from the Greek empire, and released Louis VII. of France, whom the Greeks had made prisoner in his coming back from the holy war, he brought away from Greece all such as wrought in the silk manufacture, and settled them at Palermo; where they taught the Sicilians not only to breed up the silk worms, but to spin and weave the silk; the art of which was afterwards brought to Italy and Spain. From Italy it was introduced into the southern parts of France, *i. e.* into Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc, a little before the reign of King Francis I. and that King brought it into Touraine. This is the account of most writers, except Thuanus, who makes this manufacture of silk to be introduced into Sicily two hundred years later, by Robert the Wise, king of Sicily and count of Provence. But although Robert might, probably, make great improvements therein, yet as so many authors agree in ascribing its introduction to King Roger, and particularly two later authors than Thuanus, *viz.* Mezerai, in his History of France, and the anonymous author of the *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*, first published at Paris so lately as in 1720, Thuanus may very probably be mistaken on this, as he has been on some other subjects, although, in general, an able and excellent author.

Roger II. of Sicily, not only robbed the declining Greek empire of the cities of Bari and Trani, being all that now remained to that empire in Italy, but also seized on the isles of Corfu and Negropont. Roger also defeated a Saracen or Moorish fleet, took the town of Tripoli in Barbary, and made the city of Tunis tributary to him. He even insulted the suburbs of Constantinople; but was driven from thence by the fleet of Venice, then in alliance with the Greek empire. This prince is by all allowed to have been very powerful at sea; and from his warlike ships, then named *Gallæ* and *Sagittæ*, are said to be derived the modern names of gallees and saicks. The Venetians, it is said, were so jealous of this King Roger, merely on account of his establishing the silk manufacture at Palermo, which greatly interfered with their importations of silks from Greece, that they joined with the Greek Emperor Emanuel against him, in the year 1148.

It seems the silk stuffs of Palermo were so far improved, as to be finer than those of Greece; so that the Sicilians made up their cargoes, in a great measure, with silks, to the ports in the ocean.

1135 It is usually said by our English historians, that King Henry I. but in what year is not known, changed the ancient method of being paid all his rents; of his demesne lands, we suppose, in kind, into some part in money, and the other part still in kind, *i. e.* corn, cattle, &c. Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, confirms this in the following words, *viz.* “ Instead of provisions for his household, desiring to have some ready money to defray the expences of his court, and to pay his soldiers, he agreed with his tenants, that instead of bread for one hundred men, (for one meal, I suppose, says the Bishop,) they should pay him one shilling. And instead of a stalled ox, one shilling. And instead of provender, or oats, for twenty horses, (for one night, I imagine, says the Bishop,) four-pence. And for one ram sheep, four-pence.” And in another place the Bishop says, that in Henry I’s laws, forty sheep were valued at twenty shillings, *i. e.* one shilling and six-pence of our money per sheep. And in the year 1145, we find an ox valued at three shillings, or nine shillings of our money.

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It is probable, that by this composition of King Henry I. with his tenants, for part money instead of all in provisions, and by his taxes on lands, &c. he was enabled to leave behind him at his death, in 1135, so large a sum as one hundred thousand pounds of silver in ready money. There were no gold coins in England till above two hundred years after this time, and that English money was then above ten times as scarce as in our days; which being thrice the quantity or weight of our modern silver money, is three hundred thousand pounds, and in the purchase of merchandize, provisions, and all necessaries, may be fairly reckoned equal to ten times as much as one hundred thousand pounds of our money. Yet this computation of the rate of living, is still upon the supposition that all other necessaries were, at or about this time, nearly or almost as cheap as the valuation of the forty sheep already mentioned. The more frequent fluctuations of the price of wheat, &c. however, renders this matter somewhat more uncertain than a like valuation would be in modern times.—See the year 1189.

King Henry I. seems to have been the first of our monarchs who attempted the improvement of rivers, for the benefit of inland navigation; being said to have joined the rivers Trent and Witham, for making a navigation from Yorksea to Lincoln, being seven miles.

1136 As the Genoese continued to be very potent at sea all this century, they were frequently infligated by the Popes, and by the Christian Princes of Spain, to go to war with the Moors of Spain. In the year 1136, says their historiographer, the Chevalier de Mailly, they fitted out a fleet of one hundred and sixty-three ships and sixty galleys, for besieging the Moors in Almeria; which city was taken from the Moors the same year, with great slaughter and a vast booty. In this siege, the land forces of Genoa are said to have signalized their valour as much as their navy; and contributed much more to the taking of that capital of a Moorish kingdom, than either the King of Castile, or the Count of Barcelona, who were more immediately interested. They were without doubt well recompensed by large privileges in their commerce to Spain, where the Christian princes had still too much upon their hands to be able alone to deal with the Moors; and indeed not only they, but all the other monarchies of the west, left commerce almost entirely in the hands of the free states of Italy, which were thereby immensely enriched. And now, say the Genoese historiographers, nothing could have hindered the Christian princes of Spain from totally expelling the Moors, but the divisions amongst themselves; which gave their enemies a farther respite of above three hundred and fifty years.

1137 The Genoese, with their powerful fleet and their gallant land forces, were equally servicable in the siege and taking of Tortosa. The rendezvous of both fleet and army was at Barcelona; and the city being taken was divided into three equal parts, viz. one third to the King of Castile, one third to the Count of Barcelona, and the other third to the Genoese, which they soon after sold to the Count of Barcelona, who likewise gave the Genoese an immunity from paying any custom in his ports.

In this year, according to Drake's history of it, a casual fire in the city of York, consumed its Cathedral, St. Mary's Abbey, St. Leonard's Hospital, thirty-nine parish churches within that city, and Trinity church in the suburbs: by which account it seems that York was then a more considerable place than at present. Yet we should have been much better able to judge of this, had he given us the number of houses burnt down; since the magnitude of cities in those zealous times, could seldom be justly ascertained by their number of churches and convents.

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About this time, in the reign of King Stephen, William of Malmſbury deſcribes London to be a city abounding with rich inhabitants, and with merchants reſorting thither from all nations, more eſpecially out of Germany.

William of Malmſbury, alſo about the ſame time, calls Briſtol, *Vicus celeberrimus*, “ a famous town, its haven being a commodious receptacle for all ſhips coming thither from Ireland, Norway, and other foreign countries.” Camden, in his *Britannia*, thinks that Briſtol took its riſe in the decline of the Saxon government; ſince the firſt time it is mentioned is in the year 1063, when Florence of Worceſter makes Harold ſail from Briſtol to Wales. In Doomsday Book it is mentioned as paying, with an adjoining farm, one hundred and ten marks of ſilver.—Camden muſt only here be underſtood to mean as a port of commerce, for we have ſeen that it exiſted as a town or fort, in the fifth century.

Portugal had now the title of a kingdom firſt given it, by Alphonſo's aſſuming the name of King of it; being alſo proclaimed as ſuch by his army. His father Henry had all that part of Luſitania or Portugal that was Chriſtian, beſtowed on him by Alphonſo VI. king of Caſtile and Leon, for his aſſiſtance againſt the Moors; but with only the title of Count, and to be his tributary: and his ſaid ſon making many more conqueſts on the Moors, judged and rendered himſelf now quite independent; having, in this year, defeated five Moorish kings, and taken from them the city of Liſbon.—See the year 1147. That country was till then obſcure and poor, but this King greatly augmented it; and his ſucceſſor, by marrying a baſtard daughter of the King of Caſtile, got as her dowry the kingdom of Algarva. From which time the boundaries or limits of Portugal have remained nearly the ſame to this day.

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The names of two potent and memorable factions or parties in Italy, called Guelphs and Ghibelines, were now firſt known. They were ſaid to take their names from two powerful princely houſes in Germany, who, by their diſſenſions, cauſed great diſorders in that country. The occaſion of thoſe factions in Italy, was the war which the Emperor Conrade III. who was of the houſe of the Ghibelines, (Ghibelin being the name of a village in Swabia, which gave title to Conrade's family) waged againſt Roger king of Sicily, on account of the double election of the Popes, Innocent II. and Anacletus. In a battle between the two armies, Guelph duke of Bavaria, Roger's ally, cried out, Hier Guelph; and the Emperor's army cried out, Hier Ghibeline. From thence forward the imperial party were called Ghibelines, and the oppoſite, or papal party were ſtiled Guelphs.

About this time, Roger king of Sicily, took from that Emperor the territories in Apulia which had depended on the empire; and ſeveral cities of Italy, taking advantage of thoſe confuſions, withdrew themſelves from their dependence on the imperial crown. About the middle of the fourteenth century, thoſe two factions began to diſturb and diſtraſt Italy very much, and continued with incredible fury for above an hundred years. They exiſted above three centuries; the Guelphs ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the power of the See of Rome, as the Ghibelines did the Emperor's right of ſovereignty: dividing Italy in a violent manner, and putting all cities and families at variance, without any regard to the ties of nature.

Nothing ſeems more clearly to prove that there were real Vineyards of old in England, than what is in Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, who obſerves, chap. x. p. 247, that, in the fifth year of King Stephen, in the year 1140, the Sheriffs of Northampton and Leiſceſter, were allowed upon their account for the ſtated liveries, and for the livery of the King's Vine-dreſſer at Rokingham, and for neceſſaries for the vineyard. In the original roll it is thus: “ *Et in Liberatione Vincatoris de Rochingeham, xxx Sol. et v D. Numero, et in Procuracione Vineæ*

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1140 "*Vinea, xx Sol.*" *Et ibidem*, chap. xi. p. 269. Anno xv. Henry III. there is mention made "of vineyards in the diocese of Lincoln, in the year 1230. *Fructus Virgultorum Vinearum*, i. e. vine branches or twigs, and also *torcularium*, i. e. a wine press.

We have instances, even in our own days, of the possibility of making wine from grapes of our own growth, which sometimes has answered extremely well. But, upon the whole it is more our interest to fetch wines from those nations who take off great quantities of our manufactures and product, than to depend on the very great uncertainty of our own climate, which is too far from the sun for vines to answer in the way of commerce.

This same year is memorable also for the founding of the famous commercial city of Lubeck, by Adolph Earl of Holstein-Schawenburgh. The German writers say, that the Rugians had before destroyed the old town and castle of this name; whereupon this prince chose a more convenient situation for the new city. Although we are unacquainted with any thing of the figure which old Lubeck might have made in commercial matters, yet we find that this new Lubeck began to be considerable in that respect, in a few years after its foundation; so that its commercial efforts brought an accession of inhabitants to it from Westphalia, Friesland, Holland, &c. for cultivating the deserts of the province of Wagria, wherein Lubeck is situated. This city, however, in its tender years, received many severe shocks from fire, wars, &c. and had been several times taken and sacked by the Danes, &c. Nevertheless its commodious situation on the Baltic sea, for commerce with Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia, and also for supplying all the north end of Germany with whatever it wanted, and for taking of them what other people, or itself wanted from thence, soon filled the city with merchants, so that it became the most famous of all the cities in the north of Germany. Yet, notwithstanding this, and much more that might be produced by way of evidence, that this is the true date of the founding of Lubeck, the *Chronicon Episcoporum Mindensium* says, that Volguinus, the thirty-fifth Bishop of Minden, who came to that see about the year 1275, from a village first made Lubeck a town, and placed Monks and Canons there from the town of Alden: (Printed in the book, entitled, *Rerum Germanicarum veteres jamprimum publicati Scriptores* Sex.—*Francfurti ad Menum*, anno 1653.) Possibly this Monk might believe that nothing could make a town or city without Monks and Canons. It afterwards obtained the honourable title of a free Casarean or imperial city, says *Werdenhagen*, in his *Tractatus de Rebus-publicis Hanseaticis*, vol. I. being reckoned one of the four primarian or principal cities of the empire, which hold the precedency of all others, viz. Augsburgh, Aken, or Aix-la-Chapelle, Mentz, and Lubeck. Dr. Heylin says, it rebelled against the Dukes of Holstein, but *Werdenhagen* calls it a war, and that it had Dukes of its own at two different times;—that it was subdued by the Danes, and afterwards again made imperial;—after which it joined the Hanseatic confederacy. But *Werdenhagen's* account, with all his faults, seems to be the most authentic.

The great commercial progress of Lubeck, excited other German towns on the Baltic shores, &c. to emulate its success: and such trading towns soon began to make associations for their greater safety from pirates and other violences, and for settling mutual passports for the free navigation of their ships. This prosperity, however, drew upon them the envy of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, the Dukes of Saxony, Holstein, &c. which obliged those trading towns gradually to fall into the famous Hanseatic confederacy, that made so great a figure for several succeeding centuries, and of which Lubeck was, from the first, declared the head; as having conducted the rest into the beneficial employment of traffick.—She has, indeed,

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1140 ever since, even to this day, possessed unrivalled, the directorium or presidentship of the Hanseatic league, though now sunk almost to a mere shadow of her pristine glory; when not only Lubeck, but several other cities, were arrived at so great a pitch of wealth, power, and naval greatness, as to be formidable to all the neighbouring monarchs, who often courted their friendship and alliance. Werdenhagen asserts, that there was a league between the Saxon cities for the defence of commerce, long before the Hans-confederacy; that all the ancient grandeur of the once famous Bardewic, now a village in the dutchy of Lunenburg, is not generally known, though once the most noble city of Germany; as also Winet, that universal emporium, situated on Usedom, an isle at the mouth of the river Oder, of which Helmoldus, who lived in this century, likewise gives such pompous accounts, similar to those given by Adam of Bremen, &c. concerning Julin; that it was stored with the merchandize of all nations; and though it persisted in Paganism to its final destruction, yet no people were more civil or hospitable than its inhabitants. He adds, that many things relating to this subject are to be found amongst the archives of the ancient cities of Germany. But as this league of the Hans Towns was not compleatly formed until the close of this century, or perhaps somewhat later, we shall here only further observe, what is material to our history, that, as Lubeck led the way to the other trading towns near her, for the improvement of commerce, it is past dispute that the revival, or rather commencement, of any considerable degree of maritime commerce in the Baltic, since the establishment of Christianity in those parts, must be placed to the credit of Lubeck. It is true, that the old German writers consider several other commercial towns in Germany as more ancient; such as Staden in the dutchy of Bremen, said to have been built three hundred and twenty years prior to the incarnation of our Saviour; Julin, which was, according to Helmoldus, destroyed partly by inundations, and partly by the Danes, and which he calls, *maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum*—the greatest city of Europe; of which, perhaps, he was not altogether a competent judge. Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, calls Julin the capital and greatest town of the Vandals; he says, it was destroyed by Eric IV. king of Denmark, because they had entertained in their port the ships of two brothers of Schonen, outlawed for their crimes, and who were become pirates. But the true reason or cause of its destruction was, that this famous commercial town had been long hostile to the Danish kings, and had often opposed their schemes of conquest; wherefore, these Vandals had their best city destroyed for the better keeping them in awe. Werdenhagen gives us another account of its destruction: according to him, that city continued in Paganism till 1150, when they were converted to Christianity. The Danish kings, who were the terror and scourge of the free trading cities of those parts, had frequently harassed and pillaged Julin; and in the year 1167, King Waldemar I. with a great fleet and army, came unexpectedly upon that city, and having taken it, he utterly destroyed and burnt it to the ground. It was never after re-built, though not far from the site of it, the present town of Wollin was afterwards founded. Dr. Heylin gives Julin the name of Wollin, and says it was besieged in the year 1170, its bishoprick removed to Camin, and the bulk of its commerce to Lubeck; so uncertain are the accounts of those dark ages. Yet the real fact seems to have been, that Eric IV. took that emporium, and Waldemar I. utterly destroyed it. Many other pompous accounts are given of northern cities by these old authors, and of the magnificence of their buildings, palaces, &c. which are of little dependence.

1143 In this year the French King, Philip Augustus, banished the Jews out of the kingdom of France.

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The city of Bremen, by this time, made a considerable figure in point of commerce by sea and land, of which its people were strenuous defenders, as also of the safety of the river Weser, on which that city stands. They had already given assistance to the Emperor Henry IV. in his expedition to the Holy Land, by joining him with some of their forces. They were become so considerable in shipping, that when the Emperor Conrade III. by the assistance of other Princes, had in the year 1147, got three considerable armies together, partly for attacking the Saracens or Moors both by sea and land, and partly designed for attacking the Pagan Selavi, who still held a considerable part of the north end of Germany, Bremen fitted out a fleet, in which were sent many Westphalian and Saxon soldiers. They landed in Galicia, and from thence, at the request of Alphonso, the first King of Portugal, marched towards Lisbon, from whence they drove the Moors; which city, from that time, became the capital of Portugal. As we have seen, that twelve years further back, this King Alphonso had made himself master of Lisbon, possibly the Moors of Spain had again got possession of it; or else this exploit of the Bremeners might have been performed in the year 1139, when Alphonso first took Lisbon. So confusedly does Werdenhagen, and other older German authors write on such affairs, that it is often difficult justly to ascertain the dates of these public occurrences.

1148

Several authors agree, that about this time there were very considerable quantities of sugar produced in the island of Sicily, with which the Venetians traded to the ports in the ocean, as well as with the sugars of Egypt, and what was brought thither from India by the Red Sea.—“Probably,” says the French author of *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*, already quoted, “the Saracens brought the sugar-cane to Sicily from India.”

Dr. William Douglas, in his Summary, historical and political, of the first Planting, &c. of our American Settlements, printed at Boston, in New England, anno 1751, and re-printed at London in 1755, gives us the following brief history and character of sugar, viz.

“The ancient Greeks and Romans used honey only for sweetening; sugar was not known among them. Paulus Aegineta, a noted compiler of medical history, and one of the last Greek writers on that subject, about the year 625, is the first who expressly mentions sugar. It was at first called *mel arundinaceum*, i. e. reed or cane-honey. It came originally from China, by way of the East Indies and Arabia,” (in which last named country, according to Salmasius, it had been made 900 years before) “into Europe. Formerly, sugar was only used in syrups, conserves, and such-like Arabian medicinal compositions. It is at present become of universal and most noxious use; it souls our animal juices, and produces scrophulas, scurvy, and other putrid disorders; by relaxing the solids, it occasions watery swellings, and catarrhus ails; it induces hysteric and other nervous disorders; therefore should be sparingly used, especially by our weaker sex, as they are naturally of a *fibra laxa*.” Mr. Wootton, in his ingenious *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, chap. xxii. observes, “that the sugar-cane was not anciently unknown, since it grows naturally in Arabia and Indostan; but so little was the old world acquainted with its delicious juice, that some of their ablest men doubted whether it were a dew, like manna, or the juice of the plant itself. All the arts and methods therefore of preparing sugar, which have made it so very useful to human life, are owing to modern Portuguese and English.” This remark of Mr. Wootton's must only relate to the refining of sugar; for it is certain that raw sugar was in use in Europe long before the Portuguese found America, as Dr. Douglas likewise asserts. Herrera, the American historian, observes, that formerly sugar grew only in Valencia, probably brought thither by the Arabian Moors; from thence it was transmitted to Granada, and afterwards to the

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Canary isles ; and, lastly, to the Spanish West Indies. The many ingenios, or sugar-mills, in the West Indies, put the Spaniards upon procuring negro slaves from the Portuguese on the Guinea coast, which has been followed by all other nations. [*See the year 1508.*]

About this time, according to Werdenhagen's *Historia de Rebuspublicis Hanseaticis*, vol. i. pars 3, the city of Stetin, the capital of Pomerania, was in a flourishing condition, having been thought to be built by the Sedini, before the year of our Lord 400. Its inhabitants were converted to Christianity in 1120.

- 1150 About the middle of this century, the trade to the East Indies, which, in the times of the Roman empire, and also some time after its overthrow in the west, was carried on by way of the Nile and Red Sea, but which, upon the increase of the Saracenic empire, had been quite lost, was again revived, according to Monsieur Huot's *Histoire du Commerce*, &c. of the Ancients, by the way of Caffa, on the Black Sea, and Astracan, across the Caspian Sea, and so through Persia to and from India ; the Genoese and Venetians being then the sole carriers to the rest of Europe. These were some of the ancient ways by which the Persians conveyed the Indian merchandize to Greece, and other parts of Europe.

At this time also lived the Cherif Edrissi, commonly known by the name of the Nubian geographer : he wrote on Indian affairs, as did also Benjamin the Jew of Navarre, who travelled into the East about the latter part of this century ; but, according to Bishop Huet, they are neither of them much to be depended on. The latter reports, that in his time, there was a great resort of shipping and merchants at Alexandria from all parts of Europe. " The Venetians observing this, obtained leave of the Pope to trade thither, notwithstanding their being infidels, a matter much stood upon in those times. That, at his being at Constantinople, there was also a great concourse of merchants there, from Spain, Italy, Egypt, and Asia. That the spices, and other Indian wares, were then brought thither from Egypt, which came by the Red Sea and the Nile." This may possibly have been true, and yet that way might be, and certainly was, afterwards dropped, till the Mamelukes revived it by the Red Sea, in the year 1300, or, as some relate, in 1350. At this time, also, Indian wares were brought up the Euphrates to Bagdat, and from thence by caravans to Syria ; Bagdat being then a great trading city in Persian and Indian merchandize.

About this time, the Moors of Spain first introduced the art of chymistry, or at least of distillery, which is a branch of it, having learned it from the African Moors, who received it from the Egyptians ; but how long before the African Moors had been in possession of this curious science does not clearly appear. Certain it is, that this art was not known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, since neither Pliny, nor any other Latin or Greek writer, makes mention of it ; yet it is undoubtedly of considerable antiquity. The Egyptians are said to have been skilful in the practice of it in the time of the Emperor Dioclesian, who began his reign in the year 287, and being enraged at them, because they had made an insurrection, is said to have burned their writings concerning the distilling of gold and silver. By the great use of distilled spirituous liquors all over the world, and which, of late years, is so much increased, they are become a very important branch of commerce, as has been observed in our Introduction.

- 1152 In the seventeenth year of the reign of King Stephen, the city of Norwich, according to Camden's *Britannia*, was rebuilt, and erected into what he calls a corporation, being then a pretty populous town. Yet, in Alexander Nevill's Latin history of Norwich, or rather of its bishops, printed in the year 1575, it appears, that it had but one church so late as the year

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1170; for, writing of Bishop William Turbus, who died in that year, he says, *hujus tempore combusta fuit ecclesia Norwicensis*, i. e. in his time the church of Norwich was burned; unless we suppose, as some possibly may do, that by the word *ecclesia*, he only meant the cathedral church; which, however, does not seem very probable, since, in other parts of this work, he speaks often of *templum cathedrale*. Yet he says, that the immediate successor of Bishop Turbus, named John of Oxford, completed an hospital in Norwich for the sick, which had been begun by Bishop Hubert, in the reign of King Henry I. It is very certain, however, that the great increase of Norwich was occasioned by the revival of our woollen manufacture in the fourteenth century, and was perfectly re-established by the settling of the persecuted Walloons there in the succeeding one, who introduced the fine stuff manufactures, which have so greatly increased and flourished in and near that city even to the present time.

1154 We have seen, under the year 1135, that Henry I. King of England, brought the tenants of his demesne lands to pay him part of his rents in ready money, instead of paying all their rents in kind, as had been the custom till that period.

His grandson, King Henry II. carried this point further. Gervase of Tilbury, who flourished in the time of this King, who began his reign in 1154, and died in 1189, observes, "That the officers of this King's household knew well which counties were to send in wheat, which flesh, which provender for horses, &c. and they reckoned with the sheriffs, who, in those times, were receivers-general of their respective counties, by reducing those matters into a sum in pence; viz. for a measure of wheat, to make bread for one hundred men, one shilling, &c." [Here the prices of provisions seem to be transcribed from the account of 1135.] "But yet, as to soldiers pay, or for donatives, and for other necessities, concerning the pleas of the kingdom, or conventions, as also from cities and castles, where they did not exercise husbandry, payments were made in ready money. This King was engaged beyond sea in appeasing of tumults, &c. wherefore ready money became highly necessary for him to supply his occasions. Husbandmen, moreover, made loud complaints of their being harrassed by his officers for carrying provisions to far distant parts of the kingdom, whereby their farms were neglected; all which, induced the King, by advice of his Council, to reduce their rents into money." The riches of our Saxon ancestors, like that of the ancients, consisted principally in cattle, as there was so little gold and silver then in the realm, that it would have been impracticable to pay all the rents of the kingdom in money. Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, observes, "That in the writings of those Saxon times, and even in later periods, by the word *pecunia*, was often meant live-stock, or cattle, sometimes expressed by *viva pecunia*; and from their heads, or *capita*, were framed the words *capital*, *capitale*, and *capitalia*, signifying goods moveable or immoveable, and sometimes pledges, and the price and value of things, and what we now term catalla and chattels."

The King, by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine, first brought the English acquainted with the southern parts of France on the ocean, as they were before with the northern provinces of that kingdom.

It was from this time that we commenced a considerable traffic with Bourdeaux for wines, our ships constantly frequenting that port, until we were dispossessed of it, as will be seen hereafter.

From the very commencement of King Henry the Second's reign, he seems to have had a fixed intention of making himself master of Ireland. This appears from a record in the first volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, page 15, second edition, wherein there is a licence granted to him

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by Pope Adrian IV. in the following words, viz. "*Adrianus Papa gratum et acceptum habet, quod Henricus Secundus, Rex Angliæ, insulam Hiberniæ ingrediatur, ut populum legibus subdat. Ita tamen, ut annua beato Petro solvatur pensio.*" We shall see how this conquest was effected, under the year 1172.

We find by Pet. Baptist. Burgus's Treatise de Dominio Maris Ligustici, lib. ii. cap. 14. that, in all this century, the sea-dominion of Genoa was so incontestable on their own coasts, as to have licences required of them for navigating thereon. In the year 1154, those of Lucca request leave to navigate with merchandize in their own shipping. Two years after, the same license is granted to Azoline of Placentia, to send a galley whither he pleased, with one hundred and fifty pounds value of goods yearly. This dominion of the Genoese in the Ligustic seas, was confirmed to them by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1162, extending along the coast from Monaco to Porto Veneri. We find the Genoese again granting license to one Droguo de Consilio and his brethren, to trade by sea to the value of four hundred pounds yearly, as freely as if they were citizens of Genoa. The same privilege was also granted in 1179, to another person for two hundred pounds annually.

This power on the sea of Genoa is again confirmed to them in 1191. by the Emperor Henry VI. The Genoese being therefore become so potent in shipping, and so rich by their commerce, it is no wonder that they obtained similar grants and empty honours of the Emperors, who often stood in need of their money and shipping.

The city of Hanover, which had been first founded in the eighth century, was in this year fortified by Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, &c. a very potent Prince. Some German writers, however, make Hanover much more ancient than the eighth century, being known and described by Ptolemy of Alexandria by the name of Leuphana. Werdenhagen says, it was, for a long time, a member of the Hanseatic league. What it is at this time is well known, viz. a neatly fortified and populous city, of a moderate size.

1157 Mr. Tallents, in his Chronological Tables, and some other chronologers, fix on the year 1157 for the date of the first establishment of the bank of Venice. That politic and jealous state has ever been extremely cautious of suffering matters to be made public which have any near relation either to their policy or commerce. It is, however, agreed by all, that Venice was the first state in Christendom that found out the convenience and advantage of a public bank; and other Italian cities, as Genoa, Florence, &c. soon followed the example of Venice in this particular. Some authors, however, place this establishment in the year 1176, and others still later. It is said that its original fund was two millions of ducats. In one of her wars with the Turks, the state became security to pay the money therein lodged, which they had been forced to make use of in that exigency. The agio, or premio of this bank, in process of time rose so high as thirty per cent. better than current money, although the state, by several edicts, endeavoured to keep it lower. Its capital was afterwards made double the original sum, and the state, in another exigency, also made free with that increased capital. In succeeding times the state enacted that bank money, or the agio of the bank, should never exceed twenty per cent. advance, as it still remains to this day. In this bank are made all payments of bills of exchange, and of contracts between merchants, &c. as in the bank of Amsterdam, which probably borrowed much of its plan from this of Venice, by writing off from one account in bank to another, *i. e.* from the payer's to the receiver's account, most frequently without any gold or silver paid. Yet it is certain that in all public, as well as private banks, a quantity of specie, or ready money, is absolutely necessary, not only for sudden and unexpected

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runs or demands, but likewise for answering small or broken sums, &c. This most ancient and eminent bank has ever been conducted with the greatest justice and prudence, by which means it has so long preserved its credit unimpeached, and has thereby proved of infinite benefit to the state. Finally, for the adjusting and balancing of all their accounts in bank, they shut their books four times in every year, for three weeks each shutting.

1158 Canute IV. king of Denmark, had, in the year 1077, attempted to convert the people of the fine province of Livonia to Christianity, having now reduced them to be tributary to his crown: but this was reserved for the German nation to effect, in this same century, and was at first owing to certain ships of Bremen accidentally discovering Livonia; which, although bound no farther east in the Baltic Sea than the famous emporium of Witbuy, happened, however, to be driven by tempest as far as the river Duna in Livonia, which country was till then unknown to the Bremeners. For this Joannes Angelius à Werdenhagen's *Respublica Hanseatica*, Vol. I. Pars iii. quotes the *Chronicon Bremense*. See also *Helmoldi Chronica Sclavorum*, Lubeca, 1659, Cap. ii. Here they contracted friendship with the Pagan Livonians, and made a kind of treaty of commerce with them, in behalf of the merchants whom they were afterwards to conduct thither. From this fortuitous beginning a progress was soon made; for, in 1172, the Lubeckers made a voyage thither, taking a missionary for the conversion of these people to Christianity: and more Germans constantly flocking to such a fruitful province, the city of Riga, in the year 1198, was founded on the river Duna by a colony of Bremeners, which has ever since been a place of considerable commerce. The people of Livonia are said to have been so rude and unpolished at this time as to fling away the bees-wax on the dunghill, as an excrement, after they had taken out the honey. Werdenhagen observes, that at first their commerce was carried on merely by barter, there being very probably no money then in Livonia. The Bremeners carried thither also more missionaries, and erected a chapel, so that Christianity was gradually established amongst them. The Teutonic or German Knights of the Cross settled themselves here soon after, by the invitation of Albert, bishop of Livonia, who gave them a third part of the country in propriety, of which, Thuanus observes, his successors had reason to repent. The settlement also of the Marian knights in Prussia, brought about great changes there; for the former, in the year 1218, calling in the latter to their assistance against their Pagan neighbours, the Marian Knights gained dominion there, and kept Riga in awe with the ~~fort of Danamunder, of which, however, Riga several times gained possession.~~ Thuanus and Pensionary De Witt justly remark, that this colonizing of the Germans in Livonia and Prussia, proved one great occasion that foreign traffic and navigation took place in those northern parts, as will be seen in the sequel of this work: it also brought about the establishment of the Hans-Republics, or commercial confederacy, which made so great a figure in the three following centuries; several of which free cities remain to this day in great splendor and opulence.

1160 That great and warlike prince, Henry, surnamed the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having utterly destroyed the town of Kessin, in the country now called Mecklenburg, out of its ruins was built, or rather walled, the city of Rostock in its neighbourhood, having till now been only a village. Werdenhagen makes this foundation of Rostock's greatness to have been laid by Pribislaus and his brother Niclotus, the last Pagan kings of the Obotriti, Heruli, or Heneti; for by these and sundry other appellations and divisions were the countries of Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania denominated by the writers of those middle ages. The Pagan princes of Holstein remained powerful even to this century. There is a charter

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1160 of the Emperor Lothaire II. dated at Bardewic, in the year 1137, reciting, that he had built a castle at Segeberg in Holstein, on account of the persecution of Christians by the Pagans, and near it a church for the propagation of the Christian faith. Rostock soon became a considerable place for commerce and navigation, and is at present a large, populous, commercial and imperial city, near the entrance of the river Warna on the Baltic Sea, almost midway between Lubeck and Straelsund.

The city of Gravelines in Flanders is founded by Theodoric the XVIIth, earl of that country.

About this time, it is generally computed, that Egypt, of which the Greek empire had long been dispossessed by the Saracens, was subdued, and its dominion usurped by Affareddin, or Saracon, general of Norradin, the Saracen sultan of Damascus. His son Saladin proved a great conqueror, having subdued Mesopotamia, Damascus, and all Palestine.

However the republic and people of Genoa might, on many occasions, testify their religious zeal against the Saracens and Moors, by their powerful assistance of the Christians in the possession of the Holy Land, and in driving the Moors out of a great part of Spain; yet we find, by their historian, the Chevalier de Mailly, Liv. I. that they were not so far unmindful of their own interests, even in those early times, as to neglect the making application to Mahometan states, for the advancement of their commerce: for, in this year, they concluded a treaty of commerce with the King of Morocco, for fifteen years, on very advantageous conditions.

This year is also memorable for the rise of the Waldenses, or Albigenes: Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, gave rise to the former name. He was the first who openly declared his dissent from the more flagrant errors of the Romish church, as Transubstantiation, Image-Worship, &c. His followers increased almost incredibly, though persecuted and cruelly hunted from place to place, in this and the next century; and their opinions spread into other parts of Europe, as well as in the south of France, where they were first divulged. In the year 1200, the people of the diocese of Albie, in Languedoc, stoutly resisted their persecutors sent by King Philip Augustus, from whence they were stiled Albigenes.

Yet in the end, those good and brave Christians were subdued, and many of them fled into Bohemia and Savoy, and some few into England, where they passed by the name of Lollards and Wickliffites in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were cruelly treated by the relentless clergy, for being much better Christians than themselves. Whilst those people were increasing, as before observed, the Pope and the clergy raised a most horrible clamour, and set on foot a new crusade against them, making the princes of Europe their blind instruments for destroying the best of people, and depopulating their respective dominions: on this account they raised such vast armies, as it is said at one time to have consisted of five hundred thousand men. This crusade gave birth to the most horribly wicked and infernal of all the evil devices, which the corruptions in religion ever produced, the holy Inquisition as it is called; by which all freedom to profess any difference of religious opinions from the established one is abolished, unless people chose to undergo the tender mercies of miserable dungeons and racks, and at length of being roasted to death. But as this sad subject is sufficiently treated by others, whose more immediate province it is, we shall refer the history of those Waldenses, and of the overthrow of such princes as had the courage to favour and support them, to the proper authors. Yet we cannot altogether drop the point of the hellish inquisition, without this natural remark; that wherever this horrid institution is in its full vigour, there

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there commerce can never flourish in an extended and unlimited degree, but must ever remain depressed; for liberty of conscience, in some degree at least, is ever requisite for the propagation of an extensive commerce.

In this year, Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre, began his travels eastward, ending them in 1173; which travels, though filled with romantic and some inconsistent stories, and describing both the countries and people in a very singular manner, suitable to the taste and humour of those times, contain, nevertheless, some things which carry more than the probable appearance of reality. He seems to magnify the vast number of Jews at Constantinople, and in Persia, &c. visiting almost all the Jewish synagogues of the East, and at Alexandria in Egypt: He says, that the port of Constantinople swarmed with ships from Italy, Spain, and France, as also from England; traders also came thither from Russia, Poland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Flanders, Africa, Arabia, Greece, from the ports in the Indian Ocean, from Abyssinia, the Turks, &c. The wealth of Constantinople was immense, and its commerce extended throughout all the East, as far as Cape Commorin in India; from whence, he says, one may travel by land in forty days to the frontiers of Tzin, the very extremity of the East, beyond which he did not continue his journey. This Tzin probably occasioned that country afterwards to be named China, not as yet known by that name. He is the first traveller so far east of whom we have any account.

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At this time, the Christians of Saxony vehemently pushed on the extermination of the Pagan Sclavi out of that country: and in order to re-people their cities and country, the Marquis Albertus Urfus brought great numbers from as far as Nimeguen (Trajectum) and the banks of the Rhine, and even from the sea coasts, viz. Hollanders, Zelanders, Brabanters, and Flenings: "whereby," says the Presbyter Helmoldus, in his *Chronicon Sclavorum*, Lib. ii. Cap. 89. who lived in this age, "the bishops and clergy of Saxony rejoiced much, as the churches were thereby increased, as well as the tithes. At this time," adds this same author, "the Hollanders began to inhabit the countries on the south bank of the Elbe, and also many other cities and provinces, even to the (*Saltum Boiemicum*) Bohemian Forest." In many of those provinces the Saxons had originally been the inhabitants, but were gradually driven out by the Sclavi: and now again the Saxons, supported by their duke, Henry the Lion, who had conquered the countries north of the Elbe, from the double motive of revenge, and of zeal for Christianity, dispossess the Sclavi and Vandals, by degrees, of all the provinces near the south shores of the Baltic Sea, making many of the vanquished people their servants and labourers, and others, whom they did not kill, or drive out of the country, they sold to the Danes, Poles, Bohemians, &c. Hence the modern word slave and slavery, though somewhat differently written and pronounced in different countries, became an appellation of drudgery and bondage all over Europe: It is called *slaaf* by the Germans, *esclave* by the French, *esclavo* in Spain, *shiavo* in Italian, and *slave* in English. "Slave," says Dr. Skinner in his *Etymologicon*, "*a natione Slava, seu Slavonica; quorum ingens numerus, partim a Germanis, partim a Venetis, bello olim captus est, et pro servitiis divenditus.*" This treatment of the Sclavi was begun by the Emperor Henry the Fowler, about the year 927, carried on by his son Otho the Great, and completed under Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, about six hundred years after their first coming into Germany. Thus, by the extermination of the Sclavi, their depopulated country were re-peopled by Saxons, Netherlanders, &c. as already mentioned, who rebuilt the demolished towns in a better manner, altering the situation of some of them, as Lubeck, Wismar, &c. so as to be more convenient for the commerce

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commerce of the Baltic Sea : so that they formed or restored, in this and the next century, almost all the sea ports in this country ; all which was improved and increased very much in a short time, by opening a correspondence with other Christian countries ; whereas, the Scavi and Vandals, being obstinate Pagans, were considered by the Christians of those times as little better than dogs, and therefore had very trifling correspondence with them : indeed there is too much ground to believe, that the clergy of those ignorant and bigoted times used unjustifiable means for exciting the princes and people against them, in order to accelerate their destruction as a nation.

In this year, we find a charter from Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, &c. to the city of Wisbuy in the isle of Gothland, for uniting in peace and friendship the Germans and the Gothlanders ; which last people he had now forgiven, and taken into his favour, granting them the same privileges as had been granted them by his grandfather, the Emperor Lotharius II. ; particularly, a passage through his dominions with their merchandize, toll free. He inflicts penalties on the Germans for killing a Gothlander : and finally, puts them on a level with his own subjects, provided they in Gothland treat his subjects in the same manner, and more frequently resort to his port of Lubeck. Lambecii Mantissa veterum Diplomatum, printed at the end of his Origines Hamburgenses.

1164 Historians remark, that, about this year, the people of Holland first began to have any considerable or regular herring fishery ; and strictly observed the several stations or places on the coasts where that fish was to be found in all the different seasons. Yet they had not as yet, nor for above two hundred years later, discovered the true method of pickling herrings ; although they had now, and probably long before, a method of salting them, though perhaps only for preserving them but for a short space, and not probably with the fine relish of modern pickled herrings.

1195 The city of Bristol, we have seen, was a place of some account in the fifth century, when the Romans left Britain : yet we find but little mention of it, except in Doomſday Book, and by William of Malmſbury, in 1139, till the eleventh year of Henry II. when that King granted a charter to his burgesſes of Bristol, “ to be free of tolls, passage, &c. throughout “ England, Wales, and Normandy, and that none disturb them therein under forfeiture of “ ten pounds ;” whereby it appears, at that time, to be the King’s own town, as the stile then was : but when this King, or his son Richard I. gave Bristol to John earl of Morton, afterwards King John, does not so clearly appear. However, among the printed charters of Bristol, we find that the Earl of Morton “ granted fundry privileges to all his men and friends, “ Frenchmen, *i. e.* Normans, Englishmen, Welch, and Irishmen,” whom he here stiles, “ My Burgesſes in Bristol, dwelling within the walls and without :” as the ancient walls were of great compass, as now appears by the old gates, and as there were suburbs without the walls, Bristol must, at this time, have been a very considerable city. “ And that they “ be not sued, nor be obliged to sue without the town, except in pleas for foreign tenements. “ They shall be free from tolls, &c. No foreign merchant shall buy, within the town of any “ stranger, hides, corn, or wool, but only of the burgesſes. No foreigner shall have any “ tavern but in his ship, nor shall retail cloth but in the fair. No stranger shall tarry in the “ town with his merchandize, to sell the same, longer than forty days. Burgesſes, and their “ widows, may marry themselves, their sons and daughters ; without the licence of their “ lords. Shall have all their reasonable guilds as fully as they held them in the times of “ Robert, and William his son, earls of Gloucester.” By this charter we may learn something

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thing of the customs and commerce of those times; as that the townsmen, here styled burgesses, beside their subjection to their lord-paramount, had also their particular patrons or superior lords, to whom they were in some respects subject, and probably paid some annual acknowledgment; so little was there of real freedom then enjoyed by the townsmen in most places of England: yet it is, however, plain, that Bristol was, at this time, a considerable port of commerce, according to the commerce of those days. Hereby also we see how much the burgesses, or townsmen, already ill treated foreigners resorting to them for trade, which short-sighted manner of restraint on strangers continued for many years in England, though with some occasional relaxation by our wiser princes.

The wars between Genoa and Pisa, on the score of emulation and of commerce, and particularly for the possession of the isles of Sardinia and Corsica, were so frequent in this century, that it would be almost endless to describe all their conflicts, both by sea and land. We find them engaged warmly in 1167, and the neighbouring smaller republic of Lucca in vain attempting to mediate between them; the Genoese, in the following year, giving a great defeat on land to the Pisans. By this interference, however, of the republic of Lucca, it appears to have been more powerful than it is at present.

1169 The destruction of the two mercantile Pagan cities of Julin and Winet, and the building of Lubeck, Rostock, and other new Christian cities on and near the Baltic shores, drew the dispersed merchants of the two former into the latter, and produced a beginning to an association of those new mercantile cities, as we have already observed: yet it would be difficult, if not impossible, to fix the precise year of that association, afterwards called the Hanseatic League, which was not only intended for protecting themselves from the like calamity, which had fallen on the cities destroyed by the Danes, but also from pirates, who, about that time, infested the Baltic Sea, and occasioned great interruptions of commerce. Werdenhagen fixes on the year 1169 for this first confederacy, which consisted of the twelve following towns on the Baltic Shore, viz. Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Straelfund, Grypewald, Anclam, Stetin, Colberg, Stolpe, Dantzick, Elbing, and Koningsberg; though probably not all of them at one and the same time; as some of them do not appear to have been founded till a later period. Yet the learned Lambecius, librarian to the Emperor Leopold, is of opinion, that the Hans-League did not properly commence till after the league between Lubeck and Hamburg, in the year 1241. Be this as it may, it seems very extraordinary, that none of the German writers should have ever discovered the genuine import and true meaning of the word Hans, in Latin, *Hansa*, until Lambecius defines it exactly in the same sense as in King John of England's charters to several English towns, particularly to York city, and to Dunwich in Suffolk, in the year 1199, viz. a society or corporation, united for their joint benefit. Petri Lambecii *Origines Hamburgenses*, Lib. ii. p. 61. *Hamburgi*, anno 1706, in Folio. See the year 1266. Werdenhagen, the prolix historiographer of the Hans Towns, was quite ignorant of this, and makes the word Hans to be a compound of three words, viz. *An-der-See*, *i. e.* on, or by the sea; because, as he alleges, the first union consisted of maritime cities only. Almost all other later authors, not excepting even Rapin de Thoyras, have adopted this opinion of Werdenhagen, or have otherwise quite mistaken its meaning. It was, it seems, a standing rule of this confederacy, that no city should be admitted into the Hans League, but such as were either situated on the sea, or on some navigable river, commodious for maritime commerce. Another standing rule was, Not to admit any city into their league, which did not keep the keys of their own gates, and did not moreover exercise

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1169 civil jurisdiction within themselves : yet it was admitted, that, in other respects, they might acknowledge some superior lord or prince : And upon this principle, they admitted many cities in the Netherlands, to which cities their own princes are bound by oath to preserve their privileges entire. A glorious instance of their judgment, as well as their love of liberty.

The Hans-Towns were not less prudent in the choice of their protector, than in most other steps they took for the advancement of their common interests : for, as they could not safely elect a protector, who was not a member of the German empire, so they thought it equally prudent to fix on one, whose government, like their own, was free or republican, and not too powerful to be able to overturn their commercial system. This naturally inclined them to chuse the grand master and German knights of the cross, settled in Prussia, for their protector, who, since the discovery of Livonia by the ships of Bremen, as we have already related, had made a conquest of that fine country, and erected a new republic there, about the year 1212, of which the grand master was the head : thus the Hans-Towns became possessed of all the commerce of the south shores of the Baltic, from Denmark to the bottom of the gulph of Finland, containing countries productive of many excellent and necessary commodities for commerce, in consequence of the many large rivers running from them into that sea. Thus these two different republics, or rather confederacies, remained united for more than three centuries, and until the dissolution of the republic of the German Knights, in the year 1525 : which dissolution, with other concurring circumstances, proved one great cause of decay to the wealth, power, and union of the Hanseatic cities : for although Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and France, and at length Philip II. of Spain, had, at different periods, severally proposed to be protectors of the Hanseatic league, yet they never would admit of any other protector but the Grand Master and Knights of the Teutonic Order. Now, although there may appear some contradiction, or anachronism, with respect to what all the German writers seem to agree in, viz. that, from the very beginning of the Hans-confederacy, it had no other protector than the Teutonic Order, yet that is easily reconciled, by only supposing, that as soon as the Hans-Towns became considerable, they made choice of that protection, although, perhaps, the beginning might be somewhat prior to the proper erection of the Teutonic Order ; which, however, is confessed to be very doubtful. Thuanus, Lib. li. *Hist. sui Temporis*, thinks the Hans-League as old as the year 1200, a little before the reign of the Emperor Frederick II. which began in 1211 : “ *origo autem societatis ab anno salutaris 1200 reperitur, paulo antè tempora Frederici II. &c.* ” Werdenhagen, and other German writers, have made it a very favourite point, to prove the antiquity of this confederacy, upon which the Hanseatics long and strongly built their unreasonable privileges in England, viz. their charter from our King Henry III. which will be mentioned in the next century. And this may at present suffice for their antiquity.

The Hans-confederacy had an extraordinary general assembly every ten years, at which they solemnly renewed their union, admitted new members, and excluded old ones, if refractory, &c. This league was solemnly renewed in 1284, and confirmed a great many times in succeeding ages. Yet particular cities, for their own private ends, have sometimes disjoined themselves from the league, which oftentimes occasioned fierce disputes.

The whole confederacy was divided into four classes, over each of which a certain city presided. At the head of the first, and also of the whole union, was Lubeck, of old, very rich and potent. To this city were committed the common flock and records of the confederacy, and

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1169 and here they usually held their general assemblies: This particular class contained the Vandalic and Pomeranian towns. Cologne was head of the second class, which comprehended the towns of the countries of Cleves, Overysil, Gelderland, Mark, and Westphalia. Brunswick was at the head of the third class, comprehending the cities of Saxony. And Dantzick was the chief of the fourth class, over the towns of Prussia and Livonia. Thus united, they carried on an immense commerce for those times, and, by the favour of Princes, established themselves in many foreign countries.

There was an early distinction made by the Netherlanders, &c. between the Easterlings or oriental Hans-Towns, lying chiefly on the Baltic Shores; and the western Hans-Towns, whereof Cologne was the chief. These last are said to have joined in a peculiar league, for protecting their commerce against the incursions of the Normans towards the Rhine, and as those incursions happened as early as the eighth and ninth centuries, it is probable enough that those western cities were thus confederated very considerably earlier than the general Hanseatic confederacy, and might give birth to the latter.

The city of Copenhagen, the present capital of Denmark, is of no greater antiquity than about this time; when, in the reign of King Waldemar I. the Danes began to lay the foundations of the town, or rather castle, for a protection to shipping against the sea pirates, then very numerous, and therefore named Kiopmans-Hafen, or the port of merchants. This soon drew numbers of people thither, so that from a few fishermen's huts, it quickly increased to a large town; and its haven and situation being very advantageous, it became the capital residence of the Danish court instead of Roschild, an inland city in the same isle of Zealand. It is at present a fine large and beautiful city, with a good haven for all the Danish royal navy, as well as for trading ships, &c.

The foundation of the famous city of Dantzick is also generally ascribed to Waldemar, about this time; who, as well as some of his predecessors and successors, had made great conquests on the coasts of Pomerania and Prussia: it was at first only a fort, to guard the river Vistula, but soon grew up into a city, called at first Daneswic, but since corrupted into Dantzick. It afterwards fell to the Dukes of Pomerania, one of whom, in the year 1271, pawned it to the Marquis of Brandenburg, who, in 1308, sold it to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights for ten thousand marks of silver, as he did, three years after, the rest of Pomerellia for the farther sum of one hundred thousand marks. yet there were fierce and frequent contentions between Poland and those Knights of the Cross, touching the dominion of this city and adjacent country. Dantzick has long flourished in commerce, though with various fortune, and is happy in its situation for conveying the commodities of Poland to the rest of Europe. It contains infinite stores of corn, timber, flax, cordage, &c. and, next to Hamburg, is at this time, and has long been, the most mercantile city of all the Hans-Towns.

About this time, according to Helmoldus, Lib. ii. Cap. 12. there was usually a great resort of Christian ships and vessels to the isle of Rugen, near the mouth of the river Oder, on the coast of Pomerania, for catching of herrings, and he particularly mentions the month of November for that fishing season. He also adds, That, of all the nations of the Sclavi, those of Rugen remained the longest and most obstinate in Paganism, even down to this time.

Mr. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, Cap. x. P. 239, acquaints us, that not only King Henry II. paid pensions to his old servants, worn out by age or sickness, of one penny and a penny halfpenny per day, but that also King Henry III. did the same, and that in the

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forty-ninth year of his reign, he directs the sheriff of Essex to pay to his porter two-pence per day, till the King should otherwise provide for him; which two-pence, having as much silver as is in our six-pence, would go as far as, or rather further than, sixteen-pence of our modern money in the purchase of all the necessaries of life.

- 1169 Mackmurg, or Dermot, lord or king of Leinster in Ireland, being, in the year 1167, expelled his kingdom for a rape, committed upon the wife of the King of Brefinia, applied to
 1172 King Henry II. of England for succour, promising to him in return the sovereignty of that kingdom: Henry refusing to undertake the war himself, on account of its expence, gave leave to all Englishmen to assist him. Mackmurg hereupon makes an agreement, under the authority of King Henry II.'s letters patent, with Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, that on condition of his enabling him, at his own expence, to be restored, he shall have his daughter in marriage, and therewith the succession to his kingdom; and on two other Englishmen of note, viz. Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he agreed to bestow large possessions in Leinster, for their joining to assist him. Fitz-Stephen was the first Englishman, since the Norman conquest, that had attempted Ireland; he landed there in 1170, with three hundred and ninety men, and possessed himself of Wexford, on behalf of Mackmurg; and Strongbow followed with twelve hundred more.

But King Henry II. would not lose so favourable an opportunity of possessing such a noble country, to which he had looked with a longing eye from the very first year of his reign: for, in the year 1172, he obliged Strongbow to give up into his hands all the territory which he had conquered in Ireland, and went thither himself with an army, where the Kings or Lords of Connaught, Cork, Meath, Vriel, Ossory, Limerick, and some other petty princes, as also the bishops submitted themselves to Henry, and to his successors, and also erected for him a great palace in Dublin, according to Stow and others. Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquities and History of Ireland*, Chap. xxii. says, "That this palace was built of smooth rods, after a wonderful manner, near St. Andrew's church without that city, where King Henry, with the princes above-mentioned, celebrated Christmas festival." A little after, says Camden; King Henry II. transplanted an English colony from Bristol to the ancient city of Dublin; which city, then probably drained of inhabitants, he bestowed on the said colony in the following terms, viz. "With all the liberties and free customs which those of Bristol enjoyed." And from that time, says Camden, "Dublin flourished more and more; and has, in many doubtful and dangerous conjunctures, shewn remarkable instances of its loyalty to the Kings of England." Sir James Ware further says, that they never built houses of brick or stone, some few religious houses excepted, before the reign of King Henry II. when, in imitation of the English, they began to make use of those materials.

Thus was this truly noble island, in appearance easily gained to the English empire; an island, as the late King William III. said to Mareschal Schomberg, when he first landed on it, extremely well worth fighting for, not only for its real and intrinsic excellence in point of fertility, extent, and revenue; but more eminently on account of its peculiar importance to Great Britain, in point of situation; since, were it to be in the hands of any other foreign potentate, or even but barely and absolutely independent of Britain, though without an immediate subjection to any other potentate; in either case, Ireland, lying so near us, is capable of doing infinite hurt to our commerce and manufactures, our navigation and fisheries, and, we had almost said, to our own immediate safety and independence; but we shall hereafter see, that Ireland was not so easily to be reduced to an entire subjection, as was at first imagined.

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imagined. On the contrary, Ireland, as Sir John Davis rightly observes, was not to be subdued but by slow steps and degrees, and by several attempts in several ages. Sir John Davis is of opinion, that the old Irish natives never raised any corporation towns; such, and especially the sea port towns, having been solely founded by the Easterlings, who were a mercantile people, which the former never were.

- 1170 The Welch historians have handed down to us the following seemingly romantic account of the discovery made, in the course of this year, of a country far west from Europe, by Madoc, a younger son of Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales. This Madoc, seeing his brethren and nephews at war for the succession to their father, and his country involved in misery, chose to seek adventures in some foreign land. For this end, he embarked in a ship from the north coast of Ireland, and sailing far westward, he came to a land where he discovered many strange things. He however returned to Wales again, where he provided no fewer than ten sail of ships, on board of which he engaged a considerable number of both sexes, with whom he again sailed for that strange country, from whence neither he, nor any of his company ever returned, nor were ever heard of more. Others say, that he left the people there, and returned to Wales, from whence he made his third voyage thither, and, after that, was never heard of again.

Some relations of the Spaniards, who first discovered America three hundred and thirty years after, seem, though faintly, to confirm this story, by affirming, that on their first arrival, they found the native Indians paid honour to the Cross. There are Welch writers also, who have found out an affinity between several words in the native Indian language of the Americans, and those of the Welch tongue.

At the coronation in this year, of the young King and Queen of England, in the eighteenth year of his father Henry II. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, tells us, that the Sheriffs of London disbursed the money, their coronation robes costing eighty-seven pounds ten shillings and four pence. There is a great deal mentioned of silk garments, as, *Pro tribus Pannis sericis*, eight pounds six shillings.—For silken cloths for the King, twenty-eight pounds. And in the fourteenth of King John, we find mention of sundry silken cloths (*de Pannis sericis*) of Spain.

- 1172 The Weavers Company of London is, without doubt, of great antiquity, and was probably in being, before corporations, in the legal and modern sense of that word, existed. James Howell, in his Londinopolis, p. 123, gives us a sketch of the charter of King Henry II. which, being without a date, we have here placed in the middle of that King's reign; "Granting to the weavers in London their guild, with all the freedom and customs they had in his grandfather's (King Henry I.) days, yielding yearly for the same to him two marks of gold." Stow quotes a charter of this King's, importing, "That if any cloth were found to be made of Spanish wool, mixed with English wool, the Mayor of London should see it burnt. Which shews the antiquity of English woollen cloths being all made of Spanish wool.

- 1173 This year gives us the rise, or original, of the famous ceremony practised yearly at Venice on Ascension-day, of the reigning Doge's wedding the Adriatic Sea with a gold ring, by throwing it into the same. It seems, the State of Venice having taken part with Pope Alexander III. against the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who had obliged that Pope to fly to Venice for protection, they made the Emperor's son, Otho, a prisoner in a sea fight on the coast of Istria, and took the Admiral's galley, with forty-eight other ships. Whereupon, that Pope,

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Pope, coming to meet the Doge, Sebastian Zani, at Venice, presented him with a gold ring in testimony of his gratitude, saying, "Take this ring, and bind the Adriatic Sea therewith to thee in wedlock, which ceremony you and your successors shall annually perform, that latest posterity may know you have acquired the dominion of this sea by right of conquest, and that as the wife is subject to her husband, so is this sea to your republic." Such are the grounds of the mighty pretensions of this republic to the dominion of the Adriatic Sea. Yet so wise a state as Venice for a while improved this seeming feather to their substantial advantage, for they thereupon assumed the title of sovereigns of the Adriatic, and to be its guard from pirates and other invaders, and even to prohibit sailing on it to such nations as they disliked, and to demand a tribute of all foreign ships sailing on it: yet so early as the thirteenth century, Ancona disputed the right of Venice to this exclusive power, which is quite obsolete in our days.

- 1174 So powerful was the state of Genoa at this time, that in their treaty with Raymond, count of Toulouse, Marquis of Provence, and Duke of Narbonne, they oblige that Prince, according to Baptista Burgus, lib. ii. cap. 13, to stipulate, "To prohibit the merchants of all his dominions from going, or sending others to sea, on account of trade, without the consent of the Consuls, and majority of the Counsellors of Genoa, under forfeiture to him of all the profits of their voyage, and of one third of the principal or stock sent out. And in case they fall into the hands of the Genoese, they shall forfeit the like to that republic."

§ 5 In the same treaty, that Prince gave up to the republic of Genoa, the cities of Marseilles and Monaco, and all the ports between the castle of Turbia and Narbonne.

Thus were those two republics of Venice and Genoa, together with that of Pisa, at this time become mistresses of the whole commerce of the Mediterranean coasts, and also of most of that of the ocean, till deprived of much of it by the Hans-Towns in the next and succeeding centuries, while all the great neighbouring monarchies looked on, and seemed easy and contented, now and long after, barely with being supplied by them, at their own prices, with whatever they wanted from other parts, either for delicacy or necessary consumption.

- 1175 There must have been some considerable trade or wealth at this time in Scotland, for that country, according to Speed, who quotes Hector Boetius, to be able to raise so large a ransom as one hundred thousand pounds for redeeming their king, William, surnamed the Lion, who, having had a dispute with King Henry II. of England concerning the possession of part of the county of Northumberland, was by a stratagem taken prisoner. The one half of this supposed ransom, i. e. fifty thousand pounds, equal now, in quantity of silver, to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money, was paid in ready coin, the other half was to be paid at a future time, for which the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon, then in William's possession, were given in pawn. We have, in our introduction, fully proved, that not only now, but for almost two hundred years later, the money or coin of England and Scotland were exactly of the same stamp, fineness, and value, wherefore, for Scotland to have raised so much at that time, as Archbishop Nicholson also observes, in his Scottish Historical Library, that nation must have had more considerable riches, in proportion to England, than in later times; as we find, a few years after, how difficult it was even for England to raise but twice as much for King Richard the First's ransom. We moreover find even this very King William of Scotland paying ten thousand marks to King Richard I. for the redemption of Roxburgh Castle and of Berwick, in the year 1189, which places had been part of William's ransom, beside the above sum of money, according to Speed's History, and Rap-

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pin adds, that Richard now also discharged William and his successors, by authentic charter, from the homage, which Henry II. had extorted from him, for the sovereignty of all Scotland.

1180 We have seen by Doomsday Book, under the year 1086, that even so early as, and probably somewhat prior to, the Norman conquest, the feudal laws or tenures generally supplied the sovereigns of those countries wherein they were established, *i. e.* Germany, France, England, and Scotland, with armies in time of war, according to their respective tenures, without being obliged to lay heavy taxes on their whole people, as in modern times. Yet, those feudal lords proved not only troublesome but dangerous, to their sovereigns; for as they had numerous feudatory sub-vassals, they sometimes united against their princes, of which our King John of England, and his son Henry III. had fatal experience. It was from similar considerations, as well as from the gradual increase of the people, that the sovereigns of the above mentioned countries were induced pretty early, more especially in this and the next two centuries, to form a new kind of military power, independent of their ancient vassalage, by granting large immunities to their best towns, which were now beginning to recover themselves from the devastations of the barbarous invaders of the preceding times. Our King Henry II. upon his accession to the throne, in the year 1154, is said to have demolished one thousand one hundred and fifteen castles, which those feudal vassals, under the denomination of Barons, had erected for their defence and safety all over England, during the wars between King Stephen and this King's mother, the Empress Maud, although the Barons re-built their castles in the two following reigns.—Selden's *Jani Anglorum Facies altera*, book ii. chap. 9. This scheme, of forming a new power and revenue out of towns or cities, produced a double advantage to both prince and people: for, while it tended to weaken the feudal tenures, it gave, at the same time, as it were, a beginning to the commerce of those towns; the inhabitants of which agreed to pay an annual rent or fine to the crown, in consideration of their being endowed with sundry privileges, which protected them from the former arbitrary power of the feudal Lords or Barons.

Madox, in his *History of the Exchequer*, chap. x. fixes the commencement of this new constitution, as it may be termed, to this twenty-sixth year of King Henry II. when, next after London, the town of Southampton was the first to whom such new privileges were granted; and we shall hereafter see many other towns receive the like privileges from this King and his two sons and successors; the same immunities were also granted by the Scottish kings to their towns. In Germany, the Emperors had begun this artifice a little sooner. The city of Spire, in the year 1166, purchased the immunity of electing her own magistrates, notwithstanding the opposition of her Bishop. In Italy, partly through the Emperor's favour, and partly also from the Emperor's being employed in wars and disputes elsewhere, some of the cities went much further, by erecting themselves into independent republics; and even began, like the small free states of antient Greece, to enter into confederacies for their mutual safety. In France, Louis, surnamed the Younger, who began his reign in the year 1137, and died in 1180, granted immunities to the towns of his own demesnes, on condition that their inhabitants should, in war, repair armed under the King's standard. He moreover enfranchised great numbers of bondmen, and made them free citizens of those towns, which towns he also privileged to elect their own magistrates, about the year 1138, whereby he obtained of them considerable sums for forming his army.

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About this time, Glass Windows are said to have been first in any kind of common use in England, they had been discovered long-before, but were very scarce in private houses, and ranked even till now as a kind of luxury, and as a mark of great magnificence. Italy had them first, next France, from whence the fashion of using them came into England.

1181 **Stetin**, the capital city of Pomerania, now began, according to Werdenhagen, to be very well peopled by the Saxon Christians, who had driven out the Pagan Slavi. This city was made a member of the Hans-league about the year 1364, and, after various changes of fortune and masters, is at present subject to the King of Prussia, being a large, rich city, of considerable trade, and well frequented by British and other shipping from various parts of Europe.

1182 The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa having taken the city of Lubeck from Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, according to Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, Lib. i. that place has to this day remained a free imperial city. And the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Sclavicum* writes, that this Emperor appointed Lubeck to be the head, or chief, of all the maritime cities of Germany, and that its Consuls or chief Magistrates should for ever after be imperial Counsellors.

We find by Mezerai, that in this year, King Philip Augustus of France, having compassed his park of Bois de Vincennes with a wall, he stocked it with deer, which our King Henry II. of England had sent over to him.

1184 Madox, in his *Baronia Anglica*, cap. xiv. tells us, that in the thirtieth of King Henry II. thirty-three cows and two bulls cost but eight pounds seven shillings—and five hundred sheep cost but twenty-two pounds ten shillings, or about ten pence three farthings per sheep—sixty-six oxen for eighteen pounds three shillings—for fifteen breeding mares two pounds twelve shillings and six pence—for twenty-two hogs, one pound two shillings—and eleven heifers for two pounds fourteen shillings. By Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, four hens were valued at two pence, or an halfpenny each: and a ram at eight pence, being in the proportion of about ten to one in living then compared to now; duly remembering that their silver penny contained thrice as much silver as ours at this day.

1186 Historians think it worth relating, under this year, that the streets of the famous city of Paris were not paved with stone, or, in other words, not paved at all till this period. Many other instances might be produced from historians of what we should, in our age, justly term a great want of elegance in such, and almost all other respects. It is here also to be observed, that wheel carriages at this time were very rare; kings and queens, as well as great lords and ladies, instead of chariots, rode on horseback, so that the streets were not, as in our times, constantly requiring repair: and as commerce was at an exceeding low ebb, excepting that of the Italian free-cities, and the retail trade which was occasioned by courts, chiefly in metropolitan cities, and the local traffic of other large towns, it is no wonder if we find, by many public registers, and more private memoirs, a very great difference between the neatness, conveniences, and elegance of cities and houses of modern times, occasioned by the vast flow of riches introduced by commerce, within the last two centuries, and the age we are now treating of; which difference did not merely consist in one or a few instances, but was extended to every branch, whether of buildings, cloathing, dress, ornaments, furniture, equipages, diet, liquors, travelling, and almost all other articles whatever. Such are the great effects of an extended commerce, navigation, manufactures, &c. compared with the languid times of a more landed interest, when almost the whole property of a great country or kingdom consisted in the then low funds of land rents; and when there was scarcely, except in very few countries

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tries, any medium, or middle rank of men, the clergy excepted, between the landed gentry and the mere slavish peasantry; the former arbitrary and tyrannical, the latter abject, poor, and depreſſed: yet this was the caſe, not only in this century, but with ſome gradual variation for the better, even in the two ſucceeding ones, and even in the fifteenth century itſelf, as will appear in its due order. This remark may, we hope, in ſome degree ſave us the trouble which, otherwiſe, would be needful to be taken in the ſucceeding periods of this work.

1187 The ancient cathedral church of St. Paul's in London being burnt down about this time, a new one on a much larger ſcale was begun, built all on arches or vaults of ſtone, which, ſay our authors, was a wonderful work, before that time unknown to the people of this nation, and now brought in by the French; the ſtones being fetched from Caen in Normandy.

Notwithſtanding what we have juſt remarked of the poverty of this century in general, yet the Grand Chronique de Hollande et Zelande, under this year, obſerves, though perhaps with ſome exaggeration, “ That the town and port of Stavem in Frieſland was now in its “ zenith of riches and commerce; their merchants being ſo opulent, that they gilded the very “ ſeats they ſat on, and the poſts of their houſes.” Yet ſuch is the inſtability of all things on earth, that even before the concluſion of this century, a great bank of ſand was formed in the harbour, which utterly barred ſhips of burden from entering into it, ſo that this once famous emporium, not a little celebrated by the Netherland hiſtorians, fell ſoon to decay, and is at preſent in a mean condition, though once the reſidence of the kings of Frieſland.

While the Genoefe and Piſans, both very powerful at ſea, carried on cruel war againſt each other for a great part of this century, their ſiſter-republic of Venice continued to improve her commerce, and enlarge her dominions, more eſpecially eaſtward, or in the Levant, as already obſerved. Yet, in this year, the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa found means to perſuade the two former republics to ſuſpend their quarrels againſt each other, and to join their forces to the other Chriſtian powers againſt Saladin, the Saracen Prince of Egypt, who had at this time poſſeſſed himſelf of all Judea, with the city of Jeruſalem; ſo that the Chriſtians for a while recovered ſeveral places in the Holy Land, but ſoon loſt them again. Afterwards, the forces of the Genoefe and Piſans were employed by the Emperor Henry VI. ſon and ſuccellor of Frederic Barbaroſſa, in the conqueſt of Sicily from the Norman princes, who had beſtowed great privileges in that iſland on the Venetians, then the great rivals of the other two republics: yet when the Normans were expelled Sicily, the war between Genoa and Piſa broke out afreſh in 1195, and laſted till the year 1212.

1188 The city of Hamburg was, by this time, grown ſo conſiderable in trade and wealth, that, according to Werdenhagen, Vol. I. Part iii. cap. 3, it was able in this year to aſſiſt with money, Adolph earl of Holſtein, who accompanied the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa in his expedition to the Holy Land. In return for which aſſiſtance, he beſtowed great privileges on Hamburg, which he got the Emperor to confirm: ſuch as “ That none ſhould erect any “ caſtle or fort within two miles of that city—that its inhabitants, and their ſhips and mer- “ chandizes, ſhould be free from tolls on the Elbe—that none of its citizens goods ſhould be “ liable to be detained or arreſted in Holſtein,” &c.

1189 At this time, that warlike Prince, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunſwick, was the moſt potent of all the German princes; for, beſide the ancient Saxony, which, excepting Holſtein, and what the Biſhop of Hamburg poſſeſſed, he almoſt entirely enjoyed;

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1189 he was Lord of both Bavarias, and had conquered the countries beyond the Elbe, now named Lawenburg and Mecklenburg, from the Pagan Winitis, into whose country he had transplanted several colonies of Brabanters, Flemings, and Hollanders, after expelling many of the natives. He had married the daughter of Henry II. king of England; and it is here almost needless to remark, that from him is descended the present Royal Family of Great Britain, of the illustrious house of Brunswick-Lunenburg. This Prince returning, in the year 1189, from England, had, during the absence of the German princes in Palestine, made himself master of Lubeck, Staden, and Hamburg; and upon demanding admittance into the then famous city of Bardewic, said to have been the greatest in all Germany, the citizens not only refused it, but, as the German writers say, affronted him in so gross a manner, as to turn their bare posteriors to him from their walls: that Prince hereupon attacked the city, and levelled it to the ground, leaving, however, nine of its churches standing, according to Arnoldus, who continued the historical works of Helmoldus. If credit is to be given to the German authors, Bardewic was built nine hundred and sixty years before the Incarnation, by Bardo, a Saxon, which was two hundred and thirty-five years before Rome, and termed of old *Vicus Bardorum*. Charlemagne made it a Bishop's see, and it became a place of very great commerce. To confirm its pretensions to this high antiquity, Arnoldus also relates, that, in his time, *i. e.* in the former part of the thirteenth century, there were found the following verses, cut on a stone in the ruins of the gate of its cathedral, viz.

“ Abraham dum natus, mox Treviris incipit ortus;
 “ Hinc Annis Bardewic mille, sex X quoque quinque.”

Intimating, “ the city of Treves to have been co-eval with the birth of the Patriarch Abraham, and “ that Bardewic was built one thousand and sixty-five years after Treves;” which surely is no adequate proof that this was the real age of that city, any more than that the other was the right date of the building of Treves. It stood within one mile of Lunenburg northward, which city grew up, according to Lindenbrogius's *Rerum Germanicarum*, &c. Scriptores, from its ruins. Lunenburg is said to have been so named, from a castle where the moon was worshipped, and to have been destroyed by Charlemagne, and not re-built till this period. Bardewic is now an obscure village, consisting only of a castle and some few houses. Hamburg is likewise said to have increased in commerce and magnitude from the ruin of Bardewic, as did also the city of Lubeck.

Upon the return of the Emperor Barbarossa and the Earl of Holstein from the Holy Land, Lubeck and Hamburg were retaken from Henry the Lion; who, for opposing the Emperor, was proscribed and deprived of all his dignities and possessions, Brunswick and Lunenburg only excepted; yet, by the interposition of his father in law, King Henry II. of England, he was restored. The son of this great Prince was crowned Emperor at Rome in the year 1207, by the name of Otho IV.

Under this same year, we find, in Lambecius's *Origines Hamburgenses*, lib. i. a charter of privileges granted to the city of Hamburg by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, which I take to be the very same charter with that mentioned under the preceding year 1188; which Werdnagen, a less accurate author than Lambecius, says, was granted by Adolph, earl of Holstein, and only confirmed by that Emperor; wherein, exclusive of what is already mentioned in that place, it was granted, “ That none but their citizens should be permitted to fish with-

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“ in two miles of their city—that they should have free pasturage for their cattle, to go out in the morning, and return at night—liberty to cut wood for firing—to have two thirds of the fines for short measures of ale, bread, and flesh—and liberty to negotiate money by exchange, &c.” Which last privilege shews, that Hamburg must have been a considerable place of commerce, since bills of exchange, or monies remitted by exchange, were very new at this time in Europe, and were then in use only in the most considerable commercial cities.

All which privileges the Emperor therein declares, “ He grants at the request of his well-beloved, faithful Count Adolph of Schowenburgh, or Holstein, for the benefit of these his citizens :” and which privileges the Count Adolph, in the following year, 1190, confirmed to the said city by another charter, reciting that now granted by the Emperor. From all which it appears, that Hamburg was not then an imperial city, in the proper sense of that description, which is, to be subject to none other lord but the Emperor, or supreme head of the empire; whereas, it is plain, that at this time, Hamburg was subject to the Earls or Counts of Holstein.

This charter is also memorable for shewing the antiquity of the Toll taken of ships passing the Elbe at Staden, therein mentioned; which is also a further proof of the importance, even so early, of the maritime commerce of Hamburg. The toll at Staden is continued to this day.

Lambecius farther observes, that these privileges granted to Hamburg, were often confirmed, and sometimes enlarged; in consequence of which that city has greatly increased in commerce and wealth.

As this year concluded the reign of King Henry II. of England, we must observe, with others before us, that although this King reigned so long as thirty-five years, yet he never once demanded a subsidy or aid from his people; so that the people of that age scarcely knew what a general tax meant; even although he had wars with France, Scotland, and Wales, and had subdued Ireland, beside the expence which his domestic troubles probably put him to: this, however, is elsewhere accounted for in this work, by our kings possessing so great a number of manors, in almost all the counties of England. He is also said, by several historians, to have left in his treasury at his death no less than nine hundred thousand pounds in money, *i. e.* two millions seven hundred thousand pounds of our money; a sum, every thing considered, incredible for that time, when one would think it more than doubtful, whether there was half so much specie in the whole kingdom of England. If therefore it had been true, the bulk of so vast a sum, equal perhaps to more than ten millions now, in the procuring of all necessaries, must have been raised from his large provinces on the continent, *viz.* Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, &c. But the most rational and probable account is, that he left about one hundred thousand marks at his death, equal to two hundred thousand pounds of our money.—(See the year 1135.) Others call the sum nine hundred thousand livres, which might occasion the mistaking the money for pounds sterling. Yet even this seems rather too large a sum for that time, four livres being then equal to one pound sterling, which made two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, or six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds of our modern money. He is also said to have left a very great quantity of plate and jewels.

In those early times, stone and brick buildings were very rare, even in the city of London itself, although very necessary there, where, as yet, there was no nightly watch. To guard

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1189 therefore against thieves, as well as against fire, which last calamity had frequently happened in London, when its houses were generally built of timber, and covered with reeds and straw, it was, in this first year of King Richard I. decreed, in the mayoralty of Fitz-Ailwine, "That thenceforth no houses should be built within the city but of stone, to a certain height, and that they should be covered with slate, or with burnt tile." This, says Howell in his *Londinopolis*, "was the very cause of such stone buildings whereof many have remained until our time, (*i. e.* about the year 1650,) that for gaining of ground they have been taken down; and, in place of some of them, being low, (as but two stories above the ground) many houses of four and five stories high are placed."

London also, about this time, began to have some corporations of trades or handicrafts within it, as the saddlers and others, according to Madox's *Firma Burgi*, and other historians.

After London and York, it seems, at this time, that Winchester must have been a very considerable place: for, in the first year of King Richard I. 1189, he grants them "a charter of privileges, confirming all former ones; and now grants to his said citizens of the merchant guild, that they shall not be obliged to be sued out of their own city—shall be quit of all tolls, lassage," (which was a liberty, says Dr. Brady, to carry their goods up and down in fairs and markets as they pleased,) "and pontage, in all his dominions and sea-ports, as well in England as beyond sea." And, after some other obsolete and almost forgotten privileges herein mentioned, this King concludes his grant in the following remarkable manner, *viz.* "Wherefore we will, and we strictly order, that they and their heirs shall have and hold all the aforesaid privileges, hereditarily, of us and our heirs." In Mr. Madox's *Firma Burgi*, chap. i. sect. ix. we read, That the privileges of Colchester as a community, are also traced back as far as 1189, the first year of King Richard I. who granted the burghesses thereof a *Gilda Mercatoria*.

In the same year, or the next following, according to Dr. Brady, King Richard I. grants a charter, *anno primo regni*, to the city of Lincoln, which was also a considerable place at this time, containing similar immunities to those already granted to Winchester.—And concludes with this material addition, *viz.* "Yielding annually one hundred and eighty pounds by tale, by the hands of the Mayor, (*Prepositus*,) of Lincoln, whom the citizens shall yearly elect out of their own body."

Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, chap. i. sect. ix. tells us, that King Henry II. had before, in this same year, granted a *Gilda Mercatoria* to Wallingford, which, in old times, was a considerable town, and also to Andover, Heltton, Dunwich, and Great Yarmouth.

The city of York must now have been a very considerable place, when we find so many Jews in it as fifteen hundred. The Jews of England were in those times a constant resource for supplying the wants of our kings. And although Richard I. being bent on an expedition to the Holy Land, had left orders that the Jews should not be molested during his absence, because probably he had received a supply from them before he set out; yet such was the bigotry and fury of our people against that wretched nation, infligated too often by the clergy, and by many false, or, at least, very improbable reports of certain execrable and secret practices which they exercised in contempt of Christianity, that they were frequently butchered, and much oftener pillaged and harassed by our people. At this King's coronation, some Jews striving too eagerly to get into the church to see the solemnity, the people fell upon, and murdered several of them.

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In the following year, at Norwich, Stamford, St. Edmund's Bury, Lincoln, and Lynn, the same violences were committed against the Jews. But what was done at York is most extraordinary, viz. According to Drake's History of York, and others, whilst King Richard was in the Holy Land, the populace of York fell upon the Jews of that city, and plundered their houses. Whereupon the richest of them retired into the castle with their effects for safety; which very precaution proved their destruction: For the governor having occasion to go into the city, upon his return, the Jews refused to let him enter the castle, suspecting that he had made some agreement with their enemies in the city for their destruction. This so enraged the sheriff and people, that they besieged the castle. The Jews within it perceiving that certain death would be the consequence of their resistance, took the horrible resolution to set fire to all the towers of the castle, and to cut the throats, first of their wives and children, and then of themselves, which most of them instantly performed. The rest surrendering, in hopes of mercy, were cruelly butchered by the mob.

The Jews of York were, it seems, ~~g~~ot usurers, or dealers in money, as they are generally every where at this day. It is almost needless to remark again, that the word usury in those times, and long after, meant no more than barely the use or interest taken for the loan of money. These people are said, at this time, to have lived in great splendour; so that their wealth was probably their greatest crime.

Even after this period, we find many Jews living at York in great wealth: a sure proof of that city's having had more trade and riches than at present; as Jews very seldom indeed resort but to places of trade and commerce.

We may here observe, what others also have done before us, that, for the five first Kings reigns from the Norman Conquest, *i. e.* from 1066, to 1189, there is very little mentioned by our historians concerning the naval exploits of England: that what fleets or shipping we then had, were principally employed either in conveying those Princes to and from the continent, to their dominions in France, or else in the expeditions to the holy war, unless we except the conquest of Ireland by King Henry II. &c.

In Madox's Hist. Exchequer, chap. x. p. 253. "In this first year of King Richard I. certain preparations for his coronation were, First, A robe for William, son of the Duke of Saxony, twelve shillings and sixpence; for eight hundred and seventy hens, two hundred cups, and one thousand three hundred and fifty scutellis, or platters, four pounds five shillings; and for two thousand plates, and two hundred cups, one pound five shillings and three-pence; two thousand hens to be brought and kept at Westminster, for the King's coronation, and two hundred more cups, eight pounds three shillings and one penny; twelve hundred plates, and five hundred cups, two pounds one shilling and three-pence; nine hundred hens, three pounds fifteen shillings; one thousand nine hundred hens, and bringing them to London, eight pounds ten shillings and one penny; one thousand plates, and two hundred cups, one pound six shillings." The number of hens, dishes, and cups shew, that in those early times, all that held of the King as his vassals, partook of his coronation dinner. The hens cost one penny each of their money, or three-pence of ours; and by the cheapness of the cups and platters, they were probably either of earthen-ware or of wood.

The enthusiastic and romantic frenzy of this and the succeeding age, exciting all the Princes of Christendom to waste the blood and treasure of their subjects, for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the hands of the Saracens, did, in an eminent degree, influence our King Richard

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Richard I. from his first accession to the throne, to expend all the treasure which his father had left behind him, and at least as much more, which he obtained by extortion from his receivers, &c. by selling his demesne lands, the castles to William King of Scotland, the Earldom of Northumberland to the Bishop of Durham, and by sundry other unjustifiable, wild, and extravagant means; so that according to Maimbourgh's History of the Crusades, he was enabled to equip, in the ports of England, Normandy, Brittany, Poictou, and Guienne, one of the finest fleets that had ever before been put to sea. For when he weighed anchor from Messina in Sicily, where he had passed the winter, in the year 1190-1, he had one hundred and fifty great ships, and fifty-three galleys, beside barks, tartans, and other small vessels attending this navy, with ammunitions and provisions. We have here nothing to do with his warlike exploits in Sicily, Cyprus, and Palestine; and shall only just observe, that, by the vast sums employed in this expedition, the treasure of his people was so greatly exhausted, as rendered it extremely difficult, three years after, to raise for his ransom a sum, perhaps considerably less than half the expence of his voyage to Palestine, although the honour of the kingdom was so much concerned in his release.

1190 About this time we first meet with an express mention of the country of Lapland, properly so called, as lying between the bottom of the Gulph of Bothnia and the North Cape, in the frozen ocean. Professor Scheffer of Upsal, in his history of that country says, that Saxo-Grammaticus, who wrote his *Historia Danica* about the year 1190, was the first author who mentioned that country and people as known to the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Finlanders alone: for Lapland was not known to the rest of Europe till within about one hundred and seventy years past. It is indeed a miserable country, in which intense cold and barrenness have jointly fixed their abode to the end of time. Nevertheless, as the wretched inhabitants supply Sweden and Denmark with a considerable quantity of furs, peltry, and fish, and in exchange, for they have no money, take off coarse cloth, tools, tobacco, &c. their forming a correspondence with those adjacent countries, adds some small weight to the scale of the general commerce of the world. It was little above two hundred years ago, that King Gustavus Erickson reduced a great part of that people into some sort of order, and brought them under a regular tribute to Sweden, of so many skins, furs, or pound-weight of fish per head or family. The Kings of Sweden, however, did not, until the latter part of the thirteenth century, begin to think of conquering the Laplanders; being no longer able to endure that a neighbouring people, almost in the heart of the country, and whose possessions extended as far south as the Bay of Bothnia, should not acknowledge subjection to them. Yet, as they imagined a national war against such miserable people would not answer the expence of it, they were at first content that private adventurers should undertake its conquest, and make the most of it for themselves. King Gustavus Adolphus, and his daughter Queen Christina, erected a few churches and schools among the Laplanders, and taught them the use of letters; but their manner of life, as well as their way of correspondence and commerce with Sweden, even to this day, has a near resemblance to the American Indians. For it seems, that no particular man there, unless very lately, has any fixed property of land or farm which he can call his own; but such a clan or tribe, has such a compass of land assigned them by the Swedish governor, bounded by certain rivers, lakes, and mountains, within which compass they may feed their rein-deer, which are their greatest wealth, as well as fish, hunt, &c. The Laplanders, as well by tradition, as by many words in their language, are thought to derive their origin from the Finlanders,

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1190 from whose country they are said either to have been driven out, or else to have exiled themselves in the eleventh century, because they would not embrace Christianity, as the rest of that country had done: so that, by degrees, they wandered so far north as their present inhospitable abode, where most of them remain Pagans to this day. About the year 1280, Magnus II. King of Sweden, is said, by some authors, to have reduced the Laplanders under his obedience, who stretched northward from the Bothnian Gulph; leaving them, however, their own laws, or rather customs, they paying a tribute of skins of beasts, and also fish, which were their only wealth. It was not till the reign of King Charles the IXth of Sweden, that Lapland was found to extend to the North Cape, that King having, in the year 1600, sent two mathematicians on that discovery. He also erected some few Lutheran churches there, since increased to about fourteen or more in number, as also schools to teach their children to read and write. Norway Lapland, to which the North Cape belongs, and which produces great quantities of stockfish, was probably peopled from Norway; and probably that part called Russian Lapland, was planted from those parts of Russia next the White Sea, but at what period of time is not known. Neither of the two countries of Lapland were known to the middle and south parts of Europe, till the English discovered a way to Russia round the North Cape, in the year 1553.

At the North Cape, on the isle of Warda, two leagues from the north-east point of Norway Lapland, there is a castle with a small Danish garrison, and a village of fishermens cottages, named Wardhuys, who are said to live entirely on stockfish, without any bread or beer, but what is brought by English and Dutch shipping, being near the confines of Russian Lapland, in which last named province there is a town called Kola, which has a good haven, lying somewhat south-east from the North Cape, to which port the Hollanders have some trade for salmon, &c. but in Swedish Lapland there are properly no towns, though some geographers include in the limits of their Lapland the towns of Uma, Torno, &c. at the bottom of the Gulph of Bothnia, near which there is said to be a silver mine, and also an iron one. And this is properly all that is necessary to be related of the miserable country of Lapland down to modern times.

Under the year 1097, we have briefly given the rise, motives, &c. of the holy war, in which all Christendom, more or less, interested themselves. It was a very romantic scene to see Emperors, Kings, Princes, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, &c. in armour, every one striving to excel in prowess, splendour, and gallantry; shining in fine equipages, rich banners, armorial cognizances, fine cloathing of gold, silver, velvet, purple, costly tents and pavilions, and many other gay expensive things, exhibiting a spectacle that had never been seen before. Amongst many other effects, it produced three new orders or societies of religious knighthood; as, first, the Templars, founded in the year 1113, for the guarding of pilgrims to and from the holy temple of Jerusalem. Secondly, the Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, founded in 1114, for taking care of the hospital erected at Jerusalem for sick pilgrims, of the origin of which we have made some mention under the year 1096. Thirdly, the Knights Hospitalers of St. Mary of Jerusalem, commonly called the Teutonic Order, or the Marian Knights, or the German Knights of the Cross. "In all which three orders," says Mr. Madox, in his *Baronia Anglica*, "ceremonies of piety and of romance were strangely mixed together. The holy war made a great impression upon the minds of men; it moved them with knightly ardour. Even after it was ended, the lords and knights who had been in it, still retained in their breasts the love of glory and gallantry; which humour produced tilting, tourneying, and jousting to an extravagant degree."

At

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At this time, according to Monsieur Huet's *Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens*, Constantinople still retained a great share of commerce. He quotes Benjamin the Jew of Navarre, who lived about this time, and who tells us, that there were then a great concourse of merchants in it, as well from the north, and from Lombardy and Spain, as from Asia and Egypt, who brought thither the wares of India; and, in this last respect, no city could then compare with Constantinople, excepting Bagdat; which lying nearer to India, carried on a great trade in Indian merchandize, which was conveyed from thence to Constantinople. The Persians and Arabians having brought cloves into the western parts, the Greeks and Latins became very fond of that spice, which was brought up the Persian Gulph and the Euphrates to Bagdat, and from thence to Constantinople, with other eastern commodities.

This year was, however, justly alarming to Constantinople, and terrible to the Crusade: for Syracon and his son Saladin having overturned the Caliphate of the Saracens in Egypt, in the year 1160, as already related, and erected their Soldanship there, the latter, in 1190, invaded Judea, and took Jerusalem from the Christians of the west.

Saladin was the founder of a famous select body of troops in Egypt, formed out of the children of captive Christians, and of Circassian Tartars, giving them the name of Mamalukes, *i. e.* slaves, or rather hired soldiers, though they nevertheless enjoyed great privileges. Yet, in less than one hundred years after, these Mamalukes found means to settle one of their own officers on the throne of Egypt, and thenceforth fixed the future standing elections of Sultans or Soldans to be always out of their own number, for about three centuries after. The Mamaluke government was elective; every Mamaluke, whose number exceeded sixteen thousand, having a vote in the election of their Sultan, of whom there was a succession of sixteen in number, down to the year 1516.

The city of Berne in Switzerland, said to have been now built by Berthold, Duke of Zering, was made a free city by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.

1191

Papal insolence, and lay servility, were now come to so great a pitch, that Pope Celestine III. at the crowning of the Emperor Henry IV. in this year, after he had just put the crown upon his head whilst kneeling, immediately kicked it off with his foot, which the Cardinals present again replaced on that Emperor's head. This was designed to let such abject Princes know, and none but the most despicably abject could have stooped to such an execrable submission, that his Holiness was invested with the sole prerogative of making and unmaking Emperors, as well as all other lesser potentates.

Whilst King Richard I. of England was in Palestine, Earl John, his brother, with the Archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops, earls, and barons, with the citizens of London, met in St. Paul's cathedral, where the city of London had a new charter and community granted to it, *i. e.* says Dr. Brady, to be a corporation. Dr. Brady is doubtful, for which, however, there seems to be no good reason, whether this was not the first community granted to London, or whether they had one before, and that it was dissolved by King Henry II. on account of the constant rebellion of the Londoners against his mother Maud the Empress, and himself. Yet he owns they had a mayor granted to them in the year preceding this. At this time the houses in that city were generally built of wood, and thatched; so to prevent fires, it was now again ordered to be built with stone, and covered with slates. Yet this second order was not punctually observed, nor even long after this time.

King

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1192 King Richard I. of England was, in this year, in so bad a situation in Palestine, that he was forced to patch up a dishonourable peace with Saladin. The Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, and Florentines, being gone away with their fleets, "wisely shrinking themselves out of the collar," says honest Mr. Fuller, in his *Holy War*, "when they found their necks wrung with the hard employment."

1193 That the city of Marseilles, in Provence, has long, and for many centuries prior to this, made a very considerable figure in the commercial world, is undoubtedly true. Monsieur Ruffi, in his pompous folio history of that city, printed in the year 1642, relates, that at this time Marseilles was very powerful in shipping, with which it assisted the Christians in the holy war, and was in return licensed to trade to Tyre, without paying any custom, and to have a commercial consul there. Marseilles had also the same immunities, and for the same reason, in the ports of Sicily.

The story of Richard I. King of England, being treacherously and unjustly detained prisoner by the Duke of Austria, in the year 1193, on his return from the Holy Land, and by him delivered up to the Emperor Henry VI. is so universally known, that it is needless to give any account of it, further than to remark on what we find in the first volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 80, viz. a letter from that King, dated at Hagenau in Germany, where the Imperial Diet was then assembled, to his mother Queen Eleanor, and to the judges of England, earnestly pressing them, "to raise the money for his ransom to the said fordid Emperor, being 70,000 marks of silver;" and urging, "that for this end, all the money of the churches may be borrowed, as also of the barons; assuring them of his grateful remembrance thereof, when ever it should be in his power." Here is not, however, the least mention of the money of merchants or citizens, which shews the poor state of England at this time in point of commerce or wealth. Yet, p. 84, in the form of the agreement with that Emperor, in the same year, "the ransom is said to be one hundred thousand marks of Cologne weight, to be paid at London, when the King was to be released; which, however, was not to be till he shall have given hostages to pay fifty thousand marks more, viz. thirty thousand to the said Emperor, and twenty thousand to his betrayer, Leopold Duke of Austria; of which fifty thousand marks, however, the Emperor promises to release Richard, provided he performs a promise made in relation to Henry Duke of Saxony." In the same volume are also several letters from the Pope to the Duke of Austria, in vain, and perhaps insincerely, exhorting him to restore the money thus extorted from Richard. Some authors make this ransom to be one hundred and forty thousand, others one hundred and seventy thousand marks, some again, one thousand five hundred pounds weight of silver, and others only one hundred thousand marks, as before. But this record in the *Fœdera* is so absolutely authentic, that whatever account differs from it, cannot deserve the least credibility. This difference, however, may proceed from the then different weight of a mark in Germany and in England; for marks were not then real coins, but a certain denomination of weight or quantity of silver, as at this day in England, and most other nations. Arnoldus, Abbot of Lubeck, who continued the work of Helmoldus, lib. iii. says, that when in January 1194, King Richard was discharged from his imprisonment, his ransom was with difficulty raised throughout England; so, that even the gold and silver cups, &c. made use of in the holy Eucharist, were melted down for that purpose; and that over and above, a tax was laid on all persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, of the fourth part of their income for one year, and twenty shillings on every knight's fee; also one year's wool borrowed of the Cisterians, and the money raised and given by the clergy of his dominions

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1193 dominions in France. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, Chap. xv. gives all the particular methods of raising it by scutage, hydage, carucage, gifts, &c. King William of Scotland generously gave two thousand marks towards this ransom, and the city of London gave one thousand marks; which ransom, according to Rapin and others was really one hundred and fifty thousand marks, *i. e.* three hundred thousand pounds of our money; which, as he justly observes, was no inconsiderable sum (Fuller calls it a vast sum) in those days. The avaricious Emperor had one hundred thousand marks, and the Duke of Austria fifty thousand of it. The great difficulty of raising it at this time, was much heightened by Richard and his numerous followers having, in a great measure, drained England of its money, for the support of his expeditions in the Holy Land. Fuller, in his Holy War, speaking of their being forced to sell all their church plate for King Richard's ransom, adds, "That for some hundreds of years after, they were forced to use chalices of latten, or brass, in their churches in England." So little was there of riches in those times, compared to our days. Yet it is extremely difficult to reconcile all this with what Walter of Coventry, and Roger Hoveden say, That Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, made it appear, that in the two following years this King raised seven hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-two pounds, *i. e.* three hundred and seventy-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds each year, or one million one hundred and twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight pounds of our money, though it is allowed to have been a sum very grievous. This improbable account merits, indeed, but little credit.

John earl of Morton and Lancaster, afterwards King John, now granted to his burgeses of Lancaster, all the privileges which he had granted to his burgeses of Bristol in the year 1165; *i. e.* to be a free burgh, and free burgeses, &c. as we have related under that year. Preston in Lancashire, says Dr. Brady, in his Treatise of Burghs, had, before this period, been made a burgh by King Henry II. and had new privileges granted to it by King John.

1194 Upon the return of Richard from his captivity, he held a Parliament at Nottingham; whither William the Lion, king of Scotland, came, says Dr. Drake, in his *Historia Anglo-Scotica*, London 1703, 8vo. p. 23. "and demanded the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster, as his predecessors had enjoyed the same. Richard put him off, for the present, with fair words. Yet, by advice of his council, he granted William, by charter, the following honours and benefits for him and his successors, viz. "That whenever a King of Scotland was to be summoned to the court of England, to do homage for the lands he held in England, he should be, at the river Tweed, received by the Bishop of Durham and the Sheriff of Northumberland, and they should conduct him to the river Tees, where the Archbishop and Sheriff of York should receive him; and so in like sort the Bishops and Sheriffs of the other shires, till he arrived at Court. On his journey he had one hundred shillings, fifteen pound of our money, per day allowed him for charges: at Court thirty shillings per day; twelve wastels and twelve sunnels of the King's," two sorts of fine bread in use then, "four quarts of the King's best wine, and six quarts of ordinary wine; two pound weight of pepper, and four pound weight of cinnamon; four wax lights; forty great long perches of the King's best candles, and twenty-four of other ordinary ones. And on his return he was to be conducted as before, and with the same allowances."

Whilst

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1194 Whilst the Kings of Scotland enjoyed their lands in England, they found it their interest, once generally in every King's reign, to perform this homage; but when they were deprived of their lands, they paid it no more.

It was on the return of King Richard from his captivity in Germany, that the famous Marine Laws of Oleron, an island on the coast of Aquitaine, then possessed by our Kings, and then likewise eminent for shipping and maritime affairs, were first promulgated by him. We do, indeed, find in the first volume of the second edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 36. a charter, or declaration of the twentieth year of his father, King Henry II. in 1174, whereby that King directs, 1st, "That if any ship be wrecked on the coasts either of England, Poictou, Gascony, or the isle of Oleron, wherein any man shall be found and set on shore alive; such ship, with its lading, shall remain to its proper owners, without being deemed a wreck.— 2dly, And if even only any living beast be found in the ship, the King's officers shall deliver over the ship and cargo to four responsible persons, in trust for the proprietors, who may claim the same within three months. But, 3dly, If neither human creature nor beast be found alive therein, then it is the King's wreck, and belongs to him alone." And this seems to have paved the way for the famous sea laws of Oleron, promulgated as above, containing forty-seven heads or chapters, as printed in Dr. Godolphin's *View of the Admiralty Jurisdiction*, London 1685, and various other authors on maritime affairs. Several of those heads are now of no use nor authority, the subject matter of them being obsolete; but the rest are very good and equitable rules for owners of ships, merchants, masters, and mariners, in all maritime affairs, and have for that reason due credit and authority in all courts where Admiralty affairs are cognizable. For the maritime laws of Rhodes, which, during the Roman empire, were of the greatest authority, being by this time become obsolete, on account of the different usages of merchants, mariners, &c. from what they were in ancient times, when commerce was almost entirely confined to the Mediterranean Sea, it was now therefore become necessary to establish new rules or laws suited to the present times, when commerce and navigation began to be diffused into the western and northern parts of Europe. Camden, however, thinks they were not universally promulgated till considerably later, viz. in or about the year 1266, so as to be universally received by all nations without the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas.

It was somewhat later that the merchants of Wisbuy framed their so much celebrated sea-laws, which soon grew famous in the next century. They became the strict rule for deciding all maritime controversies not only by the Hanseatic cities, but by all nations bordering on both sides of the Baltic Sea; and they continue to be the general maritime laws of those nations to this day. The sea laws of the isle of Rhodes, as Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, Lib. i. Cap. 30, well observes, were both the first in esteem, and the earliest known among the Ancients: but of those laws we know nothing at this time, but what is contained in certain fragments handed down to us, together with the titles of the chapters, and what can be collected from particular edicts of the Emperors Tiberius, Adrian, Antoninus, Pertinax, and Septimius-Severus, scattered up and down the civil law books.

In this year, the Emperor Henry VI. of the house of Swabia, got possession of Naples and Sicily, having driven out the Normans of France, who had been settled there near two hundred years in great prosperity and credit.

Portsmouth must have been a town and port of some account, even in this century; as we find a charter of King Richard I, dated the fifth year of his reign, in Dr. Brady's appendix to

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his Titatise on Burghis, wherein, after declaring, " That he retains in his own hands his town of Portesmuë, with all that belongs to it; he establishes therein an annual fair for fifteen days, to which all the people of England, Normandy, Poictou, Wales, Scotland, and all other either his own or foreign people, may freely resort and enjoy all the privileges they do at the fairs of Winchester, Hoiland, or elsewhere in his dominions. His said burgesses of Portesmuë shall also have a weekly market, with all the immunities, &c. which his citizens of Winchester and Oxford, or elsewhere enjoy. Also a freedom from all tolls, pontage, passage, stallage, &c. and freedom from suit and service at hundred and county courts, &c." This seems to be the first charter granted to Portsmouth; wherein it is to be observed there is no mention of a merchant-guild: and by the King's saying he retained the town in his own hands, it is probable there was no fixed fee-farm rent paid as yet by that town; and that the King's officers, as in many other towns, made the most of the rents of houses, and of other duties to the crown; neither does it appear to have been at this time a corporation.

- 1196 According to Meursius's *Historia Danica*, Amsterdam 1638, p. 8. of Lib. i. and other Danish historians, Canute V. king of Denmark, must have been a very potent prince in the year 1196, commanding and possessing almost all the south coasts of the Baltic, along the German, Prussian, and Livonian Shores.

The Pomeranians having revolted in the course of this year, he sent against them a navy of six hundred and seventy ships, carrying about eighty-two thousand men, and having taken the cities of Wolgast and Stetin, he repaired their fortifications, and placed strong garrisons in them.

- 1197 So powerful was Canute in shipping, that Speed, in his *History of Great Britain*, p. 480. says, that King Philip Augustus of France, in 1197, married that King's sister, purposely to obtain the use of the Danish fleet against England.

Corn was in this year so scarce in England, says Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, that a quarter of wheat was sold for eighteen shillings and eight pence, *i. e.* of our money two pounds sixteen shillings, partly proceeding from unkind seasons, but probably much more from improvident and ignorant management of the farmers, and the knavery of corn-jobbers.

We find in Selden's *England's Epinomis*, amongst the *Capitula Placitorum Coronæ* of King Richard I. a plain proof that broad cloth was then made in England, viz. Cap. xxvii. "*Lanci panni, ubicunque fiunt, fiant de eadem latitudine; scil. de duabus ulnis intra listos, et ejusdem bonitatis in media et in lateribus;*" *i. e.* "woollen cloth, wherever it be made, shall be all of one breadth, viz. of two ells within the lists, and of the same goodness in the middle as on the edges." For it will hardly be supposed that King Richard would, or could, prescribe rules of this kind to all foreign nations in their making of cloth. Therein also we find directions touching the sale of red and black cloths.

- 1198 Madox, in his *History of the Exchequer*, Cap. xxiii. p. 643, relates that "Hugh de Bosco, Sheriff of Hanteshire, stocked the King's lands of Mienes with twelve oxen, price of each ox three shillings, and with one hundred sheep, at four-pence each sheep. 9 Richard I." As silver coins were then thrice the weight of ours, the oxen were nine shillings each, and the sheep one shilling of our money. Above twenty times as cheap as in our days.

- 1199 Notwithstanding all the faults, too justly it is to be feared, charged on King John, he certainly had some right notions for the advancement and prosperity of his towns and people in

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1199 in several respects. We find him, in this very first year of his reign, 1199, beginning the good purpose, as a king, which he had before put in practice in his brother's reign, and which he further increased in the course of his own, notwithstanding his numerous misfortunes: this was the erecting of his demesne-towns into free burghs, which prepared the way for the gradual introduction of commerce into his kingdom. For, whereas till now, the King's collectors laid on and levied on towns, sundry tolls, taxes, customs, &c. of various kinds and names:

I. Instead thereof, those burghs, now made free, were to pay one annual sum only for each respective town or burgh, which was called the fee-farm rent of such respective burgh. That fee-farm rent, without doubt, bore some near proportion to the total amount of those duties which till now were wont to be levied, though always somewhat less than the total of them, according to Mr. Madox's *Firma Burgi*, Dr. Brady's *Treatise of Burghs*, &c. So that this King obtained the advantage of reducing his revenue, arising from his towns, to an absolute certainty, as the said annual fee-farm rent was the debt of, and raised by the community or corporation, by way of assessment on all.

II. Such town had now also a *Gilda-Mercatoria*, or Merchant-Guild, bestowed on it; i. e. a mercantile fraternity or society.

III. Whereas, before this time, the crown always appointed a chief officer who ruled them, sometimes arbitrarily enough, and raised the several taxes, King John gave the townsmen the privilege of annually electing the chief officer or ruler of their town out of their own body. From which privilege arose the present annual magistracy of corporations. "King John," says Speed, p. 506, "was either the first or the chiefest who appointed those noble forms of civil government in London, and most cities and corporate towns of England; endowing them also with their greatest franchises." So likewise says Camden, Rapin, &c.

IV. When this freedom was granted by the royal charter, the townsmen were freed from tolls in harbours, and pontage, or a toll for passing over bridges, &c.

V. Till now, they could not marry their own children to whom and where they pleased, without the King's licence, says Brady, nor could widows marry themselves: neither could the townsmen either give or sell the lands they had purchased without such licence, until this new freedom. Which last article resembles, or is probably the very same as, the Burgens Dominici, i. e. *Demesne-Burgesses*, under our Saxon ancestors before the Norman conquest, who, in every city and town, London perhaps not then excepted, had either the King, or some great Lord, for their patrons or protectors.

VI. Lastly, there were some other peculiar privileges bestowed on particular favourite places, as London and the Cinque-Ports, which were not communicated to the rest, because the inhabitants of those places were always obliged to attend our Kings with their shipping for a limited time, at their own charges, as will be more fully seen hereafter.

Dunwich in Suffolk was one of the towns which had this freedom now conferred on it, and among other clauses in their charter, there is the following one, viz. *Concessimus etiam eis Hanse et Gildam Mercatoriam*; i. e. we grant them a Hanse, or the liberty to be a society or corporation, and a merchant-guild. And here we cannot help remarking, that even the learned Lambecius, already quoted under the year 1169, not being acquainted with our ancient records, is a little mistaken in saying, That the first time we meet with the word *Hanse* for a society, is in the charter granted by our King Henry III. to the merchants of Hamburg, or of the steelyard residing at London, as will be more fully seen in the next century.

Dunwich

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Dunwich was probably a very considerable town in those times, since the annual fee farm rent of it was now fixed at one hundred and twenty pounds, a considerable sum then; and also one mark of silver, and twenty-four thousand herrings yearly. Moreover, for the free privileges now bestowed on them, the inhabitants made a present to King John, in this same year, of three hundred marks of silver, or six hundred pounds of our money, ten falcons, and five giralcons. And the Dunwich men's privileges being, for some reason, afterwards suspended, they presented King John, six years after, with one hundred marks more to have them restored. They likewise gave that King two hundred marks more, and five thousand eels, for having Wreck and Lagan added to their charter. So that Dunwich was then a place of great naval trade for those times, its fee-farm rent being, according to Dr. Brady on Burghs, almost twice as much as that of any or most other burghs.

The earliest mention we find of a certain yearly allowance of ten per cent. for the usury or interest of money, in the English History, is in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 17. in this tenth and last year of King Richard I. wherein mention is made of a mortgage of land for securing one hundred marks to a Jew, viz. "*pro quibus, ego Ric. de Sandford reddam ei (Sciz. " Benedicte Pernaz) singulis annis X Marcas de Lucro, quam diu tenuero prenominate C. Marcas.*" Which usual rate of interest in England, held till the reign of King Henry VIII. when what had been only by custom, was then confirmed by law; though that now called custom, was till then a very uncertain one, the Jews of those times frequently taking a larger interest.

To York city King John now grants his charter, confirming all their former liberties, laws, and customs; their merchant guild, and their hanfes, (*hanfus suas,*) in England and Normandy, and their lastage, along the coast of the sea, as they enjoyed them in his father's and brother's time. They were also to be quit of all tolls, &c. throughout England, Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, and Aquitaine: all which shews that York must then have been a place of foreign trade. For which privileges, it is to be supposed that the city of York, being before this time a corporation, paid considerably to the King, as we shall see London did in this same year. Mr. Drake, in his History of York City, intimates, that King John, by a subsequent charter, fixed its fee-farm rent at one hundred and sixty pounds per annum. It would be both tedious and superfluous to give our readers a recital of all the confirmations of the privileges granted from time to time by our Kings, to this and other cities and towns.

From the city of London King John, in this year, got, or rather in the language of some historians, extorted, no less than three thousand marks, i. e. six thousand pounds of our money, for the renewal of their charter of liberties. A great sum, undoubtedly, in those days; wherefore London, even then, must have been a wealthy place. This charter recites all their former ones, viz. those from King Henry Ist and IId, and King Richard I. but none further back; which shews, as Dr. Brady well observes, that William the Conqueror's short grant of privileges, under the year 1086, was rather deemed a brief declaration of the rights which the Londoners had enjoyed under their Saxon Kings before the conquest, than as a new charter. Under these four Kings the charters to London have all the forms of such solemn deeds, and are generally much the same in substance; except that, in King Henry IId's charter, that city had a confirmation of King Henry Ist's, being a grant of the fee-farm of the county of Middlesex, for which they paid three hundred pounds per annum, or nine hundred pounds of our coin, and from which grant the Sheriffs of the city of London, to this day, are also Sheriffs of Middlesex. In those times, and long after, the sheriffs of counties were officers

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1199 officers of great trust and importance, being the receivers of all the crown revenue in their respective counties.

The substance of those charters to London, which have been often published, consisted
 " In freedom from tolls and duties of various kinds, that are now obsolete. That the citizens should not be sued for debts, &c. without their own city. Licence for them to hunt
 " in Middlesex, Essex, and Surry. No stranger shall have or take a lodging or habitation
 " within the walls or liberties of the city by force, nor by order of the King's Marshal,
 " &c."

Whoever has the curiosity to peruse those charters in the original Latin, may consult Dr. Brady's Appendix to his Treatise of Burghs, and other collections of the London charters and privileges; and will but too plainly see how precarious our liberties were under the first Norman kings.

Staveren in Friesland, as we have partly remarked under the year 1187, was, in old times a rich, large, and potent city, having a great maritime commerce. It is said the people of Staveren were the first of these western parts that sailed through the Sound into the Baltic Sea; upon which account the Danish kings of those times bestowed certain privileges on them, by which they became a most flourishing emporium. In this prosperous state it continued, says Werdenhagen, to the year 1199; from which time, partly through luxury and pride, and partly by the inundations of the Zuyder Zee, which has washed away a great part of it, it has gradually decayed, and is at this time a mean inconsiderable town.

The city of Norwich, in this same year, which was the first of King John, with London, York, &c. had a new charter, containing " all the liberties, free customs, usages, &c. which
 " the city of London now has, or at any time had," and therefore needless to be here repeated,—
 " the said citizens of Norwich rendering or paying for the same one hundred and
 " eighty pounds yearly, of white money, at our Exchequer, by the hands of the Mayor (Prepositus) of that city; which chief officer they shall annually elect from among their own
 " number, being such a one as may be proper for us," i. e. for collecting the said fee-farm rent of one hundred and eight pounds per annum, " and for them." This sufficiently shews Norwich to have been at that time a considerable place.

King John, in this first year of his reign, ordained, that a ton of Poictou wine should be sold for no more than one pound, and of Anjou wine, for one pound four shillings; and no sort of French wine at above one pound five shillings—unless some very good at one pound six shillings and eight-pence per ton. *Chronicon Preciosum*.

1200 The Germans of Bremen, &c. had seated themselves so strongly in Livonia, that they were able to build a wall round their newly erected city of Riga, which, from its happy situation for commerce, soon grew very considerable in wealth and strength; and becoming a powerful shelter for the Christians against the Pagan inhabitants, it was soon after made an archbishoprick. Next to Dantzick and the now imperial city of Petersburg, Riga has been long the greatest emporium of this coast.

In this year King John made the men of Hartlepoole, in the bishoprick of Durham, free burgesses, with the same liberties, &c. as his burgesses of Newcastle upon Tyne had; but there is no mention of tolls, merchant-guild, &c. " From these instances," says Dr. Brady, " we make a more than probable conjecture, that all free burghs had their beginning from
 " charter; which charter was granted as well for the advantage of the King, Earl, or other
 " great man, Lord of the Burgh, as for the profit of the burgesses themselves."

Several

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1200

Several authors think, that in or about this year was discovered the use of the magnet or load-stone for making iron to point constantly to the north pole, *i. e.* the use of the mariners-compas; and some think that it was of French invention, because first mentioned by one Guyot of Provence, a French poet near this time, who calls it *marineta*: this is Gassendi's conjecture; and also because the north point is by all nations marked on their compasses by a fleur-de-lis, the arms of France. Monsieur Huet, bishop of Avranches, in his tenth chapter of *The Commerce of the Ancients*, is likewise of this opinion; and that although Marcopolo of Venice had travelled as far East as Cathai, or China, and had there learned the knowledge of the compass; yet Guyot mentions the compass to have been in use amongst the French pilots above forty years before Marcopolo's time. Of which subject more will be said hereafter.

About this time many medicinal simples, and other drugs, are said to have been first brought into the western parts of Europe from the East, by means of some people who had been in the Holy-War.

According to Tallent's chronological tables, surnames first began to be in use in Europe about this time; though possibly somewhat later than this period amongst the common people in England. Yet it is certain that the Normans at the conquest brought surnames of their own into England with them.

Sir James Ware, in his ninth chapter of the *Antiquities of Ireland*, takes notice "That some observe, that about the year 1000, surnames began to be fixed in France, England, and Scotland, as well as in Ireland; first indeed among the nobility, and, by degrees, amongst the lower sort."

We may here in general remark, from the German, Danish, and Swedish writers, that many, or most part, of the towns, at present any way considerable, at the north end of Germany and of Poland, as also some in Denmark and Sweden on the Baltic Shores, were either originally founded, or at least rose into consideration in this twelfth century. Copenhagen, Stockholm, Dantzick, Lubeck, Riga, Rostock, Königsberg, Stetin, and Wismar, were all founded in this century.

And in the thirteenth century, in Holstein were founded Kiel, Itzehoe, and Tondern; and in Jutland, Flensburg, and Hadersleben; and several other towns in those parts, at a still later period.

We shall close this century with remarking, from the judicious Brandt's *History of the Reformation*, in and about the Low Countries, vol. i. that in the eleventh and twelfth, and even in some later centuries, "The clergy had almost exhausted the laity by all kinds of devices to satisfy their own insatiable desires, but chiefly by establishing new orders of monks; so that between the year 1100 and 1200, there were founded, in the Netherlands only, sixty-one abbeys richly endowed. Whole towns and villages have sprung up from such monasteries and their accessions, as many names thereof testify; and what the clergy got, not only the common people, but also the lords and princes lost.

"For the ecclesiastical estates paid neither scot nor lot. This was very prejudicial to the public. Many of the clergy turned merchants; which was so much the more prejudicial to the common people, inasmuch as they, being tax-free, were able to undersell them. The commonalty thereupon complained grievously that the clergy abused to secular purposes the privileges granted them, to enable them the better to mind their spiritual affairs, and so took the bread out of the mouths of those who helped to feed them. Thus were the monasteries

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1199 “steries turned into shops and warehouses, and the mansions of secular priests into inns and
 “tap-houses. Some towns opposed such practices by sharp edicts; and Duke Philip, so late
 “as 1445, found himself obliged again to provide against the clergy’s inheriting or purchasing
 “immovicable goods; whose remarkable edict runs thus:

“That there being founded in our dominions of Holland and Zealand, in the space of
 “a few years, so great a number of cloisters of monks and nuns as are by much too many for
 “the extent of our said dominions, which are also daily increasing in number: And whereas in
 “those convents of both sexes, almost all trades and handicrafts are carried on; and although
 “they be ordained and gifted persons, or should be such, yet have they hitherto concerned
 “themselves with the estates and inheritances of their ancestors: so that unless timely care be
 “taken, they are like to get into their hands all the lands and inheritances, whereby we and
 “our successors shall lose our services, and our poor subjects their trades and employments.
 “For these reasons, we have ordained, that henceforth no ecclesiastic shall take or receive any
 “inheritances of their ancestors, relations, or friends, &c.”

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Succession of PRINCES in this Century.

<i>Emperors of the West.</i>	<i>Kings of England.</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>	<i>Kings of Castile.</i>
OTHO of Brunf- } wick, and PHI- } 1207	JOHN, to 1216 HENRY III. to 1272 EDWARD I. to 1300 and beyond.	PHILIP II. Au- } 1223 gustus, to LOUIS VIII. to 1226 St. LOUIS IX. to 1270 PHILIP III. to 1285 PHILIP IV. to 1300 and beyond.	ALPHONSO } 1214 IX. to HENRY I. to 1217 FERDINAND } 1252 III. to ALPHONSO } 1284 X. to SANCHO IV. to 1295 FERDINAND } 1300 IV. to and beyond.
OTHO V. to 1211 FREDERIC II. to 1250 CONRADE IV. to 1254 WILLIAM E. } of Holland, } 1256 &c. to Interregnum, to 1273 RODOLPH I. } Count of Haps- } 1290 burg, to ADOLPH, C. of } 1296 Nassau, to ALBERT I. to 1300 and beyond.	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i> WILLIAM, } furnamed the } 1214 Lion, to ALEXANDER } 1249 II. to ALEXANDER } 1285 III. to Interregnum, to 1291 JOHN BALIOL, to 1300 and beyond.	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i> CANUTE V. to 1202 WALDEMAR } II. to ERIC V. to 1250 ABEL, to 1252 CHRISTO- } 1259 PHER I. to ERIC VI. to 1287 ERIC VII. to 1300 and beyond.	

THE CHARACTER OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

This century, notwithstanding its darkness in point of religion and learning, abounds with great and very interesting events in several parts of Europe. Although, agreeable to our original purpose, the affairs of the Greek empire come not properly under our direct cognizance, yet who can avoid remarking its sad state, in having, in this century, had two great and signal revolutions in the space of but fifty-seven years; the first, in being conquered by the Latins, in the year 1204, as the western Christians were then called; and the second, in being re-conquered in the year 1261 by the Greeks.

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1200

The Latins, however, by being so well acquainted with Greece and Asia, must have introduced, as we know in part they did, various articles of their manufactures and productions to be naturalized in the west.

Genoa, throughout this century, shone forth in her meridian glory, being the greatest maritime power then on earth, so as to strike terror into all the neighbouring states. Even Venice, great as she was now become, was eclipsed by Genoa, which, towards the conclusion of this century, had reduced the republic of Pisa, till then also powerful at sea, to the lowest ebb of fortune, never again to rise to greatness, and soon to lose her independence.

The virtue of Venice supported her through all difficulties, and gradually enabled her to maintain and increase her commerce and manufactures. In the mean time, a new maritime power of a singular contexture is growing up, to strike terror from a far distant part of Europe; the mercantile Hanseatic Confederacy already overawing monarchy itself in Norway. In those northern parts, Denmark still appears formidable by its sudden conquests on the south shores of the Baltic; yet she soon loses all again. By the vast woollen, as well as linen manufactures of the provinces of Flanders and Brabant, they acquire immense wealth; their ports are crowded with mercantile shipping, both of their own and most other nations. By the long interregnum of the German empire, several Italian cities and states find the means of strengthening their liberty and independence, and are, consequently, the more enabled to pursue their commerce. Early in this century, the Emperors begin to infranchise several German cities; whereupon those cities found it necessary to enter into a confederacy for their own mutual defence against the tyrannical lords of castles, &c. whilst the monarchs of France still content themselves with the inland provinces of that large and fine country, without commerce, manufactures, sea-ports, or shipping.

In England, the foundations of liberty are more deeply laid in the ever-famous *Magna Charta*: And although the German merchants of the Steel-yard still engrossed her commerce, and had additional liberties and immunities bestowed on them by our Kings; yet commercial correspondencies and treaties began in this century to be more frequent; and, about the middle of it, a society of our own nation first commences a correspondence with the Netherlands, as real English merchants.

By two several statutes, foreign merchants resorting to England, are more assured of freedom and safety than in former times. The citizens and burgesses of England are now first made a part of the legislature; a sure presage of the future increase of national commerce and wealth. England is further secured and strengthened by the policy of Edward I. in annexing Wales to it: and much happier had it been for both the Britannic kingdoms, had she been now equally successful in the uniting of Scotland to her.

New funds or materials for commerce are gradually springing up in different parts of Europe, new maritime cities founded, and money becoming, by degrees, more plentiful: yet notwithstanding the finery and gaiety among the Baronage, introduced by the holy war, which ended almost with the close of this century, the wounds of Europe, by the vast loss of both men and wealth in its romantic expeditions, were now, and long after, sorely felt.

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1201

To the beginning of this century, the republic of Pisa was very potent as a naval power, so as even to pretend to the sole sovereignty of her neighbouring seas; and insisted that her sister Genoa should abstain from commerce at sea, or at least should navigate those seas unarmed; threatening them even with the loss of hands and ears for non-compliance. But lofty Genoa soon exerted herself so much with a powerful navy, as in the end proved too hard for the Pisans, with whom she scarcely ever after had a firm peace, until, in the end, she had utterly ruined the boasted maritime power of the latter.

We have now the most undoubted authority for ascertaining the fixed value of a mark English at the same rate as at present, viz. thirteen shillings and four-pence. It is in the first volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 124, where King John grants a dowry of one thousand marks yearly, *i. e.* two thousand pounds of our money, to the Queen-Dowager Berengaria, the widow of King Richard I. This was the more necessary to be remarked in this place, because some authors have been in doubt concerning the real ancient value of a mark, which never was an English coin, but merely a denomination, or determined quantity of silver bullion by weight, as it is at this day in most foreign countries.

In this year, says Werdenhagen, on the authority of Bertius, a German historian, the city of Cologne entered into the league of the Hans-towns.

Favine, in his *Theatre of Honour*, &c. observes, under this year, that when the barons of France, in the reign of Philip Augustus, undertook the conquest of Constantinople from the Greek Emperors, they were forced to ship themselves thither from Venice. "It was not," says this author, "then known or understood in France what benefit redounded to a nation from maritime ports and naval commerce; for our monarchs contenting themselves with their own demesnes, and having no foreign enemies to quarrel with, they had nothing to do upon the seas." A very wretched excuse for their supineness. But the real reason was, that all the sea-ports of the ocean, from Flanders to Gascony, were in the power of the great vassals, viz. the Count of Flanders, the Count of Vermandois, for Picardy, and the Kings of England, as Dukes of Normandy, the Dukes of Bretagne for that province, the Kings of England again for Poictou and Guienne, and the Counts of Toulouse and Provence held all the ports of the Mediterranean; so that the French Kings, in these times, were properly possessed of nothing but an inland country.

According to Louis Guicciardini's *Description of the Low Countries*, printed at Antwerp in 1582, the city of Antwerp was now first walled round; from which time, he thinks, that both gold and silver were coined in that city.

At this time King John grants "to his beloved and faithful William Briwer, and his heirs, that Bridgewater shall be a free town, and have a free market, and an annual fair, to hold eight days, with tolls, &c. And that his (Briwer's) burgeses should be free burgeses, and quit of tolls, &c. enjoying all the liberties and free usages of any town belonging to the King, London excepted."

The same year King John created Helfton in Cornwall, which was a royal demesne, into a free burgh, with a merchant guild, and freedom from tolls, with all the other privileges which his burgeses of the Castle of Launceston enjoyed in the time of his father King Henry II. "Yet so, as none should enjoy those benefits but burgeses resident in Helfton." This last clause seems peculiar to this town.

Ever since the overthrow of the western Roman empire, the government of most countries in Europe had consisted of the prince and baronage, or landed gentry, before cities and towns

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1201 grew up to any considerable greatness, by means of commerce and manufactures: Yet the power of those barons now began to be regarded with a very jealous eye by their princes, both in England and in foreign parts. Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, observes, that the ancient Earls of Holland were so jealous of the growing power of those landed gentry, that they frequently demolished many of their castles: and that the Earls, by way of overawing those gentry, did, at various times, and more especially from the beginning of this century, build several cities in Holland, bestowing various immunities on the people who should inhabit them. Those Earls, it is true, were averse to the citizens erecting of walls and gates to their cities, for the same reason as they disliked the barons castles; yet, in process of time, many of those cities, by presents of money to their Earls, obtained leave to fortify the same, and thereby became gradually possessed of power and riches; so that they raised great jealousy in their Earls, who actually destroyed some, and pulled down the gates of others of them.

We have related, in the preceding century, how chymistry was first brought into Europe by the African Moors; who, whilst their countrymen held Spain, kept an intimate correspondence with that country. The Moors of Spain having before learned the noble and beneficial sciences of astronomy and geography from those of Barbary, began now to cultivate them considerably; so that they were gradually communicated to other parts of Europe, where, through the irruptions of the barbarians, those arts had been utterly lost.

When the Saracens first ravished Egypt from the Greek empire in the seventh century, they had even then among them some favourers of the liberal arts, and particularly of astronomy; by which means they got translated out of Greek into Arabic, many authors on those subjects. From Egypt those arts were transplanted along the northern African shores, and from thence into Spain. Yet it was not till the year of our Lord 1230, that the Emperor Frederic II. got the works of Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandria, to be translated from Greek into Latin: and soon after this period, other princes and great men became encouragers of astronomy and geography.

In this year Hedon, or Heydon, (at present a parliament town) in Yorkshire, was made a free burgh by King John, being the second year of his reign, by granting to Baldwin Earl of Albemarle, and his Countess, and to their heirs, the free burghage of that town in fee and inheritance; so as their burghesses of Hedon might hold freely, &c. as his (the King's) burghesses of York and Lincoln, with such customs and liberties as his father, King Henry II. granted it to William Earl of Albemarle by his charter: so that this is but a confirmation of the former charter.

1202 By Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, it appears, that wheat became so dear, by continual rains, in the year 1202, as to be sold for above twelve shillings the quarter, or one pound sixteen shillings of our money; and, on account of very hard frosts, was at the same price in the year 1205. This dearth gives us no rule to adjust the proportion of the rate of living then, to that of our own times. But if, as under the year 1216, the mean price of wheat was three shillings and ninepence, *i. e.* eleven shillings and threepence of our money, per quarter, or that it was rather three shillings per quarter, which was equal to nine shillings of our money, then the rate of living must have been five to one compared with our days: this calculation, however, cannot be exact, unless the rates of all other necessaries could also be ascertained; although wheat, of any one article of common necessaries, must be acknowledged to be the best guide in this case.

In

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1203 In the first volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 133, we have an authentic testimony of the antiquity of that commerce which the city of Cologne carried on with England, even before the general Hanseatic Confederacy had any dealings with us. We find King John now writing to the magistrates of Cologne a very respectful letter of thanks "for the honours, benefit, and assistance which they had bestowed on his nephew Otho, King of the Romans," afterwards the Emperor Otho IV. "hoping for their further aid to enable Otho to arrive at the highest pitch of honour," the Imperial dignity. And, in return for what they had done, King John declares, "he takes all the citizens of Cologne, with their goods and possessions," meaning in England, "under his protection; granting them free ingress and egress through all his dominions with their merchandize; paying the due and ancient customs," says he, "agreed on and consented to by your ancestors and yourselves."

In this year, war being renewed between Genoa and Pisa, upon the ground of their old quarrels, the Pisans surprised Syracuse in Sicily, which the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa had given to the Genoese for their services to him against Tancred: but the Genoese retook it in this same year by a formal siege.

The conquest of Constantinople, and the rest of the Greek empire, at this time by the Latins, proved a great harvest and increase to the Venetian state, every one plucking a feather out of that declining Imperial eagle's wings. Baldwin Earl of Flanders, coming with his attendants to Venice in the year 1202, was there very magnificently received; and that politic republic, well knowing how to make the most of those expeditions, joined him, on this occasion, with three hundred ships and sixty galleys for the Holy Land, and advanced him money. He, in return, employs his army to assist the Venetians in reducing Istria and Zara to their obedience, which had been conquered by the King of Hungary. Baldwin afterwards thought it more easy to overcome a feeble Christian empire, than to drive the Saracens from the Holy Land. The combined fleet had wintered in Dalmatia, where they were persuaded by Alexis, the son of Isaac, the dethroned Emperor of Constantinople, to unite their forces for the restoration of his father; which they accordingly performed in 1203, when the vast sums promised to the crusading princes and states, were accordingly paid, great part of which fell to the share of Venice. Among other things, Venice had twelve breast-plates, and twelve crowns, or diadems of gold, adorned with a vast number of precious stones; all which were lodged in the treasury of St. Mark. But the year following the Emperor Alexis was murdered, and Earl Baldwin seized that cruel opportunity to get himself crowned Emperor of Constantinople. The Venetians having been chiefly instrumental in this great revolution, obtained the isle of Crete, or Candia, and also Negropont, and many others in the Ægean and Ionian seas; so that Venice was scarcely able to manage so great an addition of territory, having also in this partition obtained part of Peloponnesus, since named the Morea, with many cities on the coasts of the Hellespont and of Phrygia. It seems Candia was first allotted to Boniface Marquis of Montferrat; but the Venetians, knowing its fertility, as well as its happy situation for commerce, having the Archipelago on its north side, and Alexandria on the south, from whence they fetched the rich merchandize of India, persuaded the new Emperor Baldwin to give Boniface the kingdom of Thessaly in exchange for it, to whom the Venetians gave eighty thousand marks of silver, over and above, besides other presents. It is here almost needless to remark, that when the Turks afterwards got footing in Greece, they had but too just a pretence for making war on the Venetians; from whom, says Cardinal Contarini, they took the fair cities of Dyrrachium, now Durazzo, in Albania, and Croy in Slavonia, and every way bore so hard on them, that

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1203 to obtain peace, the Venetians were obliged to give up thirteen fair cities which they had formerly conquered from the Greek empire; but they held the islands considerably longer. This ill-gotten empire remained in the possession of the Latins fifty-seven years, viz. till 1261, when it was again recovered by the Greeks.

At this time, says Arnoldus, who continued the *Chronicon Slavicum* of Helmoldus, the people of Denmark abounded with all riches—"the wealthy being clothed not only in various sorts of scarlet, but also in purple and fine linen;"—"nunc (says he) *non solum scarlatina vario griseo, sed etiam purpura et bysso induuntur*"—"occasioned" adds he, "by the fishery of herrings which is annually undertaken on the coast of Schonen; whither traders of all nations resorting, bring with them gold, silver, and other precious commodities, for purchasing herrings of the Danes."

50. If all nations came hither for the purchase of herrings, they must undoubtedly have had some way of curing them with salt, for their preservation homeward; although perhaps not quite so well as the method found out by the Netherlanders in the next century.

We hear nothing in our days of this fishery on the Schonen coast, the great shoal of herrings having since changed its course, and come forth into the Ocean, where they have ever since delighted to remain. Schonen is now a province of Sweden, though of old it belonged to Denmark.

The same year the town of Lenn, now named Lynn, in Norfolk, being then subject to, or under, the lordship of the Bishops of Norwich, and of William earl of Arundel and his heirs, King John grants to those two lords, that Lenn shall for ever after be a free burgh, and enjoy all the rights belonging thereto: but no mention is therein made of a merchant guild, or of freedom from tolls.

It is worthy of observation also, that at this time, where the famous city of Amsterdam now is-situated, there was nothing but a small castle named Amstel, from the river on which it stood. Gisbert, who was then lord of it, brought a parcel of cottagers to build near the castle, who carried on some small trade with their neighbours by means of their fishery. By their industry they grew in process of time to be a considerable town, with bridges and sewers; and thereupon the word Dam, *i. e.* Dyke, was superadded to its name, which it holds to this day, viz. Amsteldam, which we corruptly call Amsterdam.

In this year died Suercher king of Norway, who, being a wise and prudent prince, gave great encouragement to commerce; he bestowed many privileges on foreign merchants trading to his ports, as the most effectual means for enriching his country. And this, according to Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic historian, was one great means of facilitating and cementing the league of the Hans towns; which succeeding kings of Norway, in like manner, favoured and encouraged. Thus a country, like Norway, naturally poor and barren, may, by a diligent application to commerce, make a greater figure in the world than many naturally richer countries which neglect such a certain source of prosperity.

1205 The French word, *Parliament*, for a meeting of the great men of the kingdom, began first to be known in the reign of King John; "before the sixth year of whose reign," according to Sir Robert Cotton, "viz. before the year 1205, we search records in vain for any council so called. He first used the Barons counsels and consent in this sixth year of his reign, being the first summons in the records; *tractaturi de magnis et arduis negotiis*—*i. e.* to treat concerning great and arduous affairs; it being concerning a war of defence against the French: and that the Commons were admitted at this time may be fairly gathered from the ordinance.

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1205 ordinance. But before the Commons of England were regularly represented in Parliament, as at present, the persons who met in this reign and the next, to grant taxes and make laws, were only the Bishops, Abbots, Barons, and other tenants of the crown by Knight's-service. "*Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates, Priores, Comites, Barones, et omnes alii de regno nostro Anglia qui de nobis tenent in Capite*;" says King Henry III. so late as the nineteenth year of his reign, in his summons to Parliament.

"King William the Conqueror, for supplying his occasions, having shared out the conquered Saxon lands amongst his followers," in the manner we have already described, "by Knight's-fee; and admitted them to *infeof* their followers with such parts as they pleased of their own proportions; the money and provisions were by hydage assessed on the common people, at the consent of their lords, who held in all their feignories such right of regality, and proved afterwards so great a curb and restraint on the power of kings, that nothing fell more into the care of succeeding kings than to retrench this aristocracy, that was like, in time, to strangle the monarchy. Yet none actually attempted it openly, though all the preceding kings foresaw it, till King John, though rashly. There needed not, before this, any care to advise with the Commons in public assemblies; since every man in England, by tenure, held himself to his great lord's will, in whose assent his dependent tenant's consent was included."—Cottoni Posthuma, p. 14, 15.

Although these remarks of our learned Antiquary may not seem to have any immediate relation to commercial history, yet as they clearly explain the nature of our constitution, such as it was, as well as the rise or occasion of the wars between this King and his Successor on one side, and the Barons of England on the other side, the issue whereof was properly the æra of the people's freedom, viz. the signing and confirming of the great charter of our liberties, called in Latin, *Magna Charta*, and as liberty is, in a manner, the natural parent of commerce, we can scarcely deem this a digression from our principal subject.

In this same year 1205, King John granted by charter a merchant guild to Andover in Hampshire, "with like freedom from tolls, &c. as his burghesses of Winchester enjoy, who are of the guild of merchants." Yet Mr. Madox has given this town a charter at an earlier period.—See the year 1189.

Thus did King John, by erecting so many corporation towns, establish a new, certain, and considerable revenue to the crown by the fee-farm rents, which he, by their charters, obliged them to pay. Those towns which paid such fee-farms were more peculiarly styled King's towns; and they, thus enjoying a much greater share of independence than they had before they were incorporated, were the more encouraged to cultivate their trades and business, and to lay a better foundation for future commerce.

King John of England, as it is related in Madox's History of the Exchequer, chap. xxxiii. allows to Stephen de Turnham one mark, or thirteen shillings and four pence, per day, for the custody of his Majesty's niece. This daily allowance was equal to at least ten times as much as in our days.

Mr. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, chap. xiii. p. 324. acquaints us, that in this year, being the sixth of King John, the town of Grimsby in Lincolnshire, now commonly termed Great Grimsby, was a place of considerable trade.

The town of Zirickzee, in the isle of Schouwen, one of the isles of the province of Zealand in the Netherlands, was a port of commerce so early as his time, as is testified by the old Grande Chronique de la Hollande, Zelande, &c. which says, that the people of this town began

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began to build large mercantile shipping, and to trade with them into all parts, both southward and northward, about the beginning of this century; so that they became very famous for their commerce.

1206 The naval wars between Venice and Genoa were extremely violent about this time; and in this year the latter conquered the island of Candia from the former, which, however, the Venetians soon recovered again. This fierce contention for the commercial sovereignty of the Mediterranean Sea between these two republics lasted many years, and was frequently renewed. They were both indeed, at this time, and long after, very potent at sea; and in the Mediterranean, more especially, there were none that could pretend successfully to contend with either of them: for though Pisa had formerly been the rival of Genoa, and still made a good figure, yet it was by this time considerably declined, and become merely an auxiliary to Venice against Genoa. In the year 1215, the Venetians were greatly incensed against Genoa for fomenting a rebellion in Candia, as well as for supplanting them in their great commercial privileges in Sicily, now given to Genoa by the Emperor, for having assisted him in conquering that fair isle from Tancred. On the other hand, Genoa for their commerce in the Levant declining, by the vast increase of that of Venice: for the war, which, with many intervals, lasted near two hundred years, may be justly termed a commercial war.

1208 The city of London may, in some measure, be said to have been first made a free city by King John in this year, which was the ninth year of his reign, by his new charter; whereby they now first had liberty “to choose a Mayor out of their own body annually, which office “till now was for life; to elect and remove their sheriffs at pleasure, and their common-council men annually, as at present.” This was much for King John’s credit with the Londoners; and had his conduct in other respects been equally salutary and popular, it would have been very serviceable to him in his wars with his Barons.

In this year King John also grants a charter to his burghesses, inhabitants of Gernemue, *i. e.* Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, “He calls them his burghesses,” says Dr. Brady, “because “that town was an ancient demesne of the crown, even so long as before the conquest, and “paid tolls, customs, duties, &c. till now, to the King.”—“That they should thenceforth “hold their town in fee-farm, *i. e.* should,” in lieu of all the various tolls and duties in that charter named, and which he thereby for ever remitted, “pay yearly hereafter a fee-farm “rent of fifty-five pounds by the hands of their Mayor.” In like manner we find, in Skene’s Exposition of the Terms of the Scottish Law Book called *Regiam Majestatem*, that the Bailiffs, or Aldermen of Burghs in Scotland, accounted yearly to the King’s exchequer their burgh *mailes*, or rents, as a part of their King’s annexed property; which answers to the English fee-farm rents in towns, as already observed. “Hereby also they were discharged “ed from paying tolls at bridges, on rivers, and in all the havens of the kingdom, &c. still “with a salvo to the privileges of the city of London—They were also to have a merchant “guild—might hold their own lands, goods, &c. recover debts, &c. according to the law “and custom of the burgh of Oxon.—The burghesses to choose their Mayor out of their own “body.”

In this same year, and in the reign of the Emperor Otho IV. the diet of the German empire finally fixed and settled the future election of their Emperors in manner following, *viz.* To be in seven electors, of whom three were to be spiritual ones, being the same as at present, and four of the present temporal ones, *viz.* the Electors of Palatine, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bohemia. It is almost needless to add, that in the seventeenth century, though on differ-

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rent occasions, and at different times, those of Bavaria and Hanover were added; so that the Electors are at present nine in number.

1209

According to Werdenhagen, the city of Stralsund in Pomerania was founded by Jarimar, (*Germanus*) Prince of Rugen; sundry merchants, &c. coming thither to fix their habitations upon the ruins of Julin, which lay opposite to it on the isle of Wollin. Yet so vague and various are the accounts of those dark ages, that others declare Stralsund to have been founded in 1210, by Waldemar II. king of Denmark.

In the same year, says the anonymous author of the *Chronica Slavica*, published by Lindenbrogius of Hamburg, already quoted, the city of Lubeck was entirely consumed by fire, excepting only five houses: from which accident the street in that city, still called "The Street of Five Houses," took its name. The same author relates, that in this year Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, brother to the King of Denmark, took the city of Lubeck, which, according to his account, remained in his power to Denmark thirty-three years. But we know not well how to make the Duke Waldemar brother to King Waldemar II. who lived at the same time.

About the same time, even whilst at cruel war with Genoa, the state of Venice found means to entice the silk-weavers of Thebes, Corinth, and Athens, to Venice, as they did likewise those of Palermo in Sicily: by which means a beginning was made to that noble and rich silk manufacture with which Venice, for several succeeding centuries supplied the greatest part of Europe, and which they still carry on in that city, though not in such an extensive manner as they formerly did.

We have fully proved in our Introduction, that the silver money, or coins of England and Scotland were the same in name and value, and continued to be so till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Scottish coins began to be diminished, though they still preserved the English denomination: we also find, under this year, in Sir James Ware's *Antiquities and History of Ireland*, chap. xxv. that King John caused the Irish money to be coined the same in all respects as the English, and pence and farthings to be stamped round; and ordained that the use of this money should be common or reciprocal to all, both in England and Ireland, and that the money of both kingdoms be paid indifferently into his treasury.

In this same year, King John extorted so great a sum as one hundred and forty thousand pounds from the abbies and monasteries; for which reason, the writers among them make him as black as they can possibly draw him.

In the same year, King John, designing to raise an army for the defence of Ireland, made the Jews in England pay the expence of it. That wretched people were now seized on, all over the kingdom, and cruelly treated, till they ransomed themselves. Abraham, a Jew of Bristol, refusing to ransom himself, King John ordered he should lose a tooth every day till he complied, by paying ten thousand marks; but, after losing seven teeth, he paid that great ransom. King John, at this time, raised in all from the Jews sixty thousand marks, *i. e.* about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our money.

1212

All our historians agree, that there had been a bridge of timber across the Thames from London to Southwark, even so early as the times preceding the Norman conquest. It had been rebuilt of timber by King William Rufus, but was afterwards accidentally consumed by fire. Stone bridges were not in use in England till after the conquest. Maud, the empress, is said to have erected the first arched bridge of stone over the river Lea into Essex, at the village near London, afterwards named Bow, from the circumstance of having a bow, or arched bridge built across that river. In the reign of her son King Henry II. and in the year 1176, it was deter-

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mined to erect a stone bridge across the Thames, but it was not finished till the year 1212, as it now appears, excepting the late new improvements of it.

1212 About this time, imperial cities began to be more frequently erected, (according to Smith-
10 ius, in his *Oppidum Batavorum, seu Noviomagum. Amstelredami, anno 1645, in 4to. p. 62.*)

1249 particularly by the Emperor Frederick II.; Nimeguen and Aix-la-Chapelle being of that number.

1213 In this year King John incorporated the town of Newcastle upon Tyne. "He grants to
" the honest men of Newcastle, and their heirs, his said town, with all its appurtenances, to
" fee-farm for one hundred pounds yearly; saving to the King the rents, prizes, and assizes
" in the port thereof. He also grants and confirms to them one hundred and ten shillings
" and six pence-rent in the said town, which they have by the said King's gift of Escheat, to
" be divided amongst such of the townsmen who lost their rents by occasion of a ditch, and
" of the new work made under the castle towards the river.—He also grants, that in nothing
" they should be answerable to the sheriff, nor to the constable, for what belongs to them.—
" That they should hold the town, with all the liberties and free customs which they enjoyed
" in the time of King Henry II. &c."

About this time, *i. e.* towards the beginning of this century, the famous Genghiscan, or Genghis Cam the Great, the first Emperor, or Prince of the Moguls and Tartars, though not as yet known by the latter name, over-ran almost all Asia, from Syria in the west to China eastward, and, as it is said, from the northern shores of Russia to the southern Indian ocean. He began his reign in the year 1201, and died in 1226: yet Voltaire, in his *General History of Europe*, describes him as engaged in those irruptions so late as 1244, when he relates that the Chorasmians were driven out of their country by those Tartars, &c. Monf. Petis de la Croix, senior Secretary and Interpreter for the oriental languages to King Louis XIV. of France, has written this Tartar Prince's history, collected from several oriental authors and European travellers; which work was printed in English in an octavo volume, in 1722. In these expeditions Genghis Cam besieged and took the city of Canbalik, now Peking, in the year 1213; whereby he became master of the north part of China, or Cathay; and his Generals, two years after, conquered the rest of that country and of Corea. There were great and populous cities in Tartary in those times: Caschgar, the metropolis of Turkestan, in the north latitude of forty-four degrees, had one hundred mosques in it. Marco Polo, of Venice, who was in it, speaks of its grandeur. Samarcand stands in forty degrees of north latitude, in the ancient Sogdiana; the province itself, and the river that waters the city, being at this day called Sogde, which river falls into the Caspian Sea. Samarcand, the capital of the country of Carefin, or Transoxiana, the Maracandis of Pliny, &c. was then a great city, being about three French leagues in circumference. It had been very famous in the time of Alexander the Great, and had at this time twelve gates of iron. It had also fine leaden pipes bringing water into every street, and into its principal houses; also fine cascades, gardens, &c. It was the seat of empire of the famous Timurbeck or Tamerlane; and Samarcand, having been enlarged and adorned by two such mighty conquerors, there appear, as it is said, even at this day, great marks of its ancient grandeur, so as to be still considerable for the beauty of its public buildings and market places, as well as on account of its commerce with great Tartary, part of Russia, India, and Persia; from whence are brought all sorts of merchandize, and Indostan is supplied with the best fruits, both green and dried.—The finest silk paper in the world is made at Samarcand. The Turkish letter to the French King in 1675, from the King
of

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1213 of Persia, was written on this sort of paper. In this city Tamerlane erected an Academy of Sciences, which is said still to exist. But there is such a romantic exaggerating disposition in most French authors, when treating of matters which are at a great distance from us, and especially in writing on oriental countries, that some allowance must necessarily be made in reading their accounts. This city is at present subject to an Usbeck Prince, much inferior to his predecessors in point of power, as indeed are all other princes of Tartary, that country, as far as we know of it, being now divided into a vast number of small principalities.

Bochara also was a great city of Tartary at this time; and there was then, as well as since, a considerable commerce between these and other Tartar cities with the East Indies, in jewels, cotton cloths, silks, &c. The traders travelled then, as they do now, in great companies, called Caravans; but most of the principal Caravanferas, or great inns for the caravans, are of two hundred years later date, being first erected by Tamerlane. Otrar, which our author also calls Mirconde, in the ancient Mogolistan, was at this time a place of great trade, and possessed many men of great abilities and skill in traffick.

In this same year, King Philip Augustus of France, provoked at the Earl of Flanders having favoured King John of England, whose kingdom he had thoughts of conquering, sent his fleet to the coast of Flanders, whilst he marched himself with his army to attack that Earl by land: but King John sent out his fleet, commanded by the Earl of Salisbury, who, near the port of Sluys, surprized the French fleet in such manner, that the English took three hundred of their ships, sunk one hundred, and the French set fire to the remainder; which put an end to the towering projects of the French monarch.

In this year also, the better to spur on the Germans in Livonia to eradicate Paganism, which was still too strong for them in that country, Pope Innocent III. instituted a new military order in Livonia, termed in Latin, *Enfferes*, or *Fratres Gladiferi*, i. e. Sword-bearers; but in the German and French languages of those times, it was called the Order of *Port-glaives*; yet the Pagans in Livonia, proving still too powerful for the Christians there, the latter called in the German Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem from Prussia to aid them, in the year 1228, who soon swallowed up the other order, and gradually converted all Livonia to Christianity, for which service they paid themselves very well, by becoming absolute masters of so fine a country. The order of the Knights Port-glaives having united themselves to the Teutonic order, their name was afterwards lost: yet Fuller says, that the German Knights of St. Mary did not go from Palestine into Prussia till the year 1239, under Hermanus de Saltza, their fourth Master; but the varying dates of such occurrences are not at present of any material consequence.

1214 The Chevalier de Mailly, in his History of Genoa, gives us some account of the annual revenue of that republic at this time. He says, that all he can find in their annals touching their revenue is, that the customs of Genoa were let this year for thirty-six thousand florins; and that the custom on the sale of goods was four deniers per florin, i. e. one sixth part. "But," says De Mailly, "after the Genoese applied themselves more to commerce than to arms, their duties or impositions were considerably increased: and yet the republic was much more powerful in those days with a smaller revenue, than it is now with a greater." Yet this author, perhaps, had not duly considered, First, That though the increase of their commerce created an increase of their expence, as will ever be the case, for its protection, yet it at the same time, enabled them more easily to bear that expence. Secondly, Their being, in former times, more powerful, though with less commerce, was owing to their having fewer

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rivals on the sea in those, than in succeeding periods. And thirdly, I suspect that he had not, perhaps, clearly considered the different value of their antient and modern coins.

1215 Various had been the fortunes of the noble city of Hamburg till the year 1215; from which æra; according to their historiographer the learned Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, lib. i. the Hamburgers may date their claim of being a free imperial city. She was at first subject to the Emperors, and to her own Archbishop; next, to the potent Dukes of Saxony; and thirdly, to the Earls of Holstein, then more commonly stiled Earls of Schowenburg. From this last named family it was taken by King Waldemar II. of Denmark; whereupon, the Emperor Otho IV. coming with an army before this city, the people with joy received him for their immediate lord, and the restorer of their liberties, by giving their solemn oaths to the Emperor and Empire, to whom, without any intermediate sovereign, they vowed perpetual fidelity. And upon this principle it was, that, three hundred years after, the diet of Augsberg, in 1510, by an imperial decree, declared the city of Hamburg to be a free city of the empire, to the no small mortification of the then Danish court, which has ever since kept up its pretensions to the sovereignty, or at least, superiority over that city. Yet even after this time, we shall find Hamburg disturbed in its freedom by various potentates.

We cannot think it an improper digression in this place to remark, that, in this same year, the council of Lateran established, First, Transubstantiation as a point of faith. Secondly, The necessity of auricular confession. Thirdly, The sovereign supremacy of the Pope above all persons, whether kings or emperors. Fourthly, The Host was ordered to be kept in a box, and to be carried in solemnity to sick persons, with the ringing of a bell in the streets through which they passed with it. What horrible mischiefs, what persecutions, what obstructions to the peace and commerce of the world have not those wild and wicked tenets occasioned to mankind!

King John's wars with his Barons, brought that monarch at last, in the year 1215, to such an accommodation with them, as obliged him to sign the famous and well known *Magna Charta*, or *Great Charter of Privileges of the People of England*, or rather indeed of the Barons, the Clergy, and the Free Burghs; for the bulk of the people, *i. e.* the commonalty, were still in a servile condition; one article of which, *viz.* the forty-eighth, is to the following effect: "First, That all merchants shall have safe conduct to go out of, or come into England, and to stay there.—Secondly, To pass either by land or water.—Thirdly, To buy and sell by the ancient and allowed customs, without any evil-tolts, (an undue and extravagant tax, being sometimes called *Male-tolte*, or *Male-tent*) except in time of war, or when they shall happen to be of any nation at war with us."

My Lord Chief Justice Coke, in his Comment on *Magna Charta*, cap. xxx. thinks, that by the word *Mercatores* was solely meant merchant-strangers, because there were, at that time, scarcely any English who had any concern in foreign trade. This is probably true with regard to this forty-eighth article: but in the charter confirmed by King John's son, Henry III. in Parliament, and ratified by those articles which are called the provisions of Oxford in the year 1258, there is this same forty-eighth article, and also the following one, which is the forty-ninth, *viz.*

"And if there shall be found any such, *i. e.* merchants, in our land in the beginning of a war, they shall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it may be known unto us, or to our Chief Justiciary, how our merchants, *mercatores terræ nostræ*,
" be

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1215 "be treated in the nation at war with us : and if ours be safe there, they shall be safe in our land."

"By this last article it is plain, that, in 1258, there were some Englishmen who had foreign commerce. And it seems probable, as will also appear in its place, that in the year 1248, a society of our own people first commenced a foreign trade with our wool, tin, lead, and leather, which before was altogether exported by foreign merchants, usually stiled merchant-strangers in the law books.

This clause, in behalf of foreign merchants, was probably inserted, because by former ordinances of our kings, merchant-strangers were prohibited from coming into England, except in the time of our public fairs ; and even then they were obliged to leave the kingdom in forty days, for preventing their interfering with our own retail traders, ever jealous of all foreigners.

In the confusions of those wars between King John and his Barons, which ended this year, Camden, in his Remains, says, "There is a tradition that they stamped leather money : yet says he, "I never saw any of them. But we have seen money made by the Hollanders of *palteboard*, anno 1574.—Amongst the old Romans there was *enium forma publica percussum*, or stamped leather, mentioned by Seneca ; and the like at the siege of Milan by the Emperor Frederick II."

This first Magna Charta was signed in Runny-Mead, near the town of Egham in Surry. The Norman race of kings having, till now, governed the people of England mostly in an arbitrary manner, this charter, though immediately infringed by King John, has ever since been justly deemed the foundation of the liberties of the people of England, on which Denham, in his Cooper's Hill, observes,

"Here was that charter seal'd, wherein the crown

"All marks of arbitrary power lays down :

"By that and these, those names of hate and fear,

"The happier style of King and Subject bear."

His son, King Henry III. for the sake of obtaining a large subsidy to carry on his war against France, was obliged to sign a fresh Magna Charta in the year 1225, which he kept very ill ; yet he was again compelled to ratify it in 1258, as above : neither have the people of England ever lost sight of so precious a jewel.

This same year is, by some, assigned for the commencement of the conquests of the society, named the German or Teutonic Knights of the Cross, or of St. Mary of Jerusalem, in the country of Prussia, in those times deemed a part of the German empire, under pretence of converting the Prussians, who till now were Pagans, to Christianity, as their countrymen had before begun to do in Livonia. On this subject, the grand Pensionary de Wit, in his judicious Treatise of the Interest of Holland, part i. chap. ii. very truly observes of those religious knights, "That, under the pretence of reducing the Heathens to the Christian faith, "they made themselves masters not only of barren Pomerania and the river Oder, which "they suffered the converted princes to enjoy, but of rich Prussia and Livonia, and the rivers "Weyssel, Pregel, and Duina, and consequently of all those which fall into the sea out of "fruitful Poland, Lithuania, and Prussia : so that the cities which lay nearest to the sea began "to fetch away their bulky and unwrought goods, and to carry them to the Netherlands,

"Eng-

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1214 “ England, Spain, and France ; and likewise, from thence to and from, to export and import “ all the goods that were either superfluous or wanting, which gave rise to the ‘Hans-
“ Towns.’ ”

Hither the Germans sent many colonies, and with them many soldiers, as well as monks, for their conversion ; having, in the year 1212, obtained a grant thereof from the Emperor Frederick II. and from Pope Innocent III. all honours, rights, and prerogatives, in those times, centering in those two powers, to hold the country as a fief of the empire. The conversion of the countries of Prussia and Livonia to Christianity, produced a kind of second holy war : for through all Germany the banner of the cross was displayed ; so that princes, nobles, bishops, &c. assembled, and marched thither, building many castles : one in particular on a hill, named Königsberg, *i. e.* King’s-mount, soon grew up into a great city, now the capital of Brandenburg Prussia. The Pagan Prussians, however, frequently relapsed and revolted ; which obliged the German Knights often to call in the forces of the Germanic Princes to their aid. Such were the contests and confusion which continued to near the close of this century, when these countries were reduced to Christianity. After which, the Order was engaged in a violent contention with the crown of Poland, until the sixteenth century, when Poland obliged the Master General of the Order, Albert marquis of Brandenburg, to accept of the hereditary inheritance of part of Prussia, by way of compensation for yielding the rest of it to that kingdom. The Order of the German Knights, called Portglaives, entered Prussia in the year 1239, and took Revel and Estonia from the Danes ; but after thirty-five years they united themselves with the Knights of the Cross, so that, in their combined state, they were able to possess themselves of all those countries.

Great multitudes of German families being transplanted into those countries, the Teutonic or German tongue became the general language there. Here they built sixty-two cities and towns, as Dantzick, Königsberg, Marienburg, Riga, &c. places of fame and consequence to this day, besides above seventy castles, and numberless other private magnificent edifices. Here also they introduced arts, sciences, manufactures, and naval commerce, where before there was nothing but rudeness and barbarism. From thence they commenced a great trade for naval stores, with which, viz. timber, iron, tar, pitch, cordage, &c. those countries have always abounded, and with which also they supplied, as at present, the greatest part of Europe. Their vast plenty of excellent timber enabled them also to build many and large ships, not only for their own use, but for those also of foreign nations. The successors of those German Knights remained masters of the said countries for three hundred years, though with many wars and much envy from their neighbours ; and probably might have held their nominally-religious dominion there to this day, had they not been immerged in luxury, pride, tyranny, and other vices, as will in some measure be seen hereafter.

1216 Notwithstanding what we have related from Lambecius, under the preceding year, concerning Hamburg’s being made a free imperial city, this circumstance did not prevent that growing city from being besieged in this year by King Waldemar II. of Denmark, when, after six months resistance, it was forced to yield to this tyrannical and enterprising prince, who, according to Lambecius, after exercising his cruel rage and resentment on the citizens, sold his whole right and property in Hamburg to Earl Albert of Orlamund for seven hundred marks of silver ; which Lambecius, in his note, values at nineteen thousand two hundred marks, Lubeck money ; one of which marks, he says, is equal to sixteen half ounces, or eight imperials.

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1216

In this same year died John, king of England, his fever being heightened by eating of peaches, and drinking of new ale, or bracket. Mr. Echard, and most other historians, agree in the word peaches; yet it being very doubtful whether there were any peaches growing in England so early as, or even long after, this time; and as moreover two historians, Higden and Knighton, wrote pears instead of peaches, the latter fruit was probably written, or copied, by mistake, instead of pears. King John is allowed to have been the first that coined sterling money, not, as some erroneously allege, taking its name from the town of Sterling in Scotland, where they supposed it was first coined, but from the Easterlings, called in by this King for reducing his silver coin to its purity; such money, in most ancient writings, being filed Easterling money*. He was also the first King of England that planted English laws and officers in Ireland, and who took the title of Lord of Ireland. He also first regularly established the rates of wine, bread, cloth, &c. gave the privileges to the Cinque-ports which they have so long enjoyed, though some of them are now obsolete; and he was the first who appointed these excellent forms of civil government in London, and most other cities and towns, which they at present enjoy. He also erected that part of the provinces of Leinster and Munster in Ireland, which was within the English pale, into twelve counties: but the conquest of Ireland was far from being compleat, nor for above three hundred years after. The petty princes of it, it is true, owned the superior sovereignty of it to belong to the Kings of England, who had besides planted a small part of the country with English people, called the English pale; nevertheless, its vassal princes still governed their people by their ancient barbarous Breton law, made their own magistrates and officers, pardoned and punished malefactors within their several countries, and made war and peace with one another without controul, even until the days of Queen Elizabeth. We can therefore write nothing as yet, nor long after, of any commerce, manufactures, or improvements, in a country which was still in a situation to be denominated barbarous.

The rates of provisions, in this King's reign, were generally as follows, viz. wheat, at the highest, six shillings, or eighteen shillings of our money, per quarter, at the lowest one shilling and six pence, or four shillings and six pence of our money, per quarter, the medium price three shillings. Rochelle wine twenty shillings per ton. Anjou wine twenty-four shillings. And the very best French wines at twenty-six shillings and eight pence, or eighty shillings of our money per ton. See the year 1202, for the like proportion or difference of living then and in our days, viz. about five to one.

Hitherto the Norman kings and people were so extremely zealous for the founding of religious houses in England, that from the year 1066 to 1216, containing only a space of one hundred and fifty years, there were above five hundred and fifty of them founded, or re-founded, which was above five parts in seven of all the religious houses that were in England at their dissolution, three hundred and thirty years after. Some of the causes of this superstitious humour, beside the general bent of those ages, were, first, that such as had vowed to go to the Holy War, then in so great esteem, and whose courage or health afterwards failed them, believed the founding of one of those religious houses to be a sufficient atonement for the breach of their vow. Secondly, others, returning safe home from Palestine, or having

* Some antiquarians, however, are of opinion that the term Sterling Money was in common use in England, before her acquaintance with the Easterlings; and that it is derived from three stars which are commonly to be found on the oldest coins, both Scotch and English.

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received some remarkable deliverance there, thought it their duty to do the like. Thirdly, some also really going to the Holy War, being very uncertain of ever returning, hoped to bribe or interest Heaven for their safety, by lavishing their estates the same way. Lastly, the belief of purgatory, and the opinion of the great efficacy of the prayers of the monks and nuns, and also of the intercession of saints in Heaven, were considerable inducements to this kind of zeal; yet our Kings and Parliaments at length saw it very necessary, effectually to restrain the extravagance of it by law. These few remarks concerning our religious houses, seem to be all that is necessary to be said on that subject, until we come to their final dissolution.

- 1217 We are at length come to the treaties of peace, friendship, and commerce between England and foreign potentates, as we find them in the twenty volumes of Rymer's *Fœdera*, where, in page 223 of Vol. I. under the year 1217, being the second of Henry III. then a minor of twelve years of age, we have the first treaty with any potentate, as far as appears, either north or east, from Germany. It is with Haguin, king of Norway, then a considerable monarch, who, by an abbot, applied to our King for a treaty of peace, amity, and confederacy with him. Henry, by his Council, consents thereto, and that both countries be free for merchants and others on both sides.

In the same year, according to Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, three good horses, two asses, and a new cart, were valued, or appraised, at two pounds ten shillings, or seven pounds ten shillings of our money. From this appraisement, however, we dare not venture to form any proportion of the rate of living then to that of our own days; neither, indeed, can it be done with any reasonable certainty, without taking in the prices of corn, butcher's meat, ale, and cloathing; though corn is certainly the best standard for such calculations.

- 1219 The great zeal which the northern Christians testified against the Pagans of Poland, and its neighbourhood, in these times, was not entirely spiritual; it is indeed but too plain, that many of them had other views beside the interest of religion. That potent and enterprising prince, King Waldemar II. of Denmark, in the year 1219, with a powerful fleet invaded Livonia, fought with and vanquished the Pagans there, where he is said to have founded the towns of Revel and Narva: he likewise conquered the country of Courland, and other parts, but soon lost all again.

- 1220 We have, in the preceding century, under the years 1140 and 1169, given some account of the beginnings of the Hanseatic-Confederacy; yet there are some authors, who insist that there was a kind of commercial confederacy, either in the North, or in Germany, prior even to the twelfth century. Others, on the contrary, bring the commencement of the Hans-League down so late as to the year 1220, although that was, most probably, either a renewal of it, or else a new accession of towns to the first Confederacy. In the course of time, other trading towns gladly joined in a confederacy so well calculated for the protection of their commerce, both by sea and land, in those ruder ages. They became indeed so considerable towards the close of this century, and for above three centuries after, that all the neighbouring powers not only sought their friendship, but frequently referred their differences to their arbitration, and even sometimes to the single city of Lubeck, it being always deemed the principal or first member of it. Their naval power also became so great, as frequently to turn the balance, and adjust the quarrels between princes and kings; so that this league was, for a long time, esteemed the guardians of the Germanic tranquillity.

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In this same year, according to Isaacson's Chronological Tables, an inundation in Friesland drowned no fewer than one hundred thousand people; this number, however, seems somewhat incredible. See the year 1277.

According to the champion of Genoa, Baptist. Bargas, Lib. ii. Cap. 4. already quoted, the Genoese were now again confirmed in their naval dominion, on the neighbouring Ligathic Sea, by the Emperor Frederic II. and, in the year 1239, they again licence the citizens of Lucca to navigate and trade by sea; but even this liberty was to be sold in company with the Genoese shipping.

- 1223 Whether King Waldemar II. of Denmark actually founded the towns of Revel and Narva, as already mentioned, in the year 1223, or only seized on, and fortified them, is not very material: being, on account of their good harbours and commodious situation, ever since esteemed famous for their commerce in Polish and Russian merchandize. Both which towns are said to have remained under the dominion of Denmark till the year 1347, when King Waldemar IV. sold them, together with Weseburg, for nineteen thousand marks of silver, to the Great Master of the Teutonic Order of Marian Knights, who annexed them to the rest of Livonia, according to Werdenhagen, Vol. I. Part iii. Chap. 24.

According to Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, wheat was now so dear as twelve shillings per quarter, or one pound sixteen shillings of our money, being still cheaper than the modern prices in the years of plenty.

- 1224 In the year 1224, King Henry III. of England having renewed a treaty with France, he, agreeable to the custom of that age, notified the same to the bailiffs and barons of the Cinque-Ports, and other sea ports, as in the Fœdera, Vol. I. p. 272; at the same time commanding them to keep all their ships within their harbours, ready for his service, whenever he should require them; enjoining them, moreover, not to permit any ship laden with merchandize to sail out of their harbours without his leave; and to stop all foreigners and their ships, till his further pleasure should be known. The ports and towns therein named were,

DOVER,	————	NORMIC,	<i>Norwich.</i>
PORTESMUE	<i>Portsmouth.</i>	GERNEMUE,	<i>Great Yarmouth.</i>
SOREHAM,	<i>Sherham.</i>	ORFORD,	————
SUHAMPTON,	<i>Southampton.</i>	DUNEWIC,	<i>Dunwich.</i>
SAFORD,	<i>Seaford.</i>	GIPSWIC,	<i>Ipswich.</i>
DE LA POLE,	<i>Poole.</i>	LENNE,	<i>Lynn.</i>
EXON,	————	EREWELL,	<i>Orewell.</i>
BRISTOL,	————	EREMUTH,	<i>South Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.</i>
DARTMUE,	<i>Dartmouth.</i>	KINGSTON,	————

Hull was not as yet founded; so that, unless it was Kingston upon Thames, which is not probable, we know not what town is meant.

Venice now acquired, as a gift from Gaio its Lord, the Sovereignty of the fine isle of Cephalonia in the Ionian Sea, which they hold to this day; though taken in the year 1479, and during twenty years held by the Turks: it abounds with corn, wine, and fine fruits, has many good towns, and some safe ports.

- 1225 We have seen how the Danish King, in the year 1216, had besieged and taken the city of Hamburg, and then sold his right and property of it to Earl Albert of Orlamund: yet that city found means now to re-purchase its liberty and independence of the Earl, as *Lambecius* relates, for one thousand five hundred marks of silver, being thirty-six thousand marks

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1223 Lubeck money; but Meurfius, in his *Historia Danica*, makes this Count Albert to sell his right to the citizens for one thousand five hundred, (*Sclibris*) *i. e.* half pounds of silver, which, he says, was done in the year 1228. Their more accurate and learned historiographer, Lambeckius, hereupon remarks, “That on this re-purchase of their independence, it is almost incredible to think how greatly the city of Hamburg increased in a very short time.” So powerful are the influences of freedom with an industrious people.

In the twenty-first head, or chapter, of that *Magna Charta*, which was signed by King Henry III. in the year 1225, we have an authentic voucher for the rates of hire for carts with horses for purveyance, viz. “No sheriff, or bailiff, of ours, or any other, shall take the horses or carts of any man to make carriage, except he pay the old price limited, *i. e.* for carriage with two horses ten-pence a day, and for three horses fourteen-pence a day.”

We have a pregnant instance, from Rymer’s *Fœdera*, Vol. I. p. 282, of the great value of money in those times. In King Henry III. of England’s instructions to his two envoys, to the Emperor Frederick II. and to the Duke of Austria, he therein tells them, “That as their long stay beyond sea will require great expences, John de Woburn, citizen of London, will remit to you (the Bishop) sixty marks,” *i. e.* one hundred and twenty pounds of our money, and to you, Nicholas de Molis, thirty marks,” *i. e.* sixty pounds of our money. By the thirtieth chapter, or head, of King Henry III.’s *Magna Charta*, passed this same year, “all merchant-strangers, coming into this realm, are to be well used;” which article, I presume, proceeded from the barbarous treatment of them before, and which had been complained of by such as saw the inconvenience of it.

In this same year, or, as some write, in 1232, the German Knights of Prussia built the city of Thorne, on the Vistula, for the greater convenience of conveying corn, and other merchandize, from the inner parts of Poland down that river to Dantzick, the great emporium of that country.

1226 The cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, growing continually more wealthy and powerful by commerce and shipping, drew upon them the envy of the neighbouring princes, and more especially that of the Danes, who frequently excited other powers to oppose their growing greatness. For this cause, and also by reason of the sea-pirates then frequent on the neighbouring coasts, those two cities, in this year, entered into a closer league for mutual support and defence, and were soon seconded and joined by other cities. Thuanus likewise observes, “That, by the number of their towns, their power, and wealth, they increased so fast, that in one hundred years space they became most flourishing; and they remained so to his time, in the year 1572, having been the envy of those very potentates, by whose bounty they were originally raised to that height.”

The city of Lubeck, having now expelled the Danish garrison and governor, obtained many eminent privileges from the Emperor Frederic II. and particularly, “That no fortifications or forts should be erected near them on the river Trave, from its source to its entrance into the sea.” The Emperor also gave them liberty “to coin money in their city, with the imperial image and arms on it, &c. For which they were to pay the Emperor sixty marks of silver annually.”

1227 In this eleventh year of Henry III. king of England, New Sarum, or the present city of Salisbury, was made a free city by that King’s letters patent, and by him bestowed for ever on the Bishops and Canons, as their proper demesnes; “and,” as Brady relates, “that the Bishop and his successors, for the necessity of himself, or his church, might take a reason-
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1227 “able tallage or aid of his citizens, whenever the Kings of England made a reasonable tallage on their own proper demesnes.” This shews, that such great lords and church communities, even in those early times, were not absolute and unbounded sovereigns over such places; and that in this, and other instances, which might easily be produced, they found themselves obliged, in the taxes they raised on their vassals, to proportion the same to those raised on the King’s own vassals, as, indeed, the very making Salisbury a free city by the King plainly supposes: for by this charter, they enjoyed, under the Bishop and Canons, the same immunities as the King’s citizens of Winchester. How, when, and by what gradual means and steps, towns, in those days, subject to bishops and to lay-lords, attained to their present more free and independent state of becoming what they call in Scotland, Royal Burghs*, or how their present freedom was obtained, is not in all respects, at this distance of time, so easy to trace as some may imagine. Possibly several of them might purchase their freedom. In others, their superior lords, by rebellions and felonies, might, and actually did, forfeit their rights to the crown. There might also be certain other ways of their becoming free, which it is unnecessary to enlarge upon in this place. Their first step towards freedom, was, as we already observed, that the kings, and also the lords and ecclesiastical communities, in process of time, laid a certain annual rent, called a fee-farm rent, on their respective towns, in lieu of and less than, first, the respective arbitrary tolls and customs for goods bought and sold in markets and fairs. Secondly, pontage; a payment for passing over bridges. Thirdly, passage; the like for going through gates, &c. Fourthly, paige, or paigum; not now well understood. Fifthly, lastage; or the liberty to carry their goods up and down in fairs and markets wherever they pleased. Sixthly, stallage; a payment for a stall, or a right to have one in fairs and markets. Seventhly, carriage; not now certainly known what was meant by it, &c. This brought those towns to a certainty with respect to their ordinary or usual payments to their lords; and as to the tallage, that was only laid on for extraordinary and known reasons and occasions. This tallage, and the fee-farm rent, were the considerations for the liberty of buying and selling toll-free, &c. as before recited; which none could enjoy but free burghesses, *i. e.* the inhabitants of such free towns.

According to Heiss’s History of the Empire, and many other historians, the two parties of Guelfs and Ghibelines, already mentioned under the year 1140, who had remained tolerably quiet ever since their rise, in the reign of the Emperor Conrade III. began now to exert themselves with great fury against each other, both at Rome and in several other parts of Italy.

1228 The town and port of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, was by this time become very considerable, and, according to Dr. Brady’s Appendix to his Treatise of Burghs, for which he quotes manuscripts in the Cottonian library, was much frequented by shipping in this twelfth year of King Henry III. There was likewise a trade at that town for divers kinds of merchandize, both for importation and exportation, and for fish in particular.

1229 King Louis IXth of France, usually stiled St. Louis, marries the daughter of Raymond count of Toulouse; by which alliance the noble and extensive province of Languedoc became for ever re-annexed to the crown.

The same title is found in the record of a controversy determined in the Exchequer Court in the thirty-fourth year of Edward I. wherein Great Yarmouth is termed Villa Regia, which is the literal Latin for a royal burgh, as being then the King’s demesne burgh; that is to say, subject to the King alone.

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The Bishop of Chichester decreed, "That curates in poor churches should have five marks for their stipend; or three pounds six shillings and eight pence, or ten pounds of our money, but in other churches to have more." To this Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, subjoins, viz. This seems nearly to answer the rates of provisions and other necessities in those days, or about five times cheaper than in our days: so this stipend in their money, might be equal to near fifty pounds in our days, for a curate of a poor church.

In the eleventh of Henry III. the burgesses of Liverpool in Lancashire obtained, for a fine of ten marks, that their town should be a corporation by charter, and a free burgh for ever, with a merchant-guild, and other liberties—as we find in Madox's History of the Exchequer, Chap. xi. p. 288, and his *Firma Burgi*, Chap. i. Sect. 9.

The naval strength of James I. king of Arragon, and count of Barcelona, was now very considerable, when he sailed from Salò in Catalonia with a fleet of twenty-five large ships, eighteen taridas, (possibly tartanes) twelve gallies, and one hundred galiots, beside barks and small vessels. Which fleet carried fifteen thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse, beside volunteers from Genoa, Provence, &c. against the Moors of Majorca, whom he drove out of that considerable island, which has remained to Spain ever since, he also conquered the lesser Balearic Isles of Minorca, Ivica, &c. (Campbell's History of the Balearic Isles, 8vo. anno 1716.) Yet de Ruffi, in his *Histoire de la Ville de Marseille*, published in the year 1642, assures us, that Marseille assisted that King with a well manned squadron of ships for that expedition; and that the Marseillians had, for their share of the booty, three hundred houses in the city of Majorca, beside houses and lands in the country. Marseille was, he adds, at this time a free republic, having bought off the superiority of their Viscount.

The factions of the Guelphs, who supported the part of the Pope, and the Ghibelines, who supported that of the Emperor, ran so high at this time, that brothers frequently fought against brothers, and fathers against their sons. There was not a city of any consequence in Italy which was not inflamed and divided by those two parties. The Pope had gone so far as to have absolved the Emperor Frederick II's subjects from their allegiance to their sovereign, whom he had actually excommunicated: These confusions gave birth to some independent states in Italy; Milan, and other cities formerly imperial, setting up for free states, in which they were encouraged by the Venetians as well as by the Popes. It is said by some, that the Ghibelines, when driven out of Italy long after this time by the Guelphs, and settled at Amsterdam, were the inventors of the mercantile custom or practice of re-change, or re-exchange, on bills of exchange, on account of the damages and charges they were put to, and the interest of the money of their bills protested, which had been given to them for the effects they had been obliged to leave behind them.

1230 Brunswic, though an inland city, and in the heart of Germany, may possibly have been at this time a place of some considerable commerce; as, in the first volume, p. 317, of Rymer's *Fœdera*, we find a grant from our King Henry III. in the year 1230, "to the men of Brunswic, freely to resort to and dispose of their merchandize in England, paying the usual customs."

In this year, being the fourteenth of King Henry III. the mayor, &c. of Oxford, out of the ferm of their town, were ordered to buy five hundred ells of russet cloth, at about ten pence per ell, and one hundred pair of hose, for the poor.

1231 The Republic of Genoa now gets possession of the town and port of Ceuta, on the Barbary Shore, almost opposite to Gibraltar. How they possessed themselves of it, the Chevalier de Mailly,

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1231 Mailly, their historiographer, does not acquaint us. But the author of a small treatise, in 12mo. printed at Paris, in the year 1729, intitled, *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*, says, "That the Genoese, about this time, took Ceuta from a petty-Moorish King." "They were, it seems," says de Mailly, "threatened to be disturbed in their possession of this place by the Moorish cruisers of Murcia in Spain; but the Genoese fleet made those ships retreat to their capital city of Carthagená; and having put into Ceuta, they were there regaled with magnificent presents and all kinds of refreshments by the Moorish King of Seville." So great is the credit, influence and authority which will ever attend on that people who are masters at sea.

"And so superior was the maritime skill of the Genoese in those days," says Petrus Baptistá Burgus, in his *Treatise de Dominio Serenissimæ Genuensis Reipublicæ* in Mari Ligustico, in 4to. Roma, 1641, lib. ii. cap. 8. "that authors have preferred them before all other nations whatever. And indeed," adds he, "our city has so excelled in maritime skill at all times, that no commander of any other state can scarcely be found that has taken so many towns, subdued so many isles and barbarous nations, or so frequently brought home the enemies ships and spoil triumphantly, as many of our commanders have done."

1232 At this time the people of Scythia first appeared under the more modern name of Tatars, or, as some old writers have it, Tatars, their ancient name of Scythians being now forgotten. A part of them now invaded the eastern boundaries of Europe, viz. Lithuania, Poland, Podolia, &c. whilst other hords of them travelled southward into Asia; in all which countries they committed great violences and depredations.

The right reverend prelate, the author of *Chronicon Preciosum*, is of opinion, that, at this time, good and strong horses might be had for ten shillings each, or one pound ten shillings of our money.

There are some authors who place under this year King Henry the Third's granting a piece of ground, named the Steel-yard, in the city of London, to certain merchants of Flanders, and of the Hans-towns of Germany, viz. Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, &c. for the managing of their commerce and merchandize, custom-free. Yet others think the first establishment of the German merchants of the Steel-yard considerably older than this King's reign; though it is admitted, that for services which those Hanseatics did to him in his wars beyond sea, King Henry III. did greatly enlarge their privileges; and several German writers think, that those foreign merchants were fixed at London at least as early as the Norman Conquest.

Whilst barbarism and ignorance still triumphed in Christendom westward, the Arabian Mahometans continued to cultivate the fine sciences, of which history records a singular instance; viz. That Meladin, the Caliph of Babylon, or, according to others, Sultan of Egypt, sent, in this year, to the German Emperor Frederic II. then in Palestine, a present of a curious tent, valued at one hundred thousand crowns, wherein the sun and moon's motions were seen, as also the hours of day and night, &c. This admirable pavilion was said to look like the true and natural sky, wherein were to be seen the shining natural globes of sun and moon, which by secret movements turning like those glorious luminaries, kept the same measures in their regular motions, surpassing all that ever was written of the magnificence of the ancient monarchs of Persia, says Mainbourg, in his history of the Crusade, and, I may add, surpassing all probability.

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1232 About this time, the Prince of Piedmont dying without issue, Thomas Earl of Savoy had the good fortune to unite that fine country to his own more barren one. And he having also vanquished Guy Earl of Geneva, he reduced that country to be a fief of Savoy.

1234 King Henry III. confirmed the charter of King John his father to Newcastle upon Tyne, already recited. Wherein he gives "the said honest men, *probi homines*, upon their supplication, licence to dig coals and stones in the common soil without the walls, called the Castle Moon, and to convert them to their own profit, in aid of their fee-farm rent of one hundred pounds per annum."

This is the first mention we meet with of coals dug at Newcastle: probably, however, the coals then dug there, were only, or chiefly at least, for their own sole use, and that of their neighbourhood: for the city of London, in those times, had so many woods and coppes round it on all sides, and the carriage thereof, both by land and water, was then so cheap, that there was little need of coals for fuel; which, indeed, would have been more expensive to have then been brought from Newcastle, than the wood and turf fuel from their own near neighbourhood.

In the time of William Earl of Holland and Zealand, we find those two provinces so powerful in shipping, that the Earl's son, Florence, fitted out a fleet of three hundred ships, at the Pope's desire, in order to join Henry, son to Henry Duke of Brabant, and Theodore Earl of Cleves, against the Stadingi, (*in Stadingas*) who were declared heretics. Who these heretic Stadingi were, is not clear to us: possibly they might be some branch of the Waldenses or Albigenes.—Eyndii, *Chronica Zelandiæ*: Middleburgi, 1635.

As we shall, at different periods, exhibit the rates or prices of provisions, and other necessities, as we go on with our work, we shall here give a few extracts from an octavo book, published in 1679, by Thomas Blount, of the Inner Temple, Esq. and we shall give them here altogether, though somewhat out of our constant chronological course, merely to save the frequent quotation of this author. This work is entitled, "*Fragmenta Antiquitatis, or Ancient Tenures of Land, and jocular Customs of some Manors, extracted from Records,*" viz.

Anno 19mo Hen. III. Walter Gately held the manor of Westcourt, in Bedington in Surry. yielding yearly to the King one cross-bow, *balistam*, value twelve-pence.

Anno tertio Edw. I. Osbert de Lonchamp, knight, held his lands of Ovenhelle in Kent, for personally guarding the King forty days into Wales at his own expence, with one horse of five shillings value, one sack worth sixpence, and one broch for that sack.

N. B. All personal services or attendances on our Kings in those times, were limited to forty days, at their own expence.

The like the same year of Laurence de Broke, who for his hamlet of Renham in Middlesex, found the King one soldier, a horse worth five shillings, a sack worth fivepence, and a broch worth twopence, (this broch was a kind of cup, jug, pot, or bason) for forty days, at his own expence, wherever his army shall be within the four seas. This was settled, says our author, at the Stone Cross, which stood near the May-pole in the Strand, London, where the judges-*itinerant* used in old times to sit.

Robert Maunsel's tenure of lands in Peverel paid the same service, and the horse, sack, and broch of the same prices.

13mo Edw. I. Henry de Averning's tenure of the manor of Merton in Essex, was to find a man, a horse worth ten shillings, four horse-shoes, a leather sack, and an iron broch.

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The year following, three persons held thirty acres of land in Carleton in Norfolk, by the service of bringing the King, whenever he shall be in England, twenty-four pailies of fresh herrings, at their first coming in.

Another held his manor, in Norfolk, of that King, by annually supplying him at his Exchequer with two vessels, called mucs, of wine made of pearmain. "Here," says our author, "it is worth observing, that in King Edward the First's time, pearmain cyder was called 'wine.' This therefore seems to account for the mention of vineyards in old times in Kent, Suffex, and other parts of England, which has so often puzzled many people to elucidate.

Another person, in the twenty-first of the said King, held thirty acres of land, valued at ten shillings yearly in the Exchequer, or fourpence per acre, in Cambridgehire, for furnishing a truss of hay for the King's necessary-house, or privy, whenever he shall come into that county.

Another, in the thirty-fourth of that King, held a manor in Kent, for providing a man to lead three greyhounds, when the King shall go into Gascony, so long as a pair of shoes of fourpence should last.

And, that we may not again recur to these old tenures, we shall further add, from the same author, that in the first year of King Edward II. Peter Spileman made fine to the King for his lands by Serjeanty, to find one to serve as a soldier for forty days in England, with a coat of mail; also to find straw for the King's bed, and hay for his horse.

§ This article of straw for the King's bed, we did not so much wonder at, when we found it in an article in William the Conqueror's time; but it is somewhat more remarkable so late as the days of King Edward the Second.

Several others, we find, held their lands of the crown in those times by very different tenures. One, by paying two white capons annually; another, by carrying the King's standard whenever he happens to be in the county of Suffex; another, by carrying a rod or baton before the King on certain occasions: another, by serving the office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer, a very good place at present; another, by building and upholding a bridge; another, by being marechal, (*meretricum*) i. e. as Mr. Blount translates it, of the laundresses in the King's army; another, by acting as a serjeant at arms for the King's army whilst in England: one supplies a servant for the King's larder; another, for his wardrobe; others, to find servants for this or that forest; another, a hawk; one presents the King a pair of scarlet hose annually; others are bound to supply soldiers with armour for certain days, for the keeping this or that castle; one, viz. for the manor of Elston in Nottinghamshire, pays yearly rent of one pound weight of cummin seed, two pair of gloves, and a steel needle; another, is to repair the iron-work of the King's plows; Ela Countess of Warwick, in the thirteenth year of King Edward I. held the manor of Hokenorton in Oxfordshire, in the barony of D'Oyly, by the serjeanty of carving at the King's table on his birth-day, and she to have the knife the King then uses at table. Many more instances of such-like tenures are described in that, and other authors; but these, we apprehend, may be sufficient for the purpose intended, viz. of giving a more distinct idea of the times we have now under consideration.

1235 We have seen under the year 1216, that historians are generally agreed in King John's having been the first English King that coined sterling money, so called from the *Easterlings*, its coiners and refiners. In vol. i. p. 342, of the *Fœdera*, under the year 1235, we find the first mention of it in that work, and also an authentic account of the then proportion between pounds sterling and livres tournois of France. King Henry III. appears there to have engaged

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1235 gaged to pay annually, for five years to come, two hundred pounds sterling, or eight hundred livres tournois, to the master and brothers of the Temple in London, to be by them remitted to the Templars at Paris, for the use of the Count de Marche, in consideration of our King's keeping the island of Oleron, by virtue of the truce with France.

Thus a French livre tournois, contained then only as much silver as fifteen shillings sterling do at this time: so if the French pound, or livre's weight was equal to the Anglo-Norman pound, as is probable enough, the French had sunk or debased their coins to one fourth part of their original value, long before our money was debased at all.

It was proper to make use of this distinction of pounds sterling here, or of something like it, when treating of pounds, or livres tournois. But this distinction not being observed with respect to Scotland, evidently proves, that the monies of Scotland were, at this time, and long after, of the very same fineness, weight, and denomination with those of England, as has been already sufficiently demonstrated under the year 1107. There was, indeed, so close an intimacy in those times between the two Britannie monarchies, and till the sudden death of the Scottish King Alexander III. that it is no wonder they had the same coins. The Kings of Scotland in this and the preceding century, enjoyed great possessions in England, for which they paid homage to the English Kings; the Scottish Kings having, for that purpose, had their chair on the right, as the Prince of Wales had on the left-hand, of the King of England's throne in Parliament.

That the money of both kingdoms was the same in this century as in the preceding one, take the following additional proofs, viz.

I. There is a bond of William, surnamed the Lion, King of Scotland, dated 1209, to King John of England, for fifteen thousand marks, without any sort of description or distinction whether English or Scottish marks; which, had there been any difference, would undoubtedly have been made.

II. In p. 252 of the first volume of the *Fœdera*, we have another incontestable proof of our position. It is a settlement of a dowry by King Alexander II. of Scotland, on his Queen Jane, sister of King Henry III. of England, in 1221, of one thousand pounds yearly, wherein there is no sort of distinction made of the pounds, being only termed one thousand libratas, or pounds.

III. In the contract of marriage between King Alexander III. of Scotland, and Margaret, daughter of King Henry III. in the year 1251, Henry obliges himself to pay to Alexander a portion of five thousand marks, without any kind of distinction whatever.

IV. In a contract, p. 472, of the second volume of the *Fœdera*, of King Edward I. in the year 1290, concerning the intended match between his eldest son, afterwards the unfortunate Edward the Second, and the infant Scottish Queen, usually called the Maid of Norway, the sole grand-daughter and heiress of the said King Alexander III. the re-payment of three thousand marks is therein mentioned, without naming the word sterling, or any other kind of distinction whatever.

V. King Alexander III. having in the year 1281, obliged himself to pay a portion of fourteen thousand marks, or twenty-eight thousand pounds of our money, a very great sum indeed at that time, with his daughter Margaret, betrothed, and afterwards married to Eric King of Norway, King Edward I. of England, who, ever since the death of Alexander III. had stiled himself superior Lord of Scotland, directs his mandatory letter, in 1293, vol. ii. p. 616, of the *Fœdera*, to the King, John Baliol, to make good the arrears of that sum, naming them, as before, barely as marks, without any distinction.

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VI. Lastly, in the same collection, vol. ii. p. 695, in the contract entered into in the year 1295, between King Philip the Fair of France, and King John Baliol of Scotland, for a marriage between the said John's son, Prince Edward, and the Princess Joanna, Philip's niece, she was to have for her dowry fifteen hundred pounds sterling, (*librarum sterlingorum*) one thousand pounds whereof was to issue out of certain lands in Scotland. The words *librarum sterlingorum*, being only used here by way of distinction from *librarum turonenfum*.

We have, in our Introduction, observed, from good authority, that, neither in England nor in France, the pound or the mark were ever real coins, but mere denominations of a certain quantity of silver by weight: and we may now add, that it was the same in all, or most other parts of Europe, where the marks and pounds were in general use; as the shilling in England was also a mere denomination till 1504: the real coins were sub-denominations and proportional parts of these two higher denominations; *i. e.* so many, or a certain number of the lower denominations being real coins, made up the quantity of silver contained in a mark weight, or pound weight; the mark weighing eight ounces, and the pound twelve ounces troy weight.

We shall offer one other instance of the proportion between a pound sterling and a livre tournois, from Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 381, under the year 1288, that we may place them here all together. In the King of Arragon's acknowledgement to our King Edward I. of his having received payment of a bond for twenty-three thousand marks sterling, at thirteen shillings and fourpence per mark, for the enlargement of Charles Prince of Salerno from captivity, the King of Arragon declares part of that debt to have been paid him in livres tournois, at the rate of fifty-four sols tournois per mark, which is eighty-one sols, or four livres and one sol per pound sterling.

In the twentieth year of King Henry III. we find, in the very beginning of our printed statutes, the following one relating to usury, which was the well-known and only name then for the interest of money, viz. that "from henceforth usury shall not run against any person being within, *i. e.* under age, from the time of the death of his ancestor, whose heir he was, until his lawful age. So, nevertheless, that the payment of the principal debt, with the usury that was due before the death of this ancestor, shall not remain."

This shews, that usury, or interest on money, was then in general and lawful practice; although we find no fixed standard or rate of interest enacted by any law, till so late as the thirty-seventh year of King Henry VIII. in the year 1545; till which last period, every one may be supposed to get as much as he could for the use of his money; which seems, indeed, partly to be implied by the above act of Parliament's not naming any prior rate of interest.—Even Pope Alexander IV. in the year 1255, in giving charge to his inquisitors, called since the Court of Inquisition, concerning heresies, &c. directs them expressly not to meddle with usury. And from history we find there were some, even in this age, who affirmed, *usuram non esse peccatum mortale*, that the taking of usury was not a mortal sin.

1236

The Christian potentates in Spain, had, by this time, gained considerable ground on the Moorish princes in that country; particularly we find that Ferdinand III. King of Castile, had now conquered the Moorish kingdom of Corduba, the capital of Andalusia, which the Moors had held two hundred and sixty years. These vanquished people therefore retreated to Granada, which they erected into a new kingdom, and, as we shall hereafter see, was the last they held in Spain. Those Christian princes soon after conquered Valencia from the Moors:

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1236 so that by the year 1248, there was only left to the Moors the kingdom of Granada, in which, however, that of Murcia was included.

In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 363, we have the price of a ton of wine, in King Henry the Third's letter to Joan Countess of Flanders and Hainault, which was written in this year, concerning seizures of merchants effects on both sides. He promises her "to make good one hundred and four pounds sterling, in recompence for fifty-two dolia, or tons of wine," *dolium* being always Latin for a ton in measure, "which had been taken from the Flanders merchants." This is at the rate of two-pence, or sixpence of our money, per gallon.

The merchants of the city of Cologne in Germany, had now the principal management of the Steel-yard society in London: for, in a charter of King Henry III. "he grants those merchants of Cologne, in the twentieth year of his reign, an exemption from two shillings, which they were accustomed to pay out of their Guildhall at London," called in Latin, *Gildbalda Teutonicorum*, "and from all other customs: as also that they might safely resort to fairs, and buy and sell every where freely."

1237 The city of London now obtained a grant from the lord of the manor of Tyburn, then a village, of certain springs in that manor, near Marybone, in order for the conveying of their water by leaden pipes, of six inches diameter, into the said city. Which first grant, as also another in the year 1354, for the same purpose, are both recited in the eleventh volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 29, as will be seen more at large under the year 1443.

The foreign merchants, but chiefly those of France, residing in London, gave one hundred pounds towards this expence, in consideration of their being permitted to land their woad, and other merchandize, out of their ships, being before this time obliged to sell the same on board their vessels in the Thames; for which privilege they also now agree to pay forty marks yearly to the city of London.

In this year the crown of England was first supplied with a pretence for the future conquest of Wales; their old and infirm Prince Llewelin, in order to be safe from the persecutions of his undutiful son Griffyn, having put himself under subjection and homage to King Henry III.

According to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, wheat was now at three shillings and fourpence per quarter, or ten shillings of our money; barley two shillings, and oats one shilling per quarter. Also, three chaplains doing daily duty in the church of the Templars at London, had each of them an annual allowance of four marks, or two pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, which was equal to eight pounds of our money, for their maintenance. If, therefore, we suppose a quarter of wheat to be worth forty shillings at present, and the other necessities bore nearly a proportionable price to wheat, then the expence of living was about, or near, five times cheaper than in our days: those chaplains had each an annual salary equal, in modern money, to about forty pounds; but it must be always remembered, that the coin at this time, and long after, was thrice the weight of ours at present,—that the clergy were all unmarried men,—and that luxury was then much less predominant than in our times.

About this time the Russians, then a much smaller and less considerable nation than at present, being vanquished by the Grim Tartars, and their Duke or Czar George, slain by them, they became tributary to the Tartars, (as we have seen they had formerly been to the Poles) who kept them for a long time in subjection; and as they remained a rude and unpolished people for several succeeding centuries, having little communication with the western parts of Europe, we can write nothing very memorable and certain concerning their commerce, &c. till the English nation, in the year 1553, first found a new passage thither by sea.

Guncelin

A. D.

1238

Guncelin duke of Mecklenburg, having considered that the town of Mecklenburg, though large, as its name imports, was unfit to be fortified, by reason of its stretching out into so great and disproportioned a length, began to lay the foundation of a new and more commodious city in its neighbourhood on the Baltic Shore, named Wismar. The Saxons coming in such numbers to inhabit this new city, it increased so fast, that, in a short time, the very memory of the old town of Mecklenburg was almost forgotten, though it had given name to the dutchy, which formerly was a principality or kingdom of the Obotriti, a Slavian people.

It seems that the old town of Mecklenburg, though near the sea, not being a sea port, was gradually declining, even before the founding of Wismar; whilst the Christian cities built on the Baltic shore, by the industry of their Saxon inhabitants, and the protection they received by their being members of the Hanseatic confederacy, became daily more considerable.

Werdenhagen quotes some authors who make Wismar much more ancient than this date, though it is certain that it was neither fortified, nor in any other sense considerable, till after this time; when, by means of its excellent port, more commodious, says Werdenhagen, than that of any other of the Hans-towns for the reception of the largest laden ships, it became the usual rendezvous or station of the Hanseatic fleets in their naval wars.

1259

All our historians, and many foreign ones, are agreed, that the Hans-towns having been serviceable by their shipping to King Henry III. of England, in his wars with France, that King bestowed many large privileges on them by charters; and one in particular in this twenty-third year of his reign. Before this, he, or perhaps his father or grandfather, had given them the place at London, for their habitations and warehouses, named the Steelyard; it being so named from their dealing much in iron and steel. For there is good ground to believe, that the merchants of the free towns of Germany were settled at London, and perhaps in some other towns of England long before this time, and even much prior to the Hanseatic league. Here they lived a sort of collegiate life for several centuries, being walled in and locked up with strong-gates every night, carrying on a most gainful commerce by engrossing, for a long time, the whole foreign trade of the kingdom, both for importation and exportation, in their own foreign shipping; England, in those early times, having very few merchants, and fewer ships, of her own.

The town of Elbing in Prussia, is said to have been now founded by the German Knights of the Cross, then Sovereigns there.

1240

Such was the rapaciousness of the Popes, and such the stupid bigotry and ignorance of the laity, that as Matthew Paris, an eminent Historian and Monk of England, informs us, it was now complained of, "That there did not remain so much treasure in all England, as had in three years time been extorted from it by the Popes."

Heiss's History of the German Empire informs us, that so great was the rage of the two famous factions in Italy at this time, that the Guelphs treated the Emperor Frederick II. whom the Pope had excommunicated, as a Mahometan, and an enemy of the Christian name; and Frederick, in return, never forgave a Guelph. Divisions and slaughter, says our author, were hereby occasioned even in private families: neither Guelphs nor Ghibelines gave each other any quarter. The Emperor having not only banished and imprisoned many ecclesiastics, but even Cardinals themselves; it went so far, that Pope Innocent IV. actually took upon him to depose Frederick in the year 1245. Fuller, in his Holy War, hints at a tradition, that

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1240 our English words Elves and Goblins, came from Guelphs and Ghibelines. Even the free cities of Italy were divided into those two factions with great fierceness. At length the Guelphs or Pope's party prevailed so much, that the Ghibelines of those cities were driven out of Italy.

At this time the city of Magdeburg was of great account, being still esteemed the capital of all Germany. Its Archbishop had before granted to its burghers two *jugera*, or acres of land, without the walls for enlarging their city. And now he grants to the community of burghesses of Magdeburg, (the Latin is *Universitati Burgenfium*) a charter confirming all their customs, privileges, &c.

1241. As this is the first time we have met with the word *Universitas* in such charters, it may be here proper to remark, that the definition of that word by foreign civilians, answers nearly to our common law term of body politic or corporate: and such towns as had this appellation in Germany, &c. might hold lands and rents in common, and do all other acts as an aggregate body. Long after this, in 1323, we find the Emperor Lewis V. in a charter to this same city, directs it, *Consulibus et Universitati*—to the Consuls and Community. In this sense the word *Universitas* came to be applied to such academies for learning as were incorporated, which our great Archbishop Usher thinks began about the year 1250.

In the same year Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, lib. ii. p. 26, acquaints us, that the first league was contracted between Hamburg and Lubeck, “for guarding the road by land between those two cities, and the passages by water, from robbers and pirates at their joint expence.” This learned author also subjoins, “That, from a due contemplation of the conduct, genius, laws, &c. of those two famous cities, from this first league down to the present times, it seemed to him, as if Athens and Lacedemon had been revived in Germany; having the highest reason to compare Lubeck to Lacedemon, and Hamburg, his native city, to Athens.” And that both the German ones had this honour, in common with those two Grecian cities, that they waged many glorious and successful wars, both by sea and land, against potent kings and princes, for the preservation of their liberty and commerce, and frequently at their own individual expence, as well as at the head of the cities and people of the Hanseatic confederacy. From this league Lambecius very rationally thinks that the Hans-league took its proper rise, or at least its great increase, and not in 1169, as Werdenhagen's history of it alleges; which history he, in his margin, calls *inepta farrago*, a foolish medley. “Moreover,” says Lambecius, “when the other Vandalic and Saxon cities observed how greatly Lubeck and Hamburg prospered and increased in commerce and wealth, by means of their joint endeavours to oppose robberies and all other obstacles, they were glad to petition to be admitted into their confederacy, for the sake of the same security of their commerce as well as of their liberty. For the same reason other cities in Germany, and even out of the empire, got themselves admitted into this Hans-confederacy, which, he is justly positive, took its name from a German word which signifies a confederacy or society, and which, he says, plainly appears from the diploma granted by Henry III. king of England, in the year 1266, in these words, viz. *Concedimus mercatoribus de Hamborch pro nobis et Hæredibus nostris, quod ipsi habeant Hansam suam,*” (*hoc est*, says he, *ut ego interpretor, Societatem et Collegium*) “*per seipsos, per totum regnum in perpetuum.*” i. e. “We grant to the merchants of Hamburg, for ourselves and our heirs, that they shall have their Society or College by or to themselves, throughout all our kingdom for ever.”

Lambe-

A. D.

1241. Lambecius says, that this is the first time he had met with the word *Hansa* for a society. Yet as able a man as he certainly was, he is mistaken here, in relation to the antiquity of this word *Hansa* or *Hanse*. For it is used in two of King John's charters, in the year 1199, to York and Dunwich, as we have already observed; and it must therefore have been a known and usual word or term in England at that time for a society or corporation. It is at least, on one hand, very improbable that King Henry III. should make use of any term in his above-named charter to the Hamburg merchants residing in his kingdom of England, but what was properly well-known and generally in use in England, and much less a mere German word: as, on the other, it seems as improbable that this word should be applied for five centuries to that mercantile confederacy, if it had not been an usual appellation for a society or community in Germany, &c. It seems, however, very strange, that neither Helmoldus, Arnoldus, nor Werdenhagen, who was the prolix historiographer of the Hans-towns, nor any other German author before Lambecius, nor even the great Thuanus, when on the subject of the Hans-towns, should be able to discover that *Hansa* was originally a German word. Be this as it may, he is certainly right in allowing it to mean a society.

According to the authority of Matthew Paris, under the year 1241, the universally useful and necessary metal called tin, was till this time so peculiar a production of England, that there was none of this metal in all the world, that he could hear of, but in Cornwall and Devonshire. After this time it came to be discovered in some parts of Germany, and particularly in Bohemia, by means of a Cornishman who had been banished for misdemeanors; "which bad news," says Fuller, book iv. chap. 8. "Richard Earl of Cornwall, upon his return this year from the holy war, first heard; which afterwards more alluaged the swelling of his bags, than all his voyage to Palestine had done."

Camden (from Diodorus Siculus, who flourished in Augustus Cæsar's reign, and from Timæus in Pliny) observes, that the ancient Britons wrought the tin mines of Cornwall, and carried the metal in carts to some of the adjacent isles at low-water, where foreign merchants bought it and transported it to Gaul, and then on horseback to the city of Narbonne, as a common mart. The Saxons seem not to have meddled with those tin mines, or at most to have only employed the Saracens; "for," says he, "the inhabitants to this day, call a mine "that is given over, *attal Sarifin*; that is, the leavings of the Saracens." But after the Normans came in, Cornwall, by those mines, yielded vast revenues to its earls and dukes, particularly to Richard brother to Henry III. "And no wonder," continues he, "since Europe "was not then supplied with tin from any other place." For as to those mines in Spain, the incursions of the Moors had shut them up; and the veins in Germany, which are only in Misidia and Bohemia, were not discovered before the year 1240—by a certain Cornishman who had been banished his country. Edmund, Earl Richard's brother, first granted the tinnerns a charter, with various immunities; and he also first framed the Stannary Laws. All which privileges, rules, and laws, were afterwards confirmed by King Edward III. who first appointed a Lord Warden over them to do justice in points both of law and equity, and to set over the four companies of tinnerns each their proper sub-warden for the like purposes.

The ancient duty on tin, payable to the Dukes of Cornwall, is two pounds for every thousand pounds weight. All the tin, when refined, is to be carried to one or other of the four towns appointed for that purpose; where twice in the year it is weighed, stamped, or coined, as they term it, and this impost must be paid thereon, before any of it can be sold or carried away."

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In these ignorant and bigoted times, the miserable Jews throughout all Christendom met with most cruel and unchristian usage. Many crimes were laid to their charge, of which there is too much ground to believe they were quite innocent. In England, King Henry III. frequently squeezed their purses for the support of his extraordinary expences; particularly his queen's uncle, Thomas earl of Savoy, coming now into England, Henry received him with such magnificence, that not being able otherwise to provide money for so great an expence, he compelled the Jews to present him with twenty thousand marks, or forty thousand pounds of our money, on pain of being expelled the kingdom.

1242 The town of Plimpton in Devonshire, in this twenty-sixth year of King Henry III. had free privileges conferred on it by its superior Lord, Baldwin de Redvers earl of Devonshire, by granting his burgeses of his said town the entire burgh, with the markets and fairs, as freely, &c. as the citizens of Exeter held their city of the King.

Though Waldemar II. king of Denmark, had conquered Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Holstein, Lubeck, Livonia, &c. yet but two years after his death, in the year 1242, we find, even by Meursius's *Historia Daniæ*, that Eric IV. and Abel, his sons, by disputing for the dominion of the whole, lose the glory of this really great empire, while the lately vanquished Lubeckers, in the infancy of the Hanseatic confederacy, having been driven away from fishing on the Danish coasts, hasten home and fit out a squadron of ships, with which they sail and attack Copenhagen, still subject to the Bishop of Roschild, take and sack its castle, and return to Lubeck, laden with booty. So fluctuating was power in those early times in the Baltic. The Lubeckers again assaulted and burned a great part of Copenhagen in the year 1248, when it was still subject to the Bishop of Roschild, and remained so till the year 1284, when its property was transferred by the Bishop to the crown of Denmark, and has ever since been its capital city.

The Emperor Frederic II. being King of Sicily as well as Emperor, was at this time powerful at sea, and in this year sent out seventy sail of ships to join the Pisans, who had fifty-two sail, against the Genoese fleet, consisting of eighty-three galleys, thirteen galleasses, and three large storeships; which, however, according to the Chevalier de Mailly, defeated the combined fleet of the Emperor and Pisa.

Mr. Madox, in his *History of the Exchequer*, chap. xi. p. 259, treating of the hospitality and expence of the kings of England, relates, that King Henry III. in this twenty-sixth year of his reign, "directs the Sheriff of Gloucestershire to buy for him in that county twenty " salmon, (*et in Pané poni facias*) to be baked in pyes or crust, and to send them up to him " at London by Christmas next. He also directs the Sheriff of Suffex to send him ten brawns, " *brawnes*, with the heads, ten peacocks, fifty rabbits, one hundred partridges, and five hundred hens." In 1244, "he directs the Sheriff of Kent to send him one hundred ship loads " of grey stone, for the works erecting at Westminster." This was probably the new Abbey Church there, though he did not live to finish the two western towers.

The Mameluke guards of Egypt, at this time, deposed Elmuten, their last King of the race of Asfarreddin, and in his stead elected one of their own officers to be king. These Mameluke kings, or sultans, were afterwards in continual war with the Crusaders in Syria till the time of Araphus, their sixth sultan, when the Christians were totally driven out.

1243 In the years 1243 and 1244, says the *Chronicon Preciosum*, corn was so plentiful, that
1244 wheat and pease were each at two shillings, or six shillings in our money, per quarter; and
1246 yet, in 1246, were so dear as sixteen shillings, *i. e.* equal to two pounds eight shillings of our money

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money. If this cheap price of wheat, and other things equally cheap, were to be a permanent rule, the rate of living would then be nearly as seven to one, when compared with that of our days.

Matthew Paris also says, that wheat was so reasonable and cheap in the year 1243, as to be sold for two shillings per quarter, or six shillings of our money.

- 1244 King Henry III. by examination, found that the money annually drawn from England by the court of Rome, amounted to sixty thousand marks, or one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our modern money, equal in point of expence of living to seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds in our days.

- 1245 The Normans, as Lambecius calls them, probably Norwegians, did, in the year 1245, sack the city of Hamburg, burned the cathedral and its noble college, together with its library, which had been first founded by the Emperor Charlemagne, and improved by some of his successors. He adds,

That Hamburg was quickly rebuilt, and daily increased from the benefits of its maritime commerce.

- The present fine and stately Abbey Church of Westminster was at this time began to be built as it now appears, excepting the finely rebuilt north front, and the later superstructures of the two beautiful new western towers on the foundations of the old ones, and some other casings where the stone was worn out.

- 1246 The houses of the city of London till this time, were, like others in those days, mostly covered or thatched with straw. For it appears by Stowe and other historians, that an ordinance some years before issued, was, in 1246, renewed, that all houses therein should be covered with tiles or slates instead of straw; more especially such as stood contiguous in the best streets, which were then but few, compared to our days. For what is now the heart of the city, about Cheapside, was, it seems, a void place called Crownfield, from the Crown Inn there; the bulk of the city lying then more eastward.

In the thirtieth year of King Henry III. of England, says Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, chap. xx. p. 549, he "grants or dedicates to God and St. Edward, and to the church of Westminster, for the re-edifying of that fabric, two thousand five hundred and ninety pounds, which was due to him by Licoricia, the widow of David, a Jew of Oxford."

- 1247 Eundius, in his *Chronica Zelandiæ*, tells us, that William earl of Holland, Zealand, &c. who had been elected Emperor, built many castles in the Netherlands, and repaired and new fortified the cities of Dort and Middleburg, bestowing various privileges on them and other towns; and he now made Middleburg to be the capital city of the Zealand isles. He is also said to have built the palace at the Hague, whither he removed the provincial courts from Gravesand.

- 1248 All former expeditions to the Holy Land having in the end proved unfortunate, King Louis the IXth of France, stiled in their histories St. Louis, from a dream, or some other enthusiastical impulse, after four years preparations, set out for Egypt with a vast army and fleet, together with his three brothers and their wives, partly from Marseilles, and partly from Aigues-Mortes, from which last town the sea has long since withdrawn, so as to be now no sea port. He lost half his army by sickness, and the other half was defeated; St. Louis and two of his brothers being made prisoners, and the third brother killed in the engagement. Louis was ransomed for two hundred thousand bezants of gold, which are said to have equalled fifty thousand pounds sterling. He remained four years after in Palestine, and then returned home with an intent to renew his enterprizes against the infidels.

Accord-

According to Matthew Paris, the Emperor Frederic II. was now constrained to coin money made of stamped leather at the siege of Parma; which, however, he afterwards called *in*, and exchanged for good money.

Some authors date the rise of the first commercial society of English merchants, styled, of St. Thomas Becket, from this year, when they are said to have had privileges granted them in the Netherlands by John Duke of Brabant; whither it seems, they had begun to resort with our English wool, lead, and tin, and to trade for their fine woollen cloths, &c. From which society the company styled, The Merchants of the Staple of England, took its rise. The traders, called Notable Merchants, by the statutes and ordinances of early times, were only those of the staple, who at first were all foreigners, as appears by Magna Charta, as well as by the statute of the staple, twenty-seventh of Edward III. 1353, which prohibits English merchants from carrying staple commodities out of the realm. But by an act of the thirty-fourth of King Edward III. 1362, they had the same liberty with foreigners.

1250 In the ancient registers of this date at Paris, it is found, that a workman whose daily wages now may be forty sols, did not then earn above four deniers per diem: four livres *tournois* being at that time nearly equal to one pound sterling, which then contained thrice as much silver as now, a livre or twenty sols was then consequently worth fifteen shillings sterling of our modern money. So that those four deniers, or one-sixtieth part of a livre, were worth of our money, one-sixtieth part of fifteen shillings, or three pence of our present money: while forty modern sols are worth about twenty-one English pence, or about seven times the daily wages of a French workman five hundred years ago. And yet we frequently meet with ignorant assertions on this subject, both in common conversation as well as books, for want of duly considering the difference between the quantity of silver or bullion then in a livre, or in a pound sterling, and what is contained therein at present. Now if it be again duly considered, that in all probability the French workman, five hundred years ago, could actually, with his four ancient deniers, or three modern pence sterling, purchase seven times as much of the common necessaries of life as he could now do, then four deniers at that time was as good pay as forty sols, or twenty-one pence sterling are at this day.

About this time, according to Alexander Nevil's *Norvicum*, the hospital of St. Giles in the city of Norwich was built, and amply endowed by Bishop Walter, who also built the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the cathedral church. Mr. Nevil, by making use of the words *templum cathedrale*, strengthens the observation, or rather conjecture, we made under the years 1152 and 1170, that there was, in those times, but one church in Norwich, which he calls, without other distinction, *ecclesia Norwicensis*; though, at this period, very probably, there were several parish churches in it.

1251 Throughout all this century, we find the Genoese keeping up their pretensions to a supreme dominion in their adjacent Ligustic Sea, according to the vindicator of their sea dominion, Baptista Burgus, already quoted; who says, Lib. I. Cap. 14. that, in the year 1251, Genoa granted leave to the Florentines to trade, either by sea or land, through the Genoese territory, so as they carried not prohibited goods, nor sailed with the enemies of Genoa. He says, their then potent dominion extended from Marseilles westward, to Tuscany eastward: and, beside the acquisition of the isles of Sardinia and Corsica, they became powerful in the East by the favour of the Greek Emperors. They were also courted by the greatest Princes of Europe, on account of their vast naval power.

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1251

It was doubtless their almost perpetual divisions—their giving way too much to a popular government—and their rival nobility perpetually warring or intriguing against each other, which, by degrees, brought them to the low state they are now in. Yet their historian, the Chevalier de Mailly, would insinuate, that their attachment to commerce contributed to bring them low. His words, in his introduction, speaking of the height of their power, are, “*mais depuis que ces peuples se furent attachez au commerce, leur valeur se relacha,*” &c. i. e. “but ever since they gave themselves up to commerce, their valour diminished; and,” he superadds indeed, that “they lost by their divisions a part of those provinces which they had gained by their courage.” But had this author been asked, how that state could, as he relates, have fitted out, at one time, a fleet of upwards of two hundred ships of war, without their being greatly attached to commerce; or how any modern maritime state can be powerful on the sea, or indeed preserve its independence, without a very extensive maritime commerce, it would, we conceive, have puzzled him to have given a satisfactory answer.

The Romans, it is confessed, in the point of subduing Carthage, are an exception to this general position: but they were then still a people of such stubborn virtue, and of such obstinate zeal for their country's glory, as are by no means to be compared with any modern nation whatever. They had determined the ruin of Carthage, already ripe for destruction by its violent factions, and kept that point perpetually in view. And although, in the beginning, their galleys were very ill constructed; yet, by their determined and matchless firmness in that favourite point, *delenda est Carthago*, they overcame many terrible difficulties: and, having once subdued the greatest maritime power on earth, it was quite easy for them to keep the rest in awe, when their empire became an over-match for all other potentates.

Yet we may further answer De Mailly's remark, by observing, that the valour of the ancient free states of Greece, was never higher than when their commerce was in its most flourishing condition. The same we conceive may be said of the states of Venice, of Pisa, and of Florence, and even in a great degree of Genoa itself, whose great commerce alone enabled them to perform such mighty exploits in support of the expeditions to the Holy Land. Lastly, to come nearer home, when was a certain neighbouring state so brave, and in such power and strength, as when their commerce was in its meridian glory? And we might even appeal to ourselves at home, not only in the beginning of the present century, and also much more in our own times, for a similar example. It was therefore their violent and factious disposition, rather than their attachment to commerce, that brought them low.

We have now a remarkable instance of the gaiety and splendor of King Henry III's court at York, where, upon the marriage of his eldest daughter Margaret to King Alexander III. of Scotland, there appeared on the first day, says Matthew Paris, above one thousand of his military commanders all clad in silk apparel; and the next day they appeared in other new and gay dresses. The wines drank at court, on such occasions, were French and Rhenish, in great plenty; but no mention yet of Spanish, much less of Levant wines. The expeditions to the Holy Land are said to have introduced much of this gaiety into the West, not to our praise, or credit.

In this same thirty-fifth year of King Henry III. of England, that King directs the Sheriff of Surry and Suffex to provide for his use, so many brawns, sheep, ducks, hens, chickens, and conies, as would cost six pounds twelve shillings, against the feast of St. Edward. Madox's Excheq. Chap. x.

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And in Chap. xxiii. p. 268. of the same work, King Henry III. "orders one hundred shillings to Master Henry, his poet, in payment of his arrears." Also in page. 674, the same year, "he orders the same poet (Versificator) ten pounds." So that this poet was pretty well rewarded, according to the value of money in those days.

1252 Genoa demonstrated the magnitude of her naval force, in a quarrel between her and Venice concerning the property of a church in the city of Ptolemais in Syria: the deciding of which dispute occasioned several naval engagements between those two potent states; in one of the last of which, near to their own isle of Corfou, the Venetians lost almost their whole fleet, consisting of upwards of sixty galleys, with five thousand men carried prisoners to Genoa.

King Henry III. again extorted great sums from the Jews in England, for defraying the expence of an expedition to Palestine. And the very next year he forced such large sums from them, that they entreated for permission to depart the kingdom; which, however, was denied them, and they were forced to supply a larger sum than ever.

The learned Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, Lib. ii. fol. 37. acquaints us, that commerce now flourished greatly in the towns of Flanders; and thither, says he, did our merchants resort, (meaning those of his own city of Hamburg, and the other Hans-Towns) though with more trouble than profit, because of the grievous and excessive duties and exactions laid on them there. Which matter being represented by the Hamburgers to the general meeting of the Hanseatic League, they sent two deputies from Hamburg in their name to Margaret countess of Flanders, to treat of more moderate duties, and of other commercial matters. All which they settled to their satisfaction, as they did also the same year with Albert duke of Saxony.

1252 In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry III. of England, and the year of our
and Lord 1252, was the famous charter of Romney Marsh in Kent first granted; and in that
1258 King's forty-second year, being the year of our Lord 1258, were the laws and customs framed by the King's Justice, Henry de Bathe, for the reparation of the sea banks of that marsh, in order to preserve them from inundations. This ancient charter, and the laws and customs established in consequence thereof, are since become the model for all other sea-borders, great marshes and fens, in relation not only to their sea walls, called dykes in Holland, but to their sewers, drains, ditches, &c. So that the subsequent acts of Parliament, for draining and preserving of other marshes and fens, &c. down to that of the fifteenth of King Charles II. Cap. ii, refer to the laws and customs of Romney Marsh for the government, &c. of all such marshes, fens, sea walls, &c. as the standard for all others. This having so near a relation to our general subject, naturally requires our due notice.

1253 William de Rubruquis, a friar, travelled into the eastern countries of Persia, Tartary, &c. by order of St. Louis King of France; according to Hakluyt, Selden, &c. concerning which remote countries, both he and Carpini, who had been sent out the same way by Pope Innocent IV. in the year 1246, relate some improbable matters, suitable to the ignorance of that age.

That fine linen was at this time made in England, we have the undoubted authority of Madox's History of the Exchequer, Cap. x. p. 259. wherein King Henry III. in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, directs the Sheriffs of Wilts and Suffex to buy for him, each out of his respective county, one thousand ells of fine linen, and to send it to his wardrobe at Westminster.

About this time, Alfonso XI. King of Castile, is said to have composed his famous astronomical tables:—he was esteemed a most famous mathematician for the age in which he lived.

- 1254 Königsberg, *i. e.* King's Mount, so named in honour of the King of Bohemia, now the capital of the kingdom of Prussia, was founded by Ottocar king of Bohemia, Otho marquis of Brandenburg, and other German Princes, during the time of their wars against the Pagan Prussians, in conjunction with the other Teutonic Knights of the Cross. They also founded Brunsberg there, so named from Bruno, archbishop of Prague, who baptized many of the Pagan Prussians; which people, in the space of about fifty-three years, were utterly extirpated, and the country planted with Germans.

In the first and second volumes of Rymer's *Fœdera*, we find several jointures of royal and princely houses, which serve to inform us of the scarcity of money in this century.

The first is, the jointure of Eleanor, daughter of Alfonso king of Castile and Leon, in 1254, contracted to Prince Edward, eldest son of King Henry III. being one thousand pounds yearly in lands, which was equal to three thousand pounds of our money, and five hundred marks more when she should become Queen. Vol. I. p. 519.

II. King Edward I. in 1273, settled a jointure of two thousand marks yearly, on Joanna daughter of Henry king of Navarre, contracted to his son Prince Henry, viz. one thousand marks out of the customs of Bourdeaux, which shews that city to have been at this time a place of considerable commerce, and the other one thousand marks out of certain lands in England. Vol. II. p. 18.

III. Another was, the dowry of King Edward I's daughter Elizabeth, contracted to John earl of Holland and Zealand, and lord of Friesland, which was eight thousand livres Tournois, or about two thousand pounds sterling, per annum in lands, the manor of the Hague being part of the said lands. Vol. II. p. 18.

- 1255 Stockholm, the present capital city of Sweden, or rather, according to some, a castle of that name on a bare island, before that city was begun to be built, which was in 1260, was now founded by King Birger. This city was not very considerable till a little more than two centuries ago. It stands on six isles joined by bridges, and therefore by some named the northern Venice. At first it was built only on one isle, purely for security from the Russian Sea robbers of those times. Yet so early as the year 1282, Puffendorf mentions a convocation of the states at Stockholm.

Some authors think that Enköping, situate forty miles north west on the same lake, was formerly the royal residence; and is the ancient *Byrca* with a modern name, which, as described by Helmoldus and others, answers to the situation of Enköping. But with respect to Birger, this chronology cannot be right, as that King did not begin his reign till the year 1290. It must therefore have been Waldemar, and not Birger, who reigned in the year 1255.

The once famous commercial city of Wisbuy, in the isle of Gothland, in the Baltic Sea, must have been very considerable in this century; since Lambecius, in his *Mantissa veterum diplomatum*, printed at the end of the second book of his *Origines Hamburgenses*, gives us a diploma, wherein the dominican and franciscan monks of Wisbuy certify their having seen and heard the following charters of privileges granted to their said city, viz.

I. That of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, already exhibited under the year 1163.

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1255 II. That the charters of John and Gerard, earls of Holstein, &c. dated in the year 1255, importing, "That they grant, as well to all the citizens of Wisbuy, as to the other inhabitants of the isle of Gothland, resorting to or passing through their country, all manner of protection for them and their goods and merchandize, and all other favours and liberties which they enjoyed in the time of their beloved father and his predecessors, in such sort as were granted to the citizens of Wisbuy by the late illustrious Henry duke of Brunswick :"
i. e. Henry the Lion, who was also duke of Brunswick.

The certificate of those monks is dated at Wisbuy, the 25th of May, 1368, and was probably procured either by the Hans-Towns of Lubeck, Hamburg, &c. or else by the citizens of Wisbuy, for keeping up their claims to certain privileges there, &c. Lambecius, in his Margin, calls Wisbuy, "*emporium antiquitus satis celebre*," a famous emporium of old.

And that we may not again, during this century, have occasion to mention this once eminent place, we shall here note what Puffendorf, in his History of Sweden, says of it, viz. "That in the reign of Magnus I." who reigned between the years 1277 and 1291, "in a quarrel between the citizens of Wisbuy and the country people of the island, the greatest part of the latter being killed by the former, King Magnus inflicted severe punishments on the citizens, who had fortified their city without giving him notice: and he made them enter into an engagement in writing to be obedient to his crown."

1256 The first commercial treaty we meet with between any of the Hans-Towns and the Netherlands, is in Lambecius's Origines Hamburgenses, Lib. II. p. 39, under this year; being a treaty between the city of Hamburg and Henry duke of Brabant and Lorraine; "whereby Hamburg obtained sundry privileges at the city of Antwerp, with liberty to continue its commerce in Brabant and Lorraine, even although this Prince should be at war with the Duke of Holstein." Lambecius laments the vast expence which this his native city has been at in procuring treaties of this kind; the reason whereof possibly is, because they did not answer the expectation formed concerning them. Here we also see that Antwerp was an early port of commerce.

The city of Sienna in Tuscany, among several others, seized, at this time, the opportunity of the confusions occasioned by the interregnum of the German empire, after the death of the Emperor William earl of Holland, to assume her independence. For some of the electors had chosen Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to King Henry III. of England, who was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and is said to have carried with him so vast a sum as seven hundred thousand pounds in money, or two millions one hundred thousand pounds of our money, so great was his riches at this time; whilst others chose Alphonso, king of Castile, who declined it. At length, however, they agreed in the election of Rodolph count of Hapsburg, in the year 1273, the root of the present Austrian family. Sienna, however, had but little reason to boast of her assumed liberty, being in continual agitation from the broils between its principal families, until at last the Emperor Charles V. reduced it to his subjection in the year 1554.

The grand Mahometan Caliphate of Bagdat had now a final period put to it, after those Caliphs or Emperors had swayed the sceptre at Bagdat for six hundred years, and until Hulacou Cam, the Tartar, grandson of the great conqueror Ghenghis Cam, slew Mustafem Billah, whom others call Abdala, the last of the Abasside Caliphs, and abolished the Caliphate of Bagdat, which has been long, but vulgarly, called Babylon, though the true situation of Babylon was thirty miles distant. Bagdat is the place where old Seleucia stood, being first built by Abugepher-Almantzor, and by him so named. This famous Caliphate, or headship

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1256 of Mahometanism, did not, however, through all the space of six hundred years, preserve its original authority, lustre, and empire entire. For about the year 868, Achmet Ben-Tolon took Egypt and Syria from them, and assumed the title of Caliph of Egypt. The chief emir and lieutenants in Africa, also revolting from him of Bagdat, assumed the lofty name of Caliphs. The Moors of Spain also, in imitation of their brethren of Barbary, on account of their great distance, assumed a similar independence of the grand Caliph of Bagdat; except that they barely owned him for the Chief of the Faithful.

Although this be not immediately within our province, it may yet help to illustrate the history of those times.

Heiss's History of the German Empire, informs us of a league now entered into by sixty cities and many princes of the empire, for the security of the high-ways and of commerce, during the divisions and disorders of the short reign of the Emperor William earl of Holland. These confederates abolished the tolls which had been unjustly laid on rivers, re-establishing peace for a short time; but the long interregnum succeeding, as already-mentioned, there were such confusions in their general diets, that no Prince cared to accept of the Imperial dignity for a considerable time after.

1257 Wheat, according to the Chronicon Preciosum, was so excessive dear as one pound four shillings per quarter, which is equal to three pounds twelve shillings of our money, or nine shillings per bushel. There must surely have been great negligence in the government in those times, to suffer the people to undergo such hardships so very frequently in the price of wheat. So that although one might rationally enough conclude in general, that of all kinds of necessaries, the price of corn is, for one single necessary, the best adapted to determine the rate of living in old times, compared with that of modern times; yet these great and often sudden variations in its price, frequently render it difficult to form an adequate and precise judgment on the subject.

What Mr. Echard observes, in his History of England, seems utterly without probability, viz. "That in this xliith year of King Henry III. he caused a penny of fine gold to be coined, of the weight of two sterlings," i. e. two silver pence, "and commanded that it should pass for twenty shillings, which was the first gold we find to have been coined in England." This is taken, says Echard, from an old manuscript chronicle of London. He also fixed the weight of silver money thus, viz. "An English penny, called also a sterling, round and without clipping, was to weigh thirty-two wheat corns, taken out of the middle of the ear; twenty pennies were to make an ounce, and twelve ounces one pound." Now this regulation for the weight of our silver coin, we have seen, was made long before, and could only be revived at this time for regulating or preventing abuses. But as all other very authentic authors are silent with respect to the coining of gold in England so early as this time, and as our curious antiquarian Camden, and many others, conjecture, that it was not till about the year 1320 that gold began to be coined in any part of Europe, west of the Greek empire, nor in England till twenty-four years later, as will be seen in its place, Mr. Echard is surely mistaken. Eight pounds weight, he adds, was now declared to be a gallon of wine-measure; and eight gallons a London bushel, or the eighth part of a quarter. Which weights and measures were confirmed by the statute of the xiith of King Henry VII. in the year 1497.

At this time the Christians were strong in Syria, and carried on a considerable commerce at Acres, or Ptolemais, in which place the Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans, had their distinct precincts, with each a separate wall, town-house, churches, and magistrates, living there in perfect friendship

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1257 friendship till this year, when the Genoese and Venetians engaged in a quarrel about the property of a church and monastery; but in reality, upon the grounds both of old and latter commercial grudges. The French governor of the town took part with the Genoese, which obliged the Venetians to retire with their ships, and to league with the Pisans and Manfred King of Sicily: whereupon, sending their joint fleet of sixty galleys thither, they broke the chain which shut up the haven of Ptolemais, and entering therein, took possession of the disputed church, burnt thirty-three Genoese ships, and demolished the town-house; though the Genoese, at length, taking to arms, made a horrible slaughter of the Venetians. In consequence of this event Genoa sends thither a considerable fleet, but are beaten, with the loss of twenty-five galleys; upon which the Venetians pillage the Genoese quarter, forcing the people entirely to abandon it. This great success of the Venetians was the occasion of their erecting the two columns, still remaining, in the square of St. Mark at Venice, on each of which is a copper-plate, containing a relation of it. Monsieur Maimbourg, in his History of the Crusade, observes, "That this quarrel brought on a most cruel war between those two potent states, " which continued for a whole age," except a few suspensions from feeble and short-lived treaties, "to the great prejudice of Christendom, and especially to the affairs of the East, " being the principal cause of the loss of all the Holy Land;" the Christian Princes, of Syria being drawn into that quarrel, on one side or the other, by which means the Saracen Sultans gained their point. At the same time the orders of Knights Templars and of St. John of Jerusalem, were at variance with each other. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Crusaders lost ground in Palestine, and were soon afterwards expelled from thence.

In Mr. Madox's History of the Exchequer, chap. xxiii. p. 620, under the forty-first year of King Henry III. there is the following account of jewels mentioned as bought for his Queen's use.—Eleven rich garlands with emeralds, pearls, sapphires, and granites, of the value of one hundred and forty-five pounds four shillings and fourpence, or four hundred and thirty-five pounds thirteen shillings of our money.

In this year, King Henry III. at the request of his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall, lately elected Emperor by part of the Electors, grants to the city of Lubeck, "that their " burghers and merchants may freely resort to England with their merchandize to traffic there- " with."

In Spain, says Captain Stevens, in his translation of Souza's History of Spain, the computation of time by the Christian era, did not commence till the year 1258 in Arragon, nor in Castile till 1383; nor in Portugal till 1415.

King Henry III. of England, being unable to carry on a successful war at the same time against his barons at home, and the French on the continent, found himself obliged to make a dishonourable peace with the latter, by which he gave up the entire Duchy of Normandy and County of Anjou, to St. Louis King of France, for the payment of three hundred thousand livres, and his being allowed an additional territory in Gascony, of the value of twenty thousand pounds sterling yearly, which last Duchy was all that he now retained in France.

During the great troubles and distractions in Germany by the interregnum, more especially between the year 1259 and 1273, a great part of the cities and states of Italy, which till then had been deemed fiefs of the empire, either set up for republics, or else acknowledged particular

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gular persons for their immediate sovereigns : And even after Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg, was elected and settled as Emperor, he, though a wise and potent Prince, was not in a condition to reduce them back to obedience, but was obliged to come to a composition with them, by selling them, for a sum of money, the privileges and immunities which they had assumed, and have, with little exception, ever since enjoyed. Heiss, in his History of the German empire, relates, that it cost the city of Lucca but twelve thousand crowns, in the year 1286, and the cities of Florence, Genoa, and Bologna, but six thousand crowns each : on condition, however, that they should always remain faithful to the empire, as being members thereof ; which, adds he, they have been very far from performing.

1260 In this year, King Henry III. at the request of his brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, granted to the merchants of Almain, or Germany, having a house at their Guildhall in London, the full confirmation of all the privileges granted to them in former reigns.

Marco Polo, a nobleman of Venice, now began to travel so far eastward into Asia as from Syria to Persia, and thence into the country, which from his time, down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, has been named Cathay. His book is entitled *De Regionibus Orientis*. Our first geographers, or rather map-makers, then marked it on their maps as a country on the east of Tartary, and betwixt it and China, even many years after the latter had been discovered by the Europeans, and known by the name of China. We are since arrived at a certainty, that this same Cathay is no other than the north part of China, and that the vast and opulent city of Cambalu, or as some more rightly named it, Khan-balik, *i. e.* the imperial city, conquered by Genghis-Kam in 1213, as already observed, is no other than Pekin, the present capital city of the vast empire of China : (See particularly Mons. Petis de la Croix's History of Genghis-Kam the Great, English translation, octavo, p. 443, anno 1722.) indeed the modern accounts of the situation, structure, &c. of Pekin, answer to his description of Can-balik, or Cambalu. He relates, that there was then a vast trade in the island of Java for spices, but the trade on the coast of Malabar was very indifferent ; yet, upon the whole, there were then vast numbers of ships trading to and fro in the Indian seas ; which seas he was the first who had described with any exactness before the Portuguese found the way thither. Hakluyt's second volume, p. 39 to 53, mentions one Friar Odoric, who travelled to Cambalu in Cathay ; by whose description likewise it could be no other than Pekin in China.

The Kings of Norway, from which country Iceland was first peopled, did not think it worth their while to claim the sovereignty of that inhospitable and barren isle till this period, when it was done by the Norwegian King Haquin. From this time, therefore, it has been subject to the crowns of Norway and Denmark, being of some benefit, as its surrounding sea supplies the best of cod-fish ; while brimstone is obtained from a mine near the foot of Mount Hecla, a volcano, or burning mountain in the island. It also produces tallow, hides, coarse butter, whale-oil, and sea-horses teeth.

1261 The city of Hamburg still continued to extend its traffic. Lambecius quotes a diploma, or charter of Byrgerus, then Stadtholder or King of Sweden, granting to that city the same privileges of resorting to his ports with their ships and merchandize, and with the same immunities from tolls, &c. as the city of Lubeck then enjoyed in Sweden. He adds, that Hamburg now also concluded a league with the Frisons.

Our learned and ingenious countryman, Roger Bacon, a Franciscan Friar of Oxford, flourished about this time. His great skill in mathematics acquired him the character of a magician in an ignorant age, so that he was sent for to Rome by the General of his Order, where

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1261 where he was imprisoned; but having cleared himself of such an idle and impotent charge, he returned to England. He died in 1284, leaving several works, according to Collier, whereof some are still in manuscript at Oxford. He is said by some to have invented the reading-glasses called spectacles.

In this year, the Genoese, having assisted the Greek Emperor to retake Constantinople by surprise from the Latins, after they had held it fifty-seven years, were constantly extending their commerce and influence in the east, chiefly by the favour of the Greek Emperors. The Venetians, as Mezerai observes, who had a great interest in this loss, blocked up Constantinople with a great fleet; yet the Genoese relieved the city, in opposition to the intreaties of all the western Christian Princes, and even the Pope's excommunications. In this year, the Emperor Michael Paleologus, not only in gratitude, confirmed their former immunities in his dominions, but also bestowed on them the city and port of Smyrna, with its jurisdictions, in return for the great assistance they gave him in recovering his empire; and, which was yet more, he gave them the suburb of Pera at Constantinople, and the island of Scio, or Chios, in the Archipelago, to which they brought a colony of their own people, who soon erected stately churches and magnificent palaces there, which our author, Petrus Baptista Burgus, lib. ii. cap. 10, says, remain to this day. This colony made a long and stout resistance against the fury of the Turks, in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Genoese even carried their arms into the ancient Taurica Chersonesus, now called Crimea, or Crim Tartary, where they founded several cities and castles: and, amongst others, Azoph, near the mouth of the river Don, now a famous barrier between the two empires of the Russians and Turks; and also Jambold, in the Crimea; and, above all, they restored, or rebuilt, the ancient city of Theodosia, by them named Caffa, once the most famous emporium in the Euxine sea, eminent for its haven, commerce, and library. To that place the Genoese transported a colony of their own nation, whose offspring still inhabit it; and although it fell into the hands of the Turks in the year 1474, yet it is said, that at this day, are to be seen the remains of their fine churches and palaces, and the people of Caffa boast of their descent from the Genoese; as many of their names evidently testify at this time. Whilst Genoa held Caffa, they first introduced the bringing of spices, &c. from the East Indies to Sinope and Trebizond on the Euxine or Black Sea, and thence by sea to Europe; by which they grew so famous in the east, that the Genoese coins were current at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar.

The Moors in Spain finding themselves too weak for the Christian Princes of that country, call in their brethren of Africa to their aid; by whose assistance they first took some places in Castile, which, however, were retaken by the Castilians two years after.

1262 In a sea-fight between the Genoese and Venetians near Sicily, the Genoese gained a complete victory, not a single vessel escaping but the admiral ship of Venice. We find, that in this sea-fight, both fleets had each of them, beside their galleys, three great ships, which seem to have resembled our modern ships of war. De Mailly observes, that their usual way of fighting at sea in those times was, first, by running their ships violently against those of their opponents, when the weaker of the two run a probable risque of being sunk, if the activity of her manœuvres did not frustrate the attempt: secondly, by throwing darts, javelins, arrows, stones, &c. at each other: thirdly, by grappling each other, they fought hand to hand with swords, spears, &c.

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At this time the Hanseatic merchants first began to resort to the city of Bruges in Flanders, and soon after to make it one of their four great comptoirs; from which circumstance, Bruges greatly increased in riches and commerce: for the bulky commodities of the nations within the Baltic sea, such as naval stores of all kinds, and iron, copper, corn, flax, hemp, timber, &c. beginning to be well known to the more southern parts of Europe, by means of the numerous shipping of the Hans-towns, became an object of demand in the other parts of Europe. But the direct voyage, in one and the same summer, between the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, and back again, being thought in those times hazardous and difficult, the mariner's compass not being as yet known, a middle, or half-way station or port became very desirable, to which traders of both seas should bring their respective merchandize in summer, viz. the naval stores, &c. of the northern parts, and the spices, druggs, fruits, cotton, &c. of the Levant, and of Spain and Italy, by the ships of Venice, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, &c. also the wool, lead, and tin of England, and the wines and fruits of France, &c. there to be lodged as a market, for the reciprocal supply of the rest of Europe. Of all ports whatever, the ports of Flanders were the best suited for such a half-way station or entre-port; more especially, as the long-established manufactures, both of woollen and linen, equally necessary to all nations, were now flourishing there in the highest perfection. To Bruges, therefore, most nations sent their merchandize, and brought from thence the produce of other nations which they had need of: so that this famous city soon became, as it were, the general magazine of merchandize for all Europe; and the country of Flanders in general, as well as Bruges in particular, became, from this circumstance, extremely rich and populous. Yet the Hanseatic writers complain loudly of the petulance and insolence of the inhabitants of Bruges towards their people, and resolutions were even afterwards taken, in the general meetings of the deputies of the Hans-towns, to break off all commerce with Flanders, although in the end matters were accommodated; and this commercial route was continued for about three hundred years after this time; though afterwards Antwerp became the grand emporium, instead of Bruges. It must, however, be acknowledged, that Bruges and Ghent, then the two best cities in Flanders, were, in former times, remarkable for a seditious and insolent disposition, their great wealth, and almost unbounded liberty, prompting them too naturally to it. But these cities have been long since effectually humbled, their trade, wealth, and liberty being entirely vanished.

Ireland still remained in an unconquered and unimproved state, with respect to the greatest part of it; because, though its petty sovereigns acknowledged themselves to be vassals of the English crown, and took out charters from our Kings for their own precarious dominion, yet the Kings of England did not take effectual measures for entirely reducing the whole island to their absolute subjection, and to be under the laws and government of England. On the contrary, they supinely contented themselves with the bare, formal submission of these Princes; of which, our records in the Tower of London, and in Bermingham's Tower in Dublin, preserve many instances: as the grant of King John to the King of Connaught; and that of King Henry III. to the King of Thomond; to whom, in the sixth year of his reign, Henry "grants the country of Thomond for his (Henry's) own life, *per firmam centum et triginti marcarum, tenendum de nobis usque ad etatem nostram*, at the farm of one hundred and thirty marks, to be held of us for, or during our life." Thus O'Neal, King of Ulster, at one time was to pay the same King four hundred cows; and another time, one hundred pounds, for his wars in Gascony, in the thirty-sixth and forty-second years of his reign. (See Sir John Davis's Discourse of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely

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subdued until the beginning of the reign of King James I. re-printed in London, 1712.) It was, without doubt, a great error, that author remarks, in King Henry II. in his first conquests in Ireland, to make such enormous grants of lands to the first adventurers, even much more than they were able to plant and cultivate: Earl Strongbow, for instance, having had for his share the whole kingdom of Leinster, Dublin excepted. In short, Henry granted the whole kingdom to only ten persons, although they were not able to get possession of one third part thereof. This, though attended with strong objections, was done in consideration of their having undertaken the expedition at their own sole expence.

1263

After the Norwegians had, for a long time, kept possession of the western isles of Scotland, they were, in this year, expelled the same by Alexander III. King of Scotland, who had married Margaret, the daughter of King Henry III. of England.

“ Donald VIII. called Donald Bane, having, on the death of his brother, King Malcolm III. surnamed Canmore, usurped the crown from his nephews, Edgar, Alexander, “ and David, about the year 1093,” according to Skene’s *Regiam Majestatem*, and other historians, “ for his help and supply, gave all the isles of Scotland,” Camden says only the Orkney isles, “ in the year 1099, to the King of Norway;” Donald Bane being himself, at his brother’s death, tributary lord and possessor of the Scottish western isles, “ where-through, and “ for other occasions, many bloody and cruel battles followed, until the battle of Largs, on “ the 3d of August, 1263, in the time of King Alexander III. and of Acho, King of “ Norway; and the Scots being victorious, King Magnus IV. of Norway, son of the said “ Acho, made peace and concord with the said King Alexander II. in the year 1266, and “ renounced and discharged all right and title, which he, or his successors had, or might have, “ or pretend, to the isles of Scotland, including the isle of Man; the King of Scotland paying for the same yearly, to the said Magnus, and his successors, an annuity of one hundred “ marks, sterling money. Which contract or agreement was confirmed by Haquin V. King “ of Norway, and King Robert I. of Scotland, in the year 1312. But at last,” continues Skene, in his old language, “ the said annual, with all the arrearages and bye-runs thereof, “ was discharged and renounced, *simpliciter*,” i. e. absolutely, “ in the contract of marriage “ betwixt King James III. and Margaret, only daughter of Christian I. King of Norway, “ Denmark, and Sweden, on the eighth of September, 1468; which discharge is not only “ ratified, but also renewed thereafter, by the said King Christian, the 12th of May, 1469, “ and likewise, the said King James, on the 24th of February, 1483, commanded his “ ambassadors sent to the Pope, to desire a confirmation of the said perpetual renunciation “ and discharge of the contribution of the isles.” As these western and northern isles of Scotland will hereafter probably be found to be of greater importance to the British empire than was formerly foreseen, especially if our herring and whale fisheries go on prosperously, we thought that so authentic, short, and clear an account of those numerous isles, from that learned and judicious author’s very words, would be acceptable to our readers. Many of those isles breed great numbers of small black cattle, and produce considerable quantities of grain, butter, cheese, &c. Their ports are of great use to our general navigation, not only in time of war, but likewise in our trade to Norway, Russia, Hudson’s Bay, and in the Iceland and Greenland fisheries, as well as in our own herring, &c. fisheries. King Magnus, in those times called St. Magnus, is said to have built the cathedral church of Kirkwall, in Orkney, which remains entire to this time.

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1266. We are now arrived at the period, if we may call a disputed or uncertain time a proper period, when King Henry III. of England, in return for the services which the fleets of the Hans-towns had done him in his wars with France, bestowed those extraordinary immunities on their merchants at the Steel-yard in London, which they enjoyed for three hundred years after, to their great emolument and wealth. Thuanus, lib. 51, thinks it was in the year 1250; but, as Werdenhagen, the historian of the Hans-towns, contends for the year 1266, and is, in appearance, supported by the much abler proof of the learned and judicious Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, although he has not given us the charter in question, we shall therefore take it for granted, that this was the precise time. Lambecius has, however, given us the year in another charter, purely for illustrating the genuine import of the word *Hanse*, as signifying a society, of which we have treated already, under the year 1169. It is as follows:—
 “ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine,
 “ to all his officers and faithful subjects, greeting. Being willing, at the request of the noble
 “ Duke, Albert of Brunswick, to shew particular favour to the merchants of that Prince at
 “ Hamburg; we do hereby grant to the said merchants, for us and our heirs, that they may
 “ or shall have, or enjoy their society (*Hansam suam*) or special privileges to themselves,
 “ throughout our whole kingdom, in perpetuity: but so, however, as the said merchants shall
 “ pay to us and our heirs the usual customs or duties which shall be due on that account. In
 “ testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent to the said merchants.
 “ Witness myself, at Kenelworth, the ninth of November, in the fifty-first year of our reign.”

Here is not a single word of any services done to that King in his wars, nor any mention of one per cent. nor of any other particular sum for custom of goods, nor of any town but Hamburg: yet Werdenhagen, and others say, that the Hanseatic ships, on their return from a successful enterprize of King Henry the Third against France, were almost all lost in a tempest; whereupon the Hanseatics demanded the value thereof; but this, says Werdenhagen, amounting, by their account, to a much greater sum than that Prince was then well able to pay, and the Hanseatics seeing that they had little hopes of a speedy reimbursement, they made the following agreement with that King, viz. “ That they would entirely remit all this debt to
 “ the King, on condition that he and his successors would grant free liberty to the East-
 “ lings to import and export all merchandize whatever, at no higher a duty or custom than
 “ one per cent, which was the then rate paid;” others say, one and a quarter per cent. Thuanus, speaking of the Hanseatic privileges in England, adds, “ whole strict fidelity and cer-
 “ tain assistance the succeeding Kings experienced; and King Edward I. after having, by such
 “ assistance, been successful in warring against us, (*i. e.* France) was the first who, by a par-
 “ ticular diploma, confirmed to the Hanseatic college in London” (*i. e.* the Steel-yard mer-
 “ chants, in 1280) “ the privilege of not having any new or additional toll, custom, tribute, or
 “ other imposition whatever, laid on their merchants; which King Richard the Second,
 “ Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, also religiously observed.” That there was some such treaty between King Henry III. and the Hanseatics, seems, we conceive, to be out of all ques-
 “ tion, being so confidently asserted by all the Germans, and even implied by our Kings, in
 “ their several successive confirmations of the privileges of the Hans-towns, down to King Ed-
 “ ward VI. but it must have been a separate, or another treaty from that above-named. And
 “ although the register of it is not at present to be found, neither in our records or histories,
 “ possibly it may still exist in the archives of Lubeck or Hamburg. And, although neither
 “ the war with France about Poictou, in the year 1242, nor the several insurrections in Gas-

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1266 cony, correspond with the two above supposed dates of this grant; yet the services performed by the Hanseatic fleet might have been in the one or other of these exigencies, although the charter in question might be granted long after. Which is all that, we conceive, can be said with probability on such a remote and uncertain point.

In a charter of King Edward II. quoted also by Lambecius, they are called merchants of Germany, and their house in London is called in Latin *Gilbalda Teutonicorum*, i. e. the Guildhall of the Germans: but Lambecius thinks that the name of Steel-yard, or, as he calls it, *Staelhof*, which we give to their house in Thames-street, London, is only a contraction of *Stapelhoff*, first softened to *Stafelhoff*, i. e. a place for keeping their merchandize, by way of a general warehouse; he does not therefore confine it to steel alone, as we and Werdenhagen thought that name imported: and, indeed, his sense of it seems more probable than the other, as steel, including iron, was but one of the many commodities they imported, though certainly a principal one.

The advocates of the Hans-towns further allege, that King Edward III. had also received assistance from them in his war with France, about the year 1327; as had also some others of our Kings; and that their privileges, as before observed, were confirmed by them, till, in a war between the English and Danes, some English ships were taken in the Sound; when, the English, by way of reprisal, took and rifled sixty German ships, which brought on a war between England and the Hans-towns, that was afterwards accommodated by the interposition of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in the year 1474: from this time, they enjoyed, for about eighty years, what they called their ancient privileges, under King Richard the Third, King Henry the Seventh and Eighth, and Edward the Sixth. On the other hand, the Steel-yard merchants, or Hanseatics residing in London, were bound, if London should, at any time, be besieged by an enemy, to bear one third part of the expence of guarding and defending the gate called Bishopsgate; and were also obliged to keep that gate, from time to time, in repair; which, it seems, after much dispute, they were forced to agree to, in the tenth year of King Edward I. at the expence of two hundred and ten marks, or four hundred and twenty pounds of our money, according to James Howell's *Londinopolis*, p. 98. The grant of King Henry III. already mentioned, is considered by Werdenhagen, as containing two of the most ancient and authentic vouchers of the antiquity of the Hanseatic League, viz. First, the great strength of shipping with which they were then able to assist King Henry III. a for which those privileges were first granted, and from time to time confirmed. And, second the King's mentioning, in that grant, the privileges granted to them by his progenitors: though, in this last respect, Werdenhagen seems to be mistaken, according to most authors, if he means the proper Hanseatic League; but is right, if he means the German merchants in general settled in England. He also affirms, that, by this very grant, King Henry III. mentions the Hans-towns as being seventy-two in number.

There was usually a distinction made very early between the Easterlings, or new oriental Hans-towns, which lay within the coasts, or very near the Baltic sea, and the more ancient occidental ones, of which the city of Cologne was the head, lying chiefly on and near the Rhine and Wefer. These last had joined with Cologne, in a peculiar league, long before the time of the Hanseatic Confederacy, in defence of their commerce and liberties, against the frequent incursions of the Normans towards the Rhine, in the eighth and ninth centuries.— some of those cities and towns, beside Cologne and its neighbouring cities, were Munster and Dortmund, in Westphalia; Nimeguen, Tiel, Deventer, &c. in and near the Netherlands; and

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1266 and it was to these occidental cities that privileges were granted in England long before the Hans-league existed; which sufficiently explains what Henry III. mentions of privileges granted to the German merchants by his progenitors. Afterwards, when the western cities, last mentioned, saw that the new cities on and near the south shores of the Baltic, and for that reason called Easterlings, had made their first Hanseatic league, and, by that means, had successfully carried on a trade with Norway, Denmark, Sweden, &c. they clearly perceived it to be their interest to join in that league for their mutual protection: so that, although the Hans-towns, on and near the Baltic, and the rivers Elbe, Oder, Vistula, and Dana, were those alone which constituted the first Hanseatic league, yet even those towns did not engage in it at once, as we have already observed; neither afterwards did all the occidental cities enter into it at one and the same time, but just as they judged it suitable to their interest.

Thus we have endeavoured, with all possible conciseness, to explain the original of this once most eminent mercantile confederacy, which is not to be paralleled in either ancient or modern story, and of its ancient privileges in England.

We now approach the time, when the cities and burghs of England began first to be represented in Parliament by some of their own body; but more certainly to the period, when every county in England sent first four, and afterwards but two, landed gentlemen, called Knights, to represent the body of free landholders. Mr. Petty, a lawyer, long since wrote and published a laboured treatise, to prove that the Commons, as that word is now understood, sat in Parliament even farther back than the forty-ninth year of King Henry III. in which he may possibly be right with regard to representatives of the landed interest, though it is very doubtful as to cities and burghs, the greater part of which, even long after this time, were poor and inconsiderable. Dr. Brady answered Mr. Petty's book, and observes, "That the probable reason for that King's summoning two burgesses from each burgh, was for him to come at their taxes by a shorter way, and" he is confident "that although, for that reason, cities and burghs were now written to, and did send up representatives, yet the first regular summons for citizens and burgesses, by writs directed to the Sheriffs, or to the Mayors, &c. of towns, was not till the twenty-third of Edward I. in the year 1295," for which he gives some reasons. Yet Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 249, not then published, has since proved it to have been twelve years sooner, viz. in 1283; when King Edward I. summoned to his Parliament at ~~Strewsbury~~ *Strewsbury*, two Knights for each county, and two representatives for the city of London, and also for the following twenty towns only, viz. Winchester, Newcastle upon Tyne, York, Bristol, Exeter, Lincoln, Canterbury, Carlisle, Norwich, Northampton, Nottingham, Scarborough, Grimsby, Lynn, Colchester, Yarmouth, Hereford, Chester, Shrewsbury, and Worcester. This first, or at least, early instance of a third estate in Parliament, gave the first considerable blow to feudal tenures in England, and did undoubtedly pave the way for the greater security of freedom and commerce in cities and towns as well as in the open country.

In this year also, being the fifty-first of Henry III. the first famous and eminent statute was made for the assize of bread and ale, by which, in a great measure, may be understood the true rate of living or maintenance in those times.

The King, in the preamble, mentions, "That he had seen certain ordinances of his progenitors, kings of England, in these words, viz. When a quarter of wheat is sold for twelve pence, then wastel bread of a farthing should weigh six pounds, sixteen shillings, *i. e.* six pounds, nine ounces, and twelve pennyweights, according to Troy weight."—Then the

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1266 the statute goes on to enact, "That bread cocket of the same corn shall weigh more than wastel, and bread made into finnel shall weigh less than wastel," &c. of no use now to repeat, because out of practice. Wastel was of the fine sort of flour, yet finnel seems to have been finer than wastel, from which name of finnel the cakes still made in some counties took their name. And the statute further adds thus, "That when a baker, in every quarter of wheat, (as it is proved by the King's bakers) may gain four pence, and the bran, and two loaves for advantage, or over and above, for three servants one penny halfpenny, for two lads an halfpenny, in salt an halfpenny, for kneading an halfpenny, for candle one farthing, for wood two-pence; in all, says the statute, twelve pence three farthings, or three shillings and two pence farthing of modern money, it may be sufficient."—Yet, by the book of assize now in use, published by proclamation towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, bakers, in corporation towns, in regard they paid scot and lot there, are allowed six shillings in every quarter of the middle priced wheat, for their charge in baking; but country bakers only four shillings. So that when the middle price of wheat is thirty shillings the quarter, you are to add six shillings for assize of town bakers, and then look into the table of assize for thirty-six shillings, in which case the penny loaf ought to weigh nine ounces, eight penny weights.

The above statute proceeds,—“When a quarter of wheat is sold for three shillings, or three shillings and four pence, (ten shillings of our money) a quarter of barley for twenty pence, or two shillings, and a quarter of oats for sixteen pence, then brewers in cities ought and may, well afford to sell two gallons of beer or ale for a penny, and out of cities three or four gallons for a penny.”—So that a gallon of ale was sold for a penny halfpenny of our money in cities, which, if as strong as our modern common brewers beer, which now sells at ten pence per gallon, makes a difference of eight pence-halfpenny per gallon, or in the proportion of six and two-thirds to one in living; or, all other things being supposed to be proportionably cheap in price, the necessaries of life are six or seven times as dear now as they were in King Henry III's time: a certain author of reputation has, however, by mistake, made the proportion twice as great. Yet probably, in years of greater plenty, the difference of living then and now might be as ten is to one. This statute concludes thus, “We have caused, at the request of the bakers of our town of Coventry, that the ordinances aforesaid, by tenor of these presents, shall be exemplified.” Which shews Coventry to have been a place of consideration then, as, indeed, it had been even long before the Norman conquest, having been the usual residence of the Kings, and afterwards of the Dukes of Mercia.

In this century, piracies at sea, and on the coasts of Europe, were very frequent, against which the Emperors and Popes issued out many edicts. And in this same year 1266, Lambecius, so often quoted, in his notes on p. 56 of lib. ii. observes, that the people of that part of Germany lying betwixt the mouth of the Elbe and the Rhine, were much given to this shameful practice. “These were, in the older times, called the Saxon pirates,” (taking Saxony in the extensive limits of it). “The Hamburgers,” says he, “had many and great conflicts with those pirates, on account of the preservation of their commerce; and it was on that account that Embden, at this time the capital of East Friesland, the castle of Rirfbattle, and some other places, were afterwards brought under the dominion of Hamburg.”

1267 In the first volume of the *Fœdera*, second edition, p. 839, there is the title of a record, *Pro Burgensibus et Mercatoribus Ducis Brunsvich de Lubeck*. Anno 1267.

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King Henry III. at the request of the Duke of Brunswick, grants to the burgesſes and merchants of Lubeck, I. "That neither they, nor their effects in our dominions, ſhall be arreſted, but in certain caſes; ſaving, however, the cuſtomary duties to the King."

II. He grants, *quantum ad nos pertinet*, "as far as is in our power, that they may have and enjoy their corporate and joint privileges, (*habcant Hanſam ſuam*) yielding five ſhillings for the ſame; in like ſort as the burghers and merchants of Cologne enjoy the ſame, and have in time paſt held and paid for the ſame.

III. Theſe privileges to continue as long as the ſaid Lubeckers ſhall remain under the dominion and protection of the ſaid Duke of Brunswick."

This is the ſecond inſtance of Lubeck's obtaining privileges of commerce in England; being granted, at this time, apparently as a compliment to the Duke of Brunswick.

Under this ſame year we muſt remark, that Gerard Malynes, a Netherlander, who was employed in England by King James I. (and who wrote the firſt voluminous book called *Lex Mercatoria*) in a treatiſe called, *The Center of the Circle of Commerce*, in the year 1623, in answer to Mr. Miſſelden's *Circle of Commerce*, obſerves, "That the Merchants of the Staple were the firſt and ancienteſt commercial ſociety in England; ſo named, from their exporting the ſtaple wares of the kingdom, long before the Company of Merchant-Adventurers exiſted. Thoſe ſtaple wares were then only the rough materials for manuſacture, viz. wool and ſkins, lead and tin." [The words ſtaple wares, or merchandize, meaning then, and even to this day, ſuch as are the natural and uſual product or manuſacture of any city or country.] "That ſociety was put under fundry regulations for the benefit of the public, and was the means of bringing in conſiderable wealth, as well before as after the making of woollen cloth here, and were privileged by many ſucceeding kings, viz. in this year 51mo Hen. III. 12mo Edw. II. anno 1319. 14mo Rich. II. anno 1391. 11mo Hen. IV. anno 1410. And 9mo Hen. V. anno 1422.—See the year 1248.

The grower of wool contented himſelf, at firſt, with the ſale of it at his own door, or at the next town. Thence aroſe a ſort of men, who bought it of him, and begot a tradick between them and the foreign cloth-makers; who, from their being eſtabliſhed for ſale of their wools in ſome certain city commodions for intercourſe, were firſt named Staplers; but I conceive, long before this time." It is well known, that although the Netherlands had, at this time, a moſt flouriſhing manuſacture for woollen cloth, beyond any other part of Europe, yet they had not wool of their own, either in quantity or quality, ſufficient to ſupply their vaſt manuſacture; from England therefore came their principal ſupply of wool. There is every reaſon to believe that they had our wool ſent over to them as early as the tenth century, though there are no records of it; but in the eleventh and twelfth centuries we certainly know they were ſupplied from England with that article; and now, in this thirteenth century, we ſee, in theſe ſtaplers, a kind of corporation eſtabliſhed, for the buſineſs of collecting our wool in the inland counties, and bringing it to the moſt convenient ſea ports, for its paying the King's cuſtom or ſubſidy, previous to its exportation to the Netherlands. With this plain commerce England long ſupplied all her wants from foreign parts, and our merchants brought home annually a conſiderable balance of gold and ſilver. It is true, we cannot exhibit any particular balance for this century, yet what will be ſeen under the reign of this King's great grandſon, Edward III. even before he had erected a woollen cloth manuſacture in England, will be a demonſtration of the benefits of our commerce at that time, as well

1267 well as of our national frugality, respecting the then little consumption of foreign wares and luxurious dainties.

Malynes gives us a report, made in the twenty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, 1583, by the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief Baron, to whom the examination was referred by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, of the Company of Staplers claim to a right of exporting our woollen cloth at all times, as being one of the staple commodities of the kingdom, equally with, and perhaps prior to, the Merchant Adventurers Company, which it would be of no material consequence to recapitulate. It is sufficient briefly to observe, that after we began to make and export woollen cloth, the Merchant Adventurer's Company, though of less antiquity, gradually gained the ascendant over the Stapler's Company, although in the charters both of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. to the Merchant Adventurer's Company, there is a reservation to the Company of the Mayor, Constables, and Fellowship of the Merchants of the Staple of England, (that being their proper legal designation) of full liberty to trade into the limits of those charters. And when at length it was judged expedient to enact a total prohibition of the exportation of our wool, it is no wonder that the Staplers Company dwindled to nothing. At this day they are only a mere name, without any virtual existence; nevertheless they keep up the form and shew of a corporation, by continuing annually to elect the officers of their Company, as directed by their ancient charters; those who deal in wool, still called wool-staplers, keeping up this nominal corporation, and holding at this time, in their corporate capacity, a small sum of money in the public funds, the interest whereof serves to defray the expence of their meetings and elections. But they never had a hall, or particular house or office of their own, within the city of London, like other trading companies; although the Inn of Chancery near Holborn bars is so denominated, from their warehouses being anciently situated there, as was also an office and warehouse of theirs, which since the erection of the new bridge at Westminster, has lost its very place, as well as ancient name of Wool-staple, at the upper end of Canon, commonly called Channel Row.

1268 We see the great privileges at this time granted by charter to the city of Leipsick, (*Liptzk*) in Saxony, by Theodoric Marquis of Landsberg, viz. "freedom for merchants of all nations to resort and traffick thither, even though he should be at enmity with the sovereigns of those merchants." This seems to have given rise to the famous fair of Leipsick, whither, to this day, merchants, even from as far as Constantinople, resort. *Peiseri Originum Lippiensum*, lib. ii. p. 215. Francofurti. 8vo. 1700.

The historiographers of the city of London have, from their archives, found, that in 1268, for half a year only, there was paid to the crown, for customs on all foreign merchandize, the sum only of — — — — £. 75 6 10

And for tolls in the flesh, fish, and corn markets, and also at the city gates, and in Smithfield, &c. — — — — — 289 6 4½

Total for half a year, (being 1093*l.* 19*s.* 7½*d.* of the present money) £. 364 13 2½

Or, on an average, 2187*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* yearly paid to the crown from the Londoners for customs, tolls, &c. of our modern money.

1269 In the first volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 857, we find a second treaty of amity and commerce, between Henry III. of England and Magnus king of Norway, by which it was stipulated, "That the merchants of either kingdom might freely resort to each kingdom, to buy and sell their merchandize; but not to carry away their goods bought till paid for. Such also as should

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"should happen to be shipwrecked, might freely save and carry away what belonged to them out of such wreck, and should be assisted therein by the magistrates, &c. of each respective kingdom."

Westminster new abbey church, which had been begun to be rebuilt in the year 1245, was now completed, being but twenty-four years in building, and esteemed then the finest church in the western parts of Europe: yet there are other authors who say, that the building of it employed sixty years.

1270

Wheat, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, was now so exceeding dear as four pounds sixteen shillings per quarter, or fourteen pounds eight shillings of our money, a monstrous price, if the bishop's authorities may be depended on, being one pound sixteen shillings of our money for a single bushel. Nay, he says, it was sometime in this same year at six pounds eight shillings per quarter, or nineteen pounds four shillings of our money, being two pounds eight shillings per bushel. So great, says the good Bishop, was the famine in this year.

St. Louis, or Louis IX. king of France, resolved on a second crusade, twelve years after the former, although his former expedition to the East had been so unfortunate; on which account the Genoese sent ten thousand troops to that King's rendezvous at Aiguemortes. But before he set sail for Palestine, he determined to attack the Moors of Tunis, who extremely incommoded Sicily, his brother's kingdom; at which the Genoese grew very uneasy, lest the Tunicians, with whom they had a great deal of commerce, should seize on all their effects there; yet out of respect to St. Louis, they complied. This King, as is well known, died of a contagious disorder before Tunis, and his son, Philip the Hardy, returned home with the army, without taking that place, though he obliged the King of Tunis to release all Christian prisoners, and to pay fifty thousand ounces of gold, or one hundred and eighty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds of our sterling money, at three pounds thirteen shillings and six-pence per ounce, for the charge of the war, and as much more in two years time; to hold also his kingdom of the crown of France by a certain tribute, and to permit the Christian religion to be preached in his country. Edward, Prince of Wales, arrived before Tunis with a powerful army just as the French were embarking; he was extremely concerned for the peace they had made with the Moors; yet, as there was now no remedy, he agreed to it, and was even so generous as to refuse the half of the fifty thousand ounces of gold, which the new French King offered him: so Prince Edward withdrew to Sicily, where he wintered with his army, and departed from thence in the spring to Syria. We have shortened this story as much as possible, because we cannot help expressing some doubt concerning the truth of part of it; yet as it is handed down to us by cotemporary authors, such as they were, we could not altogether omit so remarkable an event.

Nevill, the Norwich historian, acquaints us, that, in the time of their Bishop, Regarde Skerwyng, a great riot happened, in the fair time, between the citizens and the monks of the priory, by which disturbance both city and priory were set on fire, and almost totally destroyed, and much merchandize consumed; yet, on this sad occasion, there is mention made of but one church: "for when King Henry III. went thither himself, to settle matters in dispute between them," *illicque miserabilem urbis ac Templi deflagrationem conspexisset*, "and saw the miserable burning of the city and church, or temple, the King could hardly restrain his tears:" yet possibly, by the word *templum*, might peculiarly be meant only the cathedral church, and that, agreeable to our conjecture, under the year 1250, there might be several parish churches in this city, though perhaps not destroyed at this time. "King Edward I.

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1270 "succeeding two years after, in 1272, and having, on his return in that year from the Holy-Land, stopped at Rome, the monks obtained of the Pope, that the quarrel between them and the citizens should be decided by the King. He thereupon decreed, that towards the rebuilding of the church, and of other parts of the city, destroyed either by the flames or by the fury of the people, the citizens should pay three thousand marks," or six thousand pounds of our money, "in the space of six years, by five hundred marks," or one thousand pounds of our money, "yearly; and should also cause a golden box to be made, at their own expence, weighing seven pounds," which, at forty-four pounds ten shillings per pound of gold, is, in modern value, three hundred and eleven pounds ten shillings, "for holding the Eucharist. And lastly, in commemoration of this barbarous riot, the King condemned the city in an annual payment of forty shillings to the crown, which," says Nevill, who wrote in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, "continues to this time."

1271 Although Lubeck, at this period, was become a place of considerable commerce, yet, in those early times, buildings of brick or stone were not as yet very common in cities so far north: but in this year, this city being half consumed by fire, the Senate decreed, that for the future their houses should be built with bricks, and not with clay, as they had before been: according to Lindenbrogius, in his *Chronica Slavica*.

The city of Kiel, the capital of Holstein, says Werdenhagen, was endowed with many privileges by Gerard, earl of Holstein and Schawenburg.

1272 Alexander III. king of Scotland, that he might testify the same zeal, as the rest of Christendom had done, for the Holy-War, sent the earls of Athol and Carrick thither with one thousand men, and one thousand marks of silver.

In this last year of King Henry III. of England, and first of King Edward I. according to Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, Chap. xviii. p. 528, we find a wine-gauger not only in the port of London, but also at Bristol, Southampton, and Portsmouth: at London the new gauge duty amounted to fifteen pounds sixteen shillings and seven-pence, which, at one penny per dolium, or ton, made three thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine tons. At Southampton and Portsmouth, thirteen pounds two shillings and three pence, for three thousand one hundred and forty-seven tons. At Sandwich, seven pounds eighteen shillings and four-pence, for one thousand nine hundred tons.

The principal customs for importation seem to have been on wines; as our Kings, in those times, used large quantities of French and Rhenish wines: indeed, there is, as yet, scarce any mention made of Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian wines.

1273 This year is remarkable for the election of Rodolph, earl of Hapsburg, and landgrave of Alsace, to the imperial throne of Germany, from whom the present illustrious house of Austria is lineally descended; which house, with a few short interruptions, has been at the head of the German Empire ever since. This Rodolph soon after vanquished Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and took from him the country of Austria, of which Ottocar had before robbed the house of Bavaria: yet Rodolph had an aversion to going into Italy, from an observation, that former Emperors had been generally unfortunate in their journies thither. This aversion is said to have made him the more readily comply with the offers of several of the cities of Italy, to purchase, or confirm, their freedom or independence.

In this year, says Lindenbrogius, in his *Chronica Slavica*, the citizens of Lubeck, but on what ground he does not relate, besieged, took, and pillaged the city of Straelsund in Pomerania,

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1273 rania, killing multitudes of its inhabitants, and carrying away the rich citizens captives to Lubeck.

At the coronation feast of King Edward I. we have a view of the grandeur of it, from the second volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 118, "he directs his mandates to the following "sheriffs," who, in their respective counties, it is well known, were, in those times, the receivers of the crown revenues, "viz. those of Gloucester, Bedford and Bucks, Oxford, Kent, "Surry and Suffex, Warwick and Leicester, Somerset and Dorset, and Essex, to send up to "London, each a certain number of bacon-hogs, amounting in all to two hundred and seventy-eight," for so we here translate the word *bacones*, agreeable to the best edition of Cowel's Law Dictionary or Interpreter; though fitches of bacon seem to us a more natural interpretation, more especially as hogs follow immediately after, "four hundred and fifty hogs, four "hundred and forty oxen, four hundred and thirty sheep, twenty-two thousand six hundred "hens and capons, and thirteen fat goats." What the King sent for from other counties does not appear; but from those enormous quantities of provisions, we may guess how large the number of guests at this feast must have been: indeed, they were all who held *in capite* of the crown, who had no reasonable excuse for their absence.

1274 There had been, in these times, continual disputes between King Edward I. of England and the Countess of Flanders, on account of mercantile interests. She had forcibly seized on many ships and much merchandize, of England and Ireland, according to the second volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 32—3. Her fishermen likewise had killed many English fishermen; and in return, the English had committed much the same kind of offence against the Flemings. All differences therefore were now accommodated by a treaty between Edward and Guy earl of Flanders, which is the first commercial one we meet with between England and Flanders. This quarrel had its birth in Henry III's time, and was come to so great a height, that our wool, and all other merchandize, was prohibited to be exported to Flanders; which, considering that country's vast woollen manufacture, must have very much distressed them. And we find more misunderstandings of this sort, in the year 1278, wherein mutual seizures, captures, &c. of ships and merchandize are mentioned.

King Edward I. when Prince of Wales, had, in Palestine, borrowed of the Templars there twenty-four thousand nine hundred and seventy-four livres Tournois: therefore, in this year we find, in the second volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 34, a discharge given to this King for that sum by the master of the Templars in London, and also for five thousand three hundred and thirty-three livres, six sols, eight deniers, *super custibus, dampnis, et intereffe*, that is for costs, (as *custibus* can mean nothing else, though not in Cowel's Interpreter of Law Terms) damages and interest, which Edward had bound himself to make good. This is the first mention we find in the *Fœdera* of the word *intereffe*, which we translate interest, otherwise called usury, or usury, on the loan of money, after Dr. Cowel's Law Dictionary; from which word, without doubt, the modern English word interest came into use, and gradually banished the word usury, as it became afterwards applicable to extravagant and illegal interest only. Cowel gives us an instance of this meaning of the word, under the fiftieth year of Henry III. viz. "*Socii Mercatores Senen-* "*ses trahunt Elyensem episcopum in causam coram magistro Alexandro de Ferentia, judice a domino* "*papa delegato, super trecentis marcis de Sorté, et centum marcis de intereffe.*" Although, under the words, damages, forfeitures, or delays, we find it in effect before this time. We again meet with the same word, in the year 1283, Vol. II. p. 388, of the *Fœdera*, when Charles, prince of Salerno, gives a bond to King Edward I. for ten thousand marks sterling, formerly

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lent him to redeem him from captivity, to be paid at a stated time, *cum dampnis, expensis, et intereffe*

By these records, we also find this King's son, Edward II. borrowing many sums of money, at different times, of the Lombard merchants, chiefly those of Florence and Lucca, who had great commercial dealings here. But neither the word *intereffe*, nor indeed, but very seldom, *dampnum*, or *expensum*, is to be found in that King's obligations to them: he only directs his Barons of the Exchequer, then the managers of the crown revenue, to pay the principal sums at the times specified. Those foreigners, possibly for prudential reasons, added beforehand, by the King's tacit consent, the interest to the principal sum really advanced by them; the church, in those days, at least many of the clergy, pretending that usury, or any interest allowed for money, was a sinful practice. Or possibly, those Italians residing here, being such great gainers by their other general dealings with both King and people, might be glad to preserve the royal protection, by lending the crown money without any interest, though the first conjecture appears to be the most consistent with probability.

At the coronation of Edward Ist. Alexander III. king of Scotland, attended to perform homage for his many large possessions in England, and was allowed the same travelling expences, honours, &c. as we have seen, under the year 1194, were granted to King William the Lion, his grandfather.

- 1275 In the second volume, p. 45, of the *Fœdera*, we find King Edward I. had been under engagements to aid his brother-in-law, Alfonso, king of Castile, against the Moors of that country; but being himself also under certain engagements for the Holy War, he now gives leave to his subjects to assist him, and also promises the future assistance of the ships of England and Gascony. And, five years after, he granted leave for that King to build ships and galleys at Bayonne. This circumstance proves how very small a naval force the Spanish Christian Kings possessed at this period.

Lewellyn, prince of Wales, having, through fear of treachery, refused to come to King Edward Ist's coronation to do him homage, his grandfather, old Lewellyn, having voluntarily submitted himself a vassal to King Henry III. Edward therefore determined to reduce him to subjection; and, probably, his secret intention was, as soon after happened, to annex Wales to his crown. For this Welch war, he took of every knights-fee fifty marks, and considerable sums of all his cities and burghs, by way of loan, London advancing no less than eight thousand marks; *i. e.* sixteen thousand pounds of our modern money: thus furnished, he proceeded with his army to Wales, by the way of Flint, where he built a castle for security, and made a great progress in this and the following year.

By a statute this year, which was the third of Edward I. Cap. iv. concerning shipwrecks, it was decreed, "That where a man, a dog, or a cat, escape alive out of the ship, neither such ship, nor barge, nor any thing within them, shall be adjudged a wreck; but the goods shall be saved, and kept by the sheriff for the benefit of the owners, otherwise they shall remain to the King, &c. And by the act of the 17th of Edward II. whales, and great sturgeons, taken in the sea, &c. were to be the King's, except in certain privileged places."

- 1276 In the second volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 1065, we find a letter in this year from Albert, duke of Brunswick, to King Edward I. in behalf of the merchants of Bremen, which was then subject to that Prince, requesting, that they might be again permitted safely to resort to London for their commercial affairs, as in the time of his royal ancestors; the Bremeners being

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being at this time at variance with the Londoners, because, as related two years after, in a letter from the magistrates of Bremen to King Edward, Herman, a Bremener, residing at London, had run beyond sea, without paying his proportion of an imposition laid by the King on the city of London. This, in some measure, proves Bremen to have been then a considerable place; and it also shews that it was, in those times, a general rule in England, that the aggregate body of every particular nation of foreigners, residing here, were obliged to answer for the misdemeanors of every individual person of their number.

Gold is said to have been now first coined at Venice; and as the free cities of Italy were, in those times, always prior to the more western parts of Europe in point of commerce and improvements, this is another circumstantial proof of Mr. Echard's mistake, in imagining gold to have been coined in England so early as the year 1257.

- 1277 Lewellyn, prince of Wales, was unable to withstand the power of King Edward I. who, with a great army, had, in this year, cut a very broad way through a great forest, which opened a passage into the heart of Wales; so that he drove the Welch to their usual retreat on the mountains of Snowdon, whilst, with his fleet, he gained possession of the isle of Anglesey; the Prince, therefore, was forced to consent to King Edward's terms, which were as follow: for the obtaining of a peace, he was to promise, or agree, to pay down fifty thousand pounds sterling, *i. e.* one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our modern money, (a vast sum, and probably impossible to be then raised at once in Wales) for the expences of the war; and to hold for the future the isle of Anglesey of the crown of England in fee-farm, at the yearly tribute of one thousand marks. Edward, however, afterwards remitted both these payments.

According to Blaew and others, the bay, or inlet, called the Dollart Sea, lying between the modern province of Groningen and the principality of East Friesland, was now first formed by an inundation, which utterly and irrecoverably overwhelmed thirty-three villages, besides farm houses in the open country. It was probably occasioned by an earthquake.

- 1278 We do not find in the *Fœdera* any charter of King Edward I. in this year to the Cinque-Ports; yet Hakluyt makes mention of one in this year, wherein, after reciting former charters of privileges, even as far back as King Edward the Confessor's time, it was stipulated, "That whenever the King goes beyond-sea, the Cinque Ports ought to attend him with fifty seven ships, each having twenty armed soldiers, and to maintain them at their own cost for the space of fifteen days." For which service, those five ports had various privileges bestowed on them by the crown; such as freedom from many old and customary taxes and duties in buying and selling every where; in the election of their own officers, &c. &c. many of which are now become obsolete.

The exorbitant riches and power of the clergy and convents in England, had been long complained of as a great grievance. The blind zeal of the laity, in bestowing their estates to what they called pious uses, was become highly necessary to be restrained, otherwise, in process of time, all the lands of the kingdom would fall into the hands of the ecclesiastics, the church never dying nor alienating, and at the same time constantly acquiring additional possessions. Even in the first *Magna Charta*, which the barons had obliged King John to sign, there was a clause inserted, expressly prohibiting all persons from alienating their lands to the church. By the Parliament at Westminster, therefore, in this fourth year of King Edward I. the justly celebrated and excellent Mortmain act was made, "whereby all persons were restrained from giving, by will, or otherwise, their estates to those so called religious houses, and to societies that never die, without a licence from the crown." It was called

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the Mortmain Act, because it restrained estates from falling into hands where they lay dead for ever, and did not circulate, as other property does, for the benefit of the occasions and commerce of the people; or, as Mr. Rapin well expresses it, from falling into dead hands; that is, hands of no service to the King and the public, without hopes of ever changing their owners. Had the church gone on amassing estates, as they had done till this period, general commerce and manufactures would have been absolutely prevented, and the body of the laity, in leather jackets and rags, would have only served to till the lands of the church, *i. e.* of the whole kingdom, excepting perhaps the demesne lands of the crown; though it is not improbable, that many of our Kings might have been led away, as some actually were, by this blind zeal, as well as their subjects.

1278 In the seventh year of King Edward I. according to Madox's History of the Exchequer, chap. xxiii. p. 633, "the Lucca merchants residing at London, were the keepers of the Chamber, or Mint of London." So little were our own people, in those times, acquainted with the art of coining money.

The coin of England being, at this time, in an impaired and adulterated state, occasioned by the troubles of the last long and feeble reign, and it being known that the Jews were the principal authors of this grievance, King Edward I. caused them all to be seized, on one and the same day, that the guilty might not escape; two hundred and eighty of whom, of both sexes in London, were convicted of clipping the good, and of coining and uttering of false money, and were all put to death, as were also great numbers in other parts of England; the moiety of whose effects was given to the house for converted Jews, now the Rolls-office, in Chancery-lane, London.

1280 Contrary to their usual custom, the Genoese and Pisans had been a considerable time in peace, till this year, when they took opposite sides, in the war between Charles of Anjou, and Peter of Arragon, for the Kingdom of Sicily. This afforded a pretext for reviving the ancient contest for the possession of Corsica. De Mailly says, that the Genoese now put to sea twenty-three galleys, and twelve ships; but nothing was done, except the invasion of Corsica by the Pisans, with twenty-two galleys, whilst the Genoese returned to guard their own coasts in harvest-time.

In this same year, Magnus V. King of Norway, whom others call Olaus III. so dark is the chronology of Norway, according to the Hanseatic historian, Werdenhagen, vol. I. pars iii. cap. 14. "being instigated by certain evil advisers, to suspend the great privileges" perhaps too great for his kingdom's interest, "which the Hans-towns had obtained of former Kings in the ports of Norway, they, on this provocation, blocked up with their fleets all the ports of that kingdom, so as nothing could be brought into his country by sea. The Norwegians, accustomed to the corn and ale of Germany, in exchange for their own dried fish, and threatening a general sedition for the want thereof, King Magnus obtained the intercession of Eric, King of Sweden, whereby the Hanseatics had not only their former privileges in Norway restored, but also received a great sum of money, in compensation of damages; which good agreement continued for many years after." But this chronology is somewhat erroneous, since we find no Swedish King of that name alive in 1280, Magnus II. being the then reigning King of Sweden; which mistakes are but too common with Werdenhagen.

In this year, being the eighth of King Edward I. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Barons thereof, had each of them a yearly stipend of forty pounds, and one of the Remembrancers

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1280 membrancers had the same allowance for himself and clerks.—Madox's History of the Exchequer, chap. xxi. p. 587.

King Edward I. by his charter, vol. ii. p. 161, of the *Fœdera*, now promises "to preserve all the liberties and free customs of the merchants of Germany, having their house in London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Germans," *i. e.* the Steel-yard, "which they or their progenitors enjoyed there. Neither," adds this King, "will we withhold, nor suffer the same to be withheld from them." All which the said King's son and successor again confirms to them, in the year 1311, as in vol. iii. p. 268, of the *Fœdera*. Yet it is somewhat extraordinary, that we should not find, throughout all that vast collection of public records, any specific account in what their privileges and free customs, so often mentioned in general, did particularly consist; although, there is no reason to doubt, but they were then well known to so penetrating a Prince as King Edward I. who probably had a valuable consideration for this renewal of them.

Stowe, in his Survey of London, says, that two years after this, the city of London obliged the company of the Steel-yard to pay two hundred and ten marks for the repair of Bishopsgate, and to engage to keep it in repair for the future. The merchants then residing in the Steel-yard, were those of Cologne, Triers, Hamburg, Hunnondale, and Munster.

1281 We have an authentic account of the grandeur of Hamburg, even so early as this year, under which Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, lib. ii. p. 72, acquaints us, "that a memorable fire happened in that city,* by which the greatest part of it was burned down." He says, "it then greatly flourished in riches, in high credit and reputation, and in no inconsiderable power, being adorned with churches, schools, and other private and public edifices."

1282 Peter III. King of Arragon, being at this time opposed in his succession to Sicily, by Charles, brother to St. Louis, the French King, the French were then so disliked in Sicily, that, on Easter Sunday evening, in the year 1282, they were all cruelly massacred. This sad event is called, by way of distinction, the Sicilian Vespers, the bell ringing out for evening prayers, being the signal for the massacre to begin. As may naturally be supposed, very sharp engagements ensued between the Arragonese fleet and that of France, consisting of hired ships from Genoa and Pisa, but generally to the disadvantage of the French, who thereupon abandoned Sicily, but still continued to keep possession of Naples.

Pisa's maritime strength is now acknowledged, even by Baptista Burgus, the historiographer of its antagonist, to be so great at this time, as to consist of one hundred galleys. The Pisans happened, at this time, to have taken part with the Emperor Frederick II. against the Pope; but they were, however, so completely beaten in a sea-fight by the Genoese, that they lost forty, some say forty-nine or fifty, of their galleys, and had twelve thousand, or, according to others, sixteen thousand men killed or taken prisoners in this engagement; by which, and another equally unfortunate in the following year, the Pisans were so extremely reduced, as never more to be able to dispute the dominion of the sea with Genoa. They are said even to have lost, soon after, the very spirit or inclination to maritime affairs, according to our Genoese author, who quotes Petrarch and others for his vouchers; so that, in the year 1290, they were dispossessed by the Genoese, in conjunction with the power of Lucca, of Leghorn and the isle of Elba, and were afterwards attacked in their famous port of Siena, where they were utterly vanquished, and that city pillaged: they were also compelled in the year 1299, to pay to Genoa, a large sum of money for the charges of the war, that is, for being totally undone.

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done. They were also obliged to give up all they held in Corfica and Sardinia; and to render their subjection complete, they bound themselves, like Carthage of old, not to appear, for eleven years to come, with any armed vessel on the seas. Such was the final issue of the long contention between the unfortunate republic of Pisa and that of Genoa, for what may be called a monopoly of the sea, and of commerce, though not altogether effected till some years later than this period.

- 1283 The herring fishery continued to be so famous on the coasts of Schonen, that Lambecius exhibits a grant, in the year 1283, from Eric VI. king of Denmark, never before published, to the city of Hamburg, of a piece of ground, whercon to erect their booths (*tabernaculas*) during the annual herring fair on that coast. That King also grants the Hamburgers all the favours and privileges at this fair, which the other maritime cities of the north coast of Germany, or south shores of the Baltic Sea, had enjoyed from himself or his ancestors. Although this may be the first time we find any mention of a herring fair at Schonen, like that afterwards at Yarmouth, yet we have seen, under the year 1204, that there was then a great herring fishery on this coast; but it is plain that this fair was held on the sea shore, near the ships.

Notwithstanding what we have before related of the fall of Pisa's maritime strength, under the year 1282, yet as the completion of it was some years later, we must now relate what happened when, in the next year, Pisa sent out a fleet of sixty gallies against Genoa. "The Genoesse," according to De Mailly, "in the space of three days only, equipt seventy gallies to encounter them, which," says he, "is the more surprizing, as, at this day, they could hardly fit out ten gallies in the space of a month." The *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*, printed at Paris, in 1729, says the same thing; and adds, that, on another occasion, they built fifty-eight gallies, and eight other vessels, called *phalces*, in one day, viz. from, or between, three in the morning and sun-set. The reader, however, is left to judge for himself concerning the structure and size of these vessels, and the probability of this account. In the same year also, the Genoesse fitted out thirty more ships, gallies, and galeasses against the Pisans; and over and above these equipments, there were divers others in the same year; so that, according to De Mailly, the Genoesse fitted out, in the space of one year, upwards of two hundred ships and gallies; a thing which seems almost incredible, and which it was impossible to have done, and especially to have manned such a fleet, without a most extensive maritime commerce. Our business is not to relate all their sea skirmishes, &c. yet we cannot avoid remarking the magnitude of eight of their galeasses, fitted out in 1284, along with ninety of their gallies. These eight vessels had each one hundred and sixty seats of oars, and were called *pamphiles*, according to De Mailly, who adds, that in a sea fight this year near Leghorn, between the Genoesse and Pisans, the former having one hundred and ten gallies, besides the above-named eight enormous galeasses, fought with arrows, stones, and artificial fire, (*feu d'artifice*). What this last-named instrument of death was, we cannot now pretend to determine. The fight was a most desperate one indeed, and almost beyond description; in the end, however, the Pisans were utterly vanquished, and Leghorn burned; and, to render its haven useless, the Genoesse sunk divers large ships, filled with stones, at its entrance: the Genoesse took twenty-eight of their gallies, and sunk seven, while the rest with difficulty escaped to Pisa. In this engagement five thousand Pisans were killed, and nine thousand carried captives to Genoa, from whence arose a joke then current, that there were more Pisans at Genoa than at Pisa. Morisoti *Orbis maritimus*, Lib. ii. Cap. 23. We must not

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1283 forget to remark, that, in this great naval combat, each Genoese galley had its shalop, or boat, in order to give notice to the Admiral, from time to time, of the condition of the fleet. We may here further observe, from the numbers slain in these ancient sea fights, how bloody such engagements were, although fire-artillery was not as yet invented. And we may also remark the great riches and power of both republics at this time, when their meridian glory seems to have shone forth. Genoa was, in consequence of its victories, much courted by its neighbours of Venice, Florence, and Lucca; yet such is the instability of all worldly power and grandeur, this proud state was soon to undergo a gradual declension. For, although she made a considerable figure at sea in the two next succeeding centuries, yet her naval power gradually decreased from about this time forward, not from the application of the Genoese to commerce, which naturally increases naval power beyond all other means whatever, but from her intestine factions and divisions: though De Mailly very preposterously ~~surmised~~ different opinion.

We have already related, that in this year writs were first issued by the crown to cities and towns, to send representatives to Parliament, and that their number was but twenty-one in all, of which the names have been already given. By that list it should seem, that either the following counties had then no towns of consideration enough to have representatives in Parliament in King Edward's opinion, or rather, as has been observed by our historians and antiquaries, that the other considerable towns might then be held in fee of the great barons, and of the church, and paid no fee-farm rent to the crown. The counties were Westmorland, Lancashire, Derby, Durham, Stafford, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, Suffolk, Hertford, Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Buckingham, Oxford, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, Dorset, Sussex, Surrey, and Berkshire. In which counties are now, beside most of the common county towns, the large and populous cities and towns of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Ipswich, Devizes, Salisbury, Taunton, Froom, Bridgwater, and several other good cloathing towns in the West, Lyme, Poole, Reading, Southwark, also the now populous manufacturing towns of Leeds, Halifax, Sheffield, &c. in Yorkshire, and the city of Westminster; the greatest number of which places were then probably little better than villages, and some of the woollen and non manufacturing and trading towns had no existence at all; in particular, the present opulent commercial town of Bristol did not as yet exist; so happy a change have commerce and manufactures gradually brought about in this nation. Some of the towns, which formerly sent representatives to Parliament, discontinued that practice, particularly West Chester, which place, upon application in the reign of King Henry VIII. was restored again to that privilege. Other towns, which, in following times, were made Parliament-burghs, sinking afterwards to decay, petitioned the crown to be excused from the expence of three shillings and four-pence per day for the maintenance of each member of Parliament; so different are our times from those: and there are some places, for they cannot be called towns, at present, represented by two Members each, which are almost without existence, being under the size of a mere village. Dr. Brady, in his Treatise of Burghs, observes, that sheriffs in their writs for elections to Parliament, frequently omitted one or more burghs in a county, of which he gives us many instances, and at other general elections again sent writs to those very burghs. This, he thinks, was purely from favour, where those burghs were small and poor; and this, says he, for aught I can find, was without the direction of the King or his Council. He adds, that there were many such omissions for three hundred years after this time, grounded on such reasons; some of which burghs sent burgesses but once or twice before the years 1640 and 1641.

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1283 He is also positive, that such places as paid a fee-farm rent to the King, always sent members to Parliament, although perhaps they might not be burghs, *i. e.* corporations, in a legal sense; of which there are many at present, who have no higher officer of justice in them than a constable.

Lastly, This Parliament was undoubtedly the first that gave an aid towards the nation's defence in the manner done in our time, by all the three present denominations of knights, citizens, and burgessees—as well as by lords spiritual and temporal; but the representatives of cities and towns sat in a chamber separated from the barons and knights.

In this year, being the eleventh of Edward I. was the first statute enacted for the more easily and effectually recovering of the debts due to merchants, and therefore called the first Statute-Merchant, or the statute of Aston-Burnell in Shropshire. Two years after, there was a second Statute-Merchant at Winchester, for enabling merchants, as well in fairs and markets as in towns and cities, effectually to recover their debts. “The want of which good regulation,” says the preamble to this act, “has occasioned many merchants to fall into poverty, and also hindered foreign merchants from coming into this realm with their merchandise; to the great damage of merchants, and of all the realm.” In this act there is only mention of three cities of England, before the mayors of which, debtors to foreign merchants were to be summoned, *viz.* London, York, and Bristol; which is a sufficient proof that they were then the most eminent in the kingdom. This is the first instance, from the Norman conquest downward, of a legal encouragement given to foreign merchants, called in our acts of parliament merchant-strangers, who, excepting always those at the Steelyard, till now met with many discouragements from the ill humours of our people against foreigners: so little was the true interest of the public then understood. Those foreigners were chiefly Lombards and other merchants of Italy, *viz.* of Genoa, Florence, Lucca, Pisa, and Venice, who then supplied all the rest of Christendom withward with Indian and Arabian spices and drugs; also with their own fine manufactures of silk and stuffs, and with the wines and fruits of Italy. Those Italian merchants, commonly stiled Lombards, who resorted to England, became also great lenders of money, both to our Kings and to many great Lords; yet our people were ever grudging them their being permitted to buy and sell freely, and to hire houses for themselves. They were accused of using false weights and measures, &c. the truth of which is now uncertain. By such insinuations, the Parliaments, at different times, were instigated to make very impolitic statutes against them, which were sometimes softened, and at length repealed: yet the Commons, at this time, granted the fifth part of their moveables to King Edward I. on condition of expelling them the kingdom. In 1289, however, they were recalled by the King and Lords: in consequence of which, the city of London earnestly petitioned the King to have the merchant-strangers sent away again to which the answer was, “the King is of opinion, that merchant-strangers are useful and beneficial to the great men of the kingdom, and is therefore against expelling them.” Upon which we shall only remark, That many have blamed the city of London for so often and so violently opposing foreigners; since, though it may suit with the narrow system of their freedoms and respective companies, which are far from being now judged beneficial to commerce, such opposition has by many been judged detrimental to the general commerce of the kingdom. Our own traders in London, and other cities and towns, were also extremely jealous of those foreign merchants, as if they were hinderers of their commerce, and they were generally the principal instruments of procuring such severe laws and proclamations against them; so that they were

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even for some time, restrained from acting directly for themselves, and were therefore obliged to employ their English landlords as their agents and brokers for the recovery of their debts, &c. not being permitted to be housekeepers in towns, nor to reside but for a small limited time in England. They were, in short, for the most part, treated in England, in old times, at best but as a sort of necessary evils. We are here further to remark, that the word merchant, in those times, implied, as in Scotland and other parts it generally continues to do, all kinds of dealers or traders whether by wholesale or retail.

1284 In the second volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 272, we find a letter from Eric King of Norway, to King Edward I. concerning the renewal of an alliance between them; wherein he complains of great injuries and losses sustained by his merchants from the bailiffs, &c. of certain English ports, and especially from those of Lynn-Regis. This shews that there was then a considerable commerce between England and Norway, and that Lynn was early a port of commerce. It also in part confirms what we had just before observed, of our harsh treatment of merchant-strangers in England.

In the second volume also, p. 284, there is a letter, in this same year, to King Edward I. from Florence earl of Holland and Zealand, acquainting him, "That resolving to coin new money, (*novi denarii*) he had sent over to England to purchase silver for his mint; and that "having procured nine hundred and sixty pounds sterling," about two thousand eight hundred and eighty pounds of our money, "about Bedford," a place one would not greatly suspect then to abound with money, as being an inland town of no particular eminence, "his officers were robbed of it, as they were bringing it in a waggon towards the sea coast. The sheriff of the county, however, pursuing the robbers, recovered the money, but detained it for the King, until he should receive further orders. Wherefore he now requests the King to direct restitution thereof to his order." Which was undoubtedly granted.

A little before this time, we find a contract of marriage had been entered into between Edward's eldest son Alphonfus, and this Earl of Holland's daughter; by which the latter agrees to give one hundred thousand black livres tournois with her; but the Prince died before the consummation. Yet King Edward, in the contract of marriage, in the year 1285, between his own daughter and this Earl's son John, gives but fifty-thousand livres with her.

In this year, or rather about the close of the preceding one, the principality of Wales was absolutely united and annexed to the kingdom of England. Lewellyn, its Prince, had revolted in the year 1281, and gained some advantages in that year by his invasion of England; but the next year, and was slain in battle in the last of the princely line, he, and Edward most cruelly hanged him up, that he might theret Thus an end was put to the independence of Wales, which he immediately united to England, and of which the people of Wales have had no just ground to repent to the present time.

1285 Either the people of London must at this time have been of a very bad disposition, or else badly governed. For in a statute, thirteenth Edward I. never yet printed in English, after reciting the murders, robberies, and riots committed not only in the night, but even in the day-time, in the city of London, it enjoins, that "none be found in the streets, either with "spear or buckler, after the curfew bell of the parson of St. Martin's-Grand rings out, except they be great lords, and other persons of note: also, that no tavern, either for wine "or ale, be kept open after that bell rings out, on forfeiture of forty pence."

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1285

There are other acts of Parliament of this same year against the increase of robberies, murders, and burning of houses, which also directs, "For the greater security of the country, that walled towns shall keep their gates shut from sun-set to sun-rising; and none shall lodge all night in their suburbs, without his host shall answer for him. And all towns shall be kept, as in times past, with a watch all night at each gate, with a number of men, from Ascension Day to Michaelmas." How much more quiet and happy is the present state of things amongst us, owing to trade, industry, and liberty securely established?

This year proved extremely fatal to Scotland, by the death of its King Alexander III. leaving only an infant granddaughter, styled the Maid of Norway, who died soon after. Whereupon that kingdom was miserably afflicted by the contentions about the succession to its crown, and cruel wars were occasioned, with some few interruptions, between the two sister kingdoms, during the greater part of the two succeeding centuries, in the course of which, France made Scotland her dupe for gaining advantages in her wars with England. Happy had it been for both the Britannic kingdoms, if the Scottish nation had, in the beginning, peaceably submitted to King Edward; for then Scotland would long ago have been much better improved and cultivated than it is at present: or else, that Edward had made a permanent conquest of it, as he strenuously endeavoured; in which case, England would have saved the loss of much treasure, and of so many brave men as were from time to time destroyed in the Scottish wars.

This year produced the first law relating to highways, or roads leading from one market town to another, which indeed was principally intended for the prevention of robberies. It directs, thirteenth of Edward I. cap. 5. "Those ways to be enlarged where bushes, woods, or dykes," *i. e.* ditches, "be, where men may lurk; so that there be neither dyke, tree, nor bush within two hundred feet on each side those roads, great trees excepted. If the lord of the soil neglect to do as above, and robberies ensue, he shall be answerable for the felony, &c.

In the King's demesne lands and roads the like rule shall hold, and no park shall be less than two hundred feet from the highways."

We have shewn, under the year 1237, that the city of London had very early adopted the convenience of sweet

all's Londinopolis, and others, "that the great conduit in the street called Cheapside, was castellated with stone, and cisterned with lead, as that author expresses it, being supplied with sweet water conveyed in pipes of lead under ground from Raddington," *i. e.* from the springs in the manor of Raddington, as already mentioned, under the year 1237. So that they seem to have been near fifty years in thus bringing that elegant scheme to full perfection. That conduit was again rebuilt and enlarged in the year 1299.

1286 By Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, wheat was now so cheap as two shillings and eightpence, or eight shillings of our money, per quarter, being about five times as cheap as in our times; and the same year was again so dear as sixteen shillings, or two pounds eight shillings per quarter. The good Bishop, with seeming reason, elsewhere ascribes such great and sudden alterations in the price of corn, more to the want of skill and diligence in the farmers, than to the inclemency of the heavens. Possibly too, there might, even in those times, have been knavish tricks practised in this business for private gain, and moreover, it is much to be questioned, whether the government was sufficiently diligent to prevent such sudden variations. All which considerations make it difficult to form an exact computation of the expence of living then, compared to our own times.

Towards

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- 1286 Towards the close of this century, Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, and Favine, in his *Theatre of Honour*, both Frenchmen, agree, that the Kings of France can be said, with propriety, to have first appointed the office of Admiral of that kingdom; which near about this time also first began to be held for life. Indeed there seemed little or no occasion then for the monarch of France to have such an officer, though once barely mentioned under the year 558, when the kingdom was used to be divided among the royal male children, and not, as at present, descending solely to the eldest son: "So that at length only the innermost provinces remained to the eldest branch with the title of King; the other branches, and the Norman Kings of England, possessing all the maritime provinces, and whenever our Kings," says Morisotus, "went on any expedition to Syria, Africa, &c. they were forced to make use of foreign fleets and mariners, until they brought about the re-union of their dismembered provinces," which, however, was considerably later than this century.

According to the uncertain author of the *Chronica Sclavica*, published by Lindenbrogius of Hamburg "The German Knights of the Cross now purchased of the Marquis of Brandenburg and Misnia, for a large sum of money, the fruitful and then populous country of Prussia, because it was contiguous to their own dominions of Livonia: the Marquis had before taken it from the Poles with a powerful army." By which purchase can only be understood some part of that country, probably the easternmost parts of it, next to Courland; since this order of Knights of the Cross had themselves conquered and possessed a great part of Prussia sometime prior to this transaction.

- 1289 In those early days, commerce was not so perfectly well understood as to be made in any degree subservient to the political interests of princes and states. Of this we have an instance under the year 1289, being the seventeenth year of King Edward I. when an act of Parliament passed, relating to the kingdom of Ireland, the fourth section whereof gives "leave for all kinds of merchandize to be exported from Ireland, except to the King's enemies." Certainly then, as well as now, there were some Irish commodities that interfered with those of the same kind in England, and particularly wool and leather. Even much later than this time, we find another law to the like effect, in the thirty-fourth year of King Edward III. being the year of our Lord 1360, cap. 11, "giving leave for all kinds of merchandize," without any exception, "to be exported to Ireland, as well by aliens as denizens." And also, cap. 18, of the 4th

Ireland, "That all persons who have lands and possessions in Ireland, and also export from that kingdom, their own commodities." Which liberty would, in our days, be deemed unsafe and dangerous.

Although the Poles were never much addicted to commerce, yet near the close of this century, when they were grievously harassed by the Tartars, they had the good fortune to discover the salt-pits of Cracow, which discovery has helped to enrich them. Yet those proud, lazy, and indolent people, have suffered foreigners, and more especially Jews, to engross the management not only of their salt, but also much of their corn-trade, in which article Poland so greatly abounds.

- 1290 The time was now come for the utter banishment of the Jews from England, after they had lived there even before the Norman Conquest. The English nation had long desired to get rid of that people; but the presents they made to the Kings, and to their ministers, had till now diverted the storm from them, so that it was computed they paid to the crown, in the short space of seven years, viz. from the fiftieth year of King Henry III. to the second year of the present King Edward I. no less than four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, or one million

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1290 million, two hundred and sixty thousand pounds of our modern money. No wonder, then, that the court protected them so long, since they fleeced them at pleasure; being a kind of bank for them, from whence they squeezed out money, whenever the King or ministers were in a state of necessity: which our Kings could always do, as they were in those times absolute lords of their estates and persons; having had for that purpose a place at Westminster, called the Exchequer of the Jews, where all matters relating to that people were registered: they had also a judiciary appointed by the King. Yet their insatiable thirst of gain, by their exorbitant usury, and, as it is alledged, by their debasing and diminishing the coin, and other unlawful practices, brought on their banishment. Sir Edward Coke thinks that they were not, strictly speaking, legally banished; but that the act of Parliament made in the eighteenth year of Edward I. at Westminster, called *de Judaismo*, having banished their usury, as he phrases it, they thereupon chose to banish themselves into foreign parts, where they might live by their usury; and that they, for that end, petitioned the King, that a day might be fixed for their departing the realm with his safe conduct. Yet others think they were all forcibly expelled, being in number sixteen thousand five hundred and eleven, men, women, and children. The King seized on all their immoveable estates; and the crew of a vessel which carried many of them from the river Thames, not only seized on all they had left, but most cruelly threw those miserable people into the sea, for which many of them were hanged by the King's order. By their money transactions they were become very rich in England, more especially in the great towns, as London, Bristol, York, Lincoln, Oxford, &c. They were accused of, and sometimes cruelly treated, for crimes which it is probable they never committed: such as their crucifying of Christian children every year, &c. &c. which persecutions were occasioned by the violence of a bigotted clergy, the ignorance of the laity, and their hatred of the Jews. They had been expelled France in the year 1143, and were again banished from thence in 1307. They were numerous in Spain till 1492, when they were expelled from thence; though it is thought they are still numerous there under the name of new Christians, and also in Portugal, from which kingdom they had also been driven; as also from Naples and Sicily, in the year 1539. Of all parts of Europe, they are most numerous in Turkey, at Salonichi, the ancient Thessalonica, in Greece, being said to have twenty-four synagogues in that one place only. As they are not permitted in most Christian countries to be proprietors of lands of inheritance, it is natural enough for them to enter into commerce and money-dealings, in which they are certainly very expert.— They are, in our days, said to keep up a regular correspondence with those of their own nation throughout all the world; by which they are supposed to obtain great and early intelligence in their commercial interests, so as to be too often an over-match for others: and, on this, and other accounts, they have frequently been admitted into the cabinets of Princes.

The Emperor Rodolph I. having, in this last year of his reign, granted, or at least much enlarged, the freedom of several cities of Italy, for certain sums of money, as related under the year 1259, that same freedom or independence, as will ever be the case, inspired them with a spirit of commerce and improvements of various kinds; and as all, or most part, of the Imperial authority over Florence, Genoa, Pisa, Sienna, Lucca, &c. was now given up, these became also at this time free states: so that there were in Italy, as Rapin observes, almost as many sovereignties as cities.

At this time, those cities already mentioned, together with Pistoia, Venice, Milan, Bologna, &c. were become by far the wealthiest, most improved, as well as most beautiful cities in

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1290 in Europe, by means of their foreign commerce, which enabled them gradually to shake off that rust and barbarism that had overspread Italy, as well as the rest of Europe, since the fall of the western empire.

In this year, being the eighteenth of King Edward I. the Parliament gave a fifteenth of all their moveable goods to the King; which, on the city of London, amounted to no more than two thousand six hundred and eighty pounds thirteen shillings and eightpence, or eight thousand five hundred and eighty-two pounds one shilling of our money. By which circumstance it appears, that no true estimate can be made of London's wealth at that time from this tax: for it is now become impracticable to ascertain the manner of their laying the tax of fifteenths, and also that of tenths, though imposed, the last time, so lately as in the former part of the reign of King James the First. For many, it seems, in old times, compounded with the King's collectors for a round sum, and many others had exemptions, &c. Yet, after all, it appears to be very extraordinary, that none of the records, nor books of accounts remaining in the King's Exchequer, should clear up this simple point, which has hitherto puzzled so many understanding persons to ascertain.

1291 The Genoese, being now in the highest credit for their naval and mercantile skill and power, made an effort, in the year 1291, to obtain that discovery of a new world westward, which their countryman Columbus successfully effected two centuries later. Both Baptista Burgus and De Mailly say, that they sent out two galleys for this important purpose, under Theodosius Doria and Ugolin Vivaldo, who were directed to sail far westward, without the Straits of Gibraltar, in quest of new countries; but they were never heard of more.

We are now arrived at the conclusion of what is called the Holy War, by the loss of the city of Acres, or Ptolemais, the last place which the Crusaders held on the continent of Asia; the Sultans of Egypt having before dispossessed them of all the rest: by which an end was put to the wild, destructive, and romantic expedition of the Crusade; which had cost Europe, in one hundred and ninety-four years, viz. from its commencement to this year, about two millions of men, besides immense sums of money: so that Europe, for a long time after, sadly felt both depopulation and impoverishment; as also a very great scarcity of gold and silver, which had been carried to, and left in the east, for defraying the vast expence of so many princes, bishops, lords, clergy, and gentlemen, with their troops and equipages. "That extravagant humour of the Holy War," says the judicious Puffendorf, "had continued about two hundred years; but the Popes drew the greatest advantage from it, by assuming to themselves not only to command, but to protect the undertakers of those expeditions, and as they issued out frequent indulgences, what was thereby given for this war, was both collected and distributed by their legates. When the Kings and Princes of Christendom went thither themselves, the general consequences to their dominions were oppressive and ruinous; their people being not only grievously stricken of their treasure, in order to prepare for those adventures, but the countries also deprived of a great part of their best people, to supply the the armies for that war." He adds, "The grand mistake of the Christians, was their not first of all attempting the conquest of Egypt before that of Syria."

Mr. Fuller, with equal honesty and judgment, concludes his account in the following words "The Holy War was, for continuance, the longest,—for money spent, the costliest,—for bloodshed, the cruellest,—for pretences, the most pious,—and for the true intent, the most politic, the world ever saw, as the popes and most of the clergy improved their estates by this war: for the secular princes who went this voyage, sold or mortgaged most of their

" means

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1291 " means, (*i. e.* lands) and the clergy were generally their chapmen. They usually advised
 " the princes, as this action was for Christ and his church, rather to make over their estates
 " to spiritual men, of whom they might again redeem them, and from whom they might be
 " sure to find the fairest dealing, than to laymen. Thus Godfrey duke of Bouillon sold
 " his dukedom to the Bishop of Liege, and his castles of Sartenfy and Moufa to the Bishop
 " of Verdun, who also purchased the city of Verdun of his brother Baldwin. By such sales
 " as these, the third part of the best fiefs in France came to be possessed by the clergy, who
 " had the conscience to buy earth cheap and to sell Heaven dear. So that this was laid the
 " foundation of their temporal greatness."

After these reflections, we may add, that this Holy War, draining the coin of the western princes, put them upon the temporary and very ill-judged expedients, of either raising the nominal above the intrinsic value of their ancient silver coins, or, which is the same, the coming of money with the old denomination, but of a smaller intrinsic value, or else, of debasing the coin, by adding more alloy than it ought to have; though the first method was most generally pursued. This began to be first practised in France and England, and next in Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain: but the free cities of Italy, particularly Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Pisa, who had hitherto engrossed all the commerce to the east, and almost all of the west also, did not adopt this destructive scheme.

In France, King Philip the Fair sunk at once the intrinsic value of his sols and deniers to two-thirds of their nominal value, and what he had done in this respect to the people's loss, was revenged by them on the miserable Jews, whom the blinded people imagined to be the real authors of that alteration, and who were thereupon plundered and expelled France, in the year 1306, as they had been, sixteen years before, banished from England on similar accusations. Though the coins of England did not begin to be legally diminished till about half a century later than this time.

Thus the Holy war brought poverty, depopulation, and deceit into the countries of the west; depressed the laity, and exalted the Pope and clergy above all reasonable bounds. A spirit of expensive gaiety and romantic chivalry was also introduced by it into the west, and as the old flock of nobles in Germany, France, and England, was by that destructive war very much diminished, it occasioned abundance of new families to be ennobled in those countries for the supplying of that defect.

On the other hand, from so many evils some benefits sprung up. The Holy War made the nations of the west acquainted with the manufactures and productions of the east, and with the ports of the Levant. Even the Danes, as well as the Frisians and English, says Maimbourg in his History of the Crusade, had their share in that war. Although in succeeding times, especially in the more northern parts of Europe, the resort to the east fell into disuse, which was chiefly occasioned by the Turks overpowering the Greek empire. Several cities of Europe also, by advancing money for supplying the equipment of their lords-paramount to the Holy War, had gained such immunities as enabled them greatly to improve their commerce, by which the old feudal constitution gradually lost ground in most parts, and the plants, fruits, drugs, &c. of the east were brought into the west, and some of them were naturalized in Italy, and from thence, by degrees, introduced into France, Germany, Spain, England, and the Netherlands.

The Holy Land being thus lost, because sufficient succours were not sent,—the three military or knightly Orders of Templars, Hospitalers, and Tuetonics, were now obliged to shift

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1291 for themselves elsewhere, the sea being open to them, and many Venetian, Genoese, and other galleys being then in the port of Ptolemais.

1. The Templars got first into Greece, from whence, though a Christian land, they outrageously carried off a great deal of rich booty, and then settled in the western countries, where they enjoyed many noble manors, more especially in France; till, from their luxury and other vices, and perhaps yet more from their wealth, they were in the next century totally suppressed there, and soon after all over Europe.

2. The Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, retired first into Cyprus. Henry, then king of that isle, had, it seems, come to the succour of Acres, or Ptolemais, with an army of thirty thousand men and a good fleet. On that town being lost, he escaped with part of the inhabitants in two Genoese galleys, and in Cyprus built the city of Famagosta, in the year 1293, after the model of Acres;—destined afterwards to suffer the same fate of being destroyed by the infidels—which new city was so advantageously situated, that it was quickly peopled by Genoese, Venetians, and other western people, and soon drew to itself the whole commerce of the Levant. But the Knights Hospitalers growing tired of Cyprus, and being mindful of their vows, they, in the year 1310, attacked the isle of Rhodes, and drove from thence the Saracen inhabitants. De Mailly, in his History of Genoa, says, it was at the instigation of Pope Clement V. that King Philip the Fair, of France, took it from the Saracens, who had before ravished it from the Greek empire. They fixed themselves there with honour and renown, sworn foes to the Mahometan name, till the Turks prevailing so much in the east, drove them from it in the sixteenth century, when the Emperor Charles V. gave them the isles of Malta, which they have nobly fortified and made good against all the power of the Mahometans to this day.

3. The Tuctonic, or German Order of crossed Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem, are said, throughout the Holy War, to have behaved extremely well; yet, wisely foreseeing its declension, they determined to abandon what could not long be held: at the same time, Conrade duke of Mazovia offered them the country of Prussia, or at least a good part of it, provided they would undertake its defence against the Pagans; (Mr. Fuller calls them Infidels, I conceive improperly) in consequence of which most of this order went thither, with their Master at their head, some say in the year 1228, though the majority of opinions are in favour of 1239; leaving, however, a competent number still in Palestine, who did good service there to the very last. But though the Prussians were made Christians by those German knights, it appears they became very tyrannical to that people; who thereupon applying for redress to King Casimir of Poland, that King obliged the Master and Knights of that Order, to acknowledge the superiority of the Kings of Poland over them; whereas till that time the Master had considered himself an independent or free prince of the empire. This, however, occasioned many disputes between the Poles and this order in Prussia, until, as will be seen in its place, Albert of Brandenburg, the last Grand Master, got himself created Duke of Prussia, in the year 1525.

1292 Money was still paid by weight, more especially, I presume, in great sums, throughout Germany. Peiferus, in his Origines Lipsienses, mentions a contract in this year between Albert duke of Saxony and the Bishop of Marburg; wherein the Duke agrees to pay the money, *cum pondere*, i. e. by weight, with *quincunces usuræ*; which, whether it then meant five or twenty per cent. we cannot with any certainty determine. In either case it supposes *usura*, or interest, to be then esteemed lawful, more especially as it was paid to a bishop.

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1292 Treaties of commerce, and for adjusting all differences and disputes between England and Flanders, were now become very frequent; there are several of that kind in the second volume of the *Fœdera*, commerce being now become of greater consequence to both nations. In p. 563, of that volume, there is one dated 1292, whereby, “the ships and merchandize of the Flemings, which had been detained in England on account of former differences, were now agreed to be restored.” The free cities of Flanders generally favoured England, on which nation they so much depended for their wool, as without that article they could not carry on their vast cloth manufacture; but the Earls of Flanders were often obliged to keep measures with France, and this occasioned frequent quarrels between the two nations. These free cities also, as Ghent, Bruges, &c. not only claimed the absolute right of choosing and displacing their own magistrates, but even sometimes pretended to exclude the Earls of Flanders from having any concern whatever in their respective governments: and to support themselves in these high immunities, they were also frequently obliged to favour England against France, which, oftentimes was another cause of difference between our Kings and the Earl of Flanders, and of the latter’s most frequently siding with France, of which crown, indeed, Flanders was, in those times, esteemed a fief. These few remarks will help to explain or account for most of the future disputes between England and Flanders.

1293 A war breaking out between England and France, we learn in our histories, that in the year 1293, one hundred ships of the Cinque Ports, fought, defeated, and took two hundred French ships laden with wine. Yet, in revenge, the French soon after landing at Dover, set fire to, and almost totally burned that town.

Very great indeed, were the expences, preparations, and alliances which King Edward I. made for this war against King Philip the Fair, for the recovery of his dominions in France.

To the Emperor Adolph, he engaged to pay three hundred thousand black livres tournois, which Matthew of Westminster makes to amount to one hundred thousand pounds sterling, though it certainly did not exceed seventy-five thousand pounds.—To the Earl of Flanders, now provoked at the French King for favouring the cities of Flanders, fifteen thousand pounds sterling, for the fortifying his castles against France.—To Amadeus, earl of Savoy, twenty-two thousand pounds sterling, for raising of forces on that side. These were to be yearly pensions so long as his war with France lasted. His other allies, who had also pensions, were Albert duke of Austria; the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Liege, and several other German princes; the Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres; the Earls of Holland, Bar, Montbeliard, Juliers, and Luxemburg. To the principal nobles of Burgundy, named in the *Fœdera*, p. 778, in the year 1297, thirty thousand small black livres tournois. Edward also gave pensions to the ministers and servants of his allies: to the ecclesiastics also about them, he gave rich bishoprics, deanries, &c. and to others, much in the same manner as has been in use in our late wars against France in the present age.

1294 King Edward I. being now engaged in a sea war with Castile, as appears in vol. ii. p. 667. of the *Fœdera*, Dionysius king of Portugal, writes to him, “beseeching him to make peace with the King of Castile, since not only the parties at war suffered much in their persons, goods, and ships, but even likewise those of other nations carrying their goods in the ships of either of the hostile powers.”

King Edward I. having, in this year, seized on all the revenues of the *Priories-alien*, towards the expence of his wars, he left the Monks an allowance or maintenance of eighteen pence

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1294 pence per week, *i. e.* two pence halfpenny and two-sevenths of a farthing per day, or very near eight pence of our modern money, and was equal to near three shillings and four pence per day, if living was then but only five times as cheap as in our days; always remembering that their coins were thrice the value of ours of the same denomination. Thus, for illustration, their allowance of eighteen pence per week, was really four shillings and six pence of silver bullion, or seven pence five-sevenths per day. Now, if wheat was then, for instance, two shillings and six pence per quarter, and all other necessaries nearly as cheap, *i. e.* seven shillings and six pence per quarter of modern money, which is about five times cheaper than the modern price of wheat, &c. it follows, that those Monks, with their eighteen pence per week, or with four shillings and six pence in silver bullion of our money, could afford to live five times as well as one in our days could do with the same money: so that their four shillings and six pence per week of our bullion, would then go as far in living as five times as much, or one pound two shillings and six pence would do at the present period.

Historians make mention of certain silver mines to have been sunk this year in Devonshire; but the quantity of silver seems to have been inconsiderable, yielding only seven hundred and four pounds weight; and nothing is now to be found of that metal there.

1295 In the second volume, p. 679, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that the rules relating to the carrying of contraband merchandize to an enemy's country, were exactly the same then as at present. The Emperor Adolph, whom the *Fœdera* generally calls *Rex Romanorum*, or King of the Romans, and sometimes King of Germany, having complained of the stopping of the *Easterling* Hans ships in the English ports, laden with naval stores and corn, till they should give security not to sail with such cargoes to the ports of France; King Edward carries his point by convincing him that they were contraband goods.

In the same volume, p. 675, we find King Edward I. had one thousand foot soldiers of the Earl of Guelderland now in his pay, against France, for half a year, for which he allowed that Earl one hundred thousand black livres tournois; and two thousand horsemen of John duke of Brabant, for the same term, at one hundred and sixty thousand livres yearly.

In p. 688, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, we now meet with the first instance, in this grand collection of records, of any thing like either a licence or a protection from the English crown, for foreigners to fish on our coasts. King Edward directs his precept to the Custos of the seas about Yarmouth, and to the Bailiffs of that town, "That whereas many fishers from "Holland, Zealand, and Erieland" (with which countries he was in friendship) "were coming thither to fish, they should cause proclamation to be made, once or twice in every week, "that none do any injury to the said Dutch fishers; but, on the contrary, rather to do them "all service and assistance." It is dated the 28th of September, and this licence was to last till the feast of St. Martin following.

In this same year and volume, p. 691, we likewise meet with the first Letter of Marque and Reprisals. "A merchant of Bayonne in Gascony, where King Edward I. then was," the French having surprised all the rest of that province, "had gone with a ship to the coast of "Africa," *i. e.* the Barbary coast, "where he laded a quantity of almonds, raisins, and figs; "and on his voyage back for England, he and his ship and cargo were seized on by some armed force from Lisbon, as he lay at anchor on the Portuguese coast, and carried into Lisbon, "where the captors paid the King of Portugal a tenth share, the ship and cargo being valued "at seven hundred pounds sterling, (or two thousand one hundred pounds of our money) "although peace then subsisted between England and Portugal. Our King hereupon, grants

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1295 “ this merchant Letters of Marque (*Licentia Mercandi*) against the subjects of Portugal, “ wherever he can seize their effects, and especially against those of Lisbon, for five years, “ or, until he shall reimburse himself all his losses, and no longer; and to account to the “ King for any surplus he might take over and above his real damage and expences.”

About this time, *i. e. sub finem seculi decimi tertii*, Lambecius, in lib. ii. of his *Origines Hamburgenses*, tells us, that the city of Hamburg obtained of the Earl of Holstein, its full enjoyment of liberty as an imperial city, by abolishing for ever the jurisdiction of that Earl's Advocate therein. Through all this century, the Hans-towns had carried on a great commerce, and strengthened their league at different times by taking in additional towns. Yet these proceedings did not fail to create them much envy from the neighbouring princes, with whom they had many disputes, and to whom they now began to appear formidable. In the year preceding this, they had commenced a naval war against Olaus III. king of Norway; in which war the Hans-towns proved successful; of whom, according to Lambecius, the chief were Lubeck and Hamburg. It seems Olaus had suspended, and was determined to quite abolish, all the Hans-towns privileges in his kingdom: whereupon the Hanseatics blocked up all the ports of Norway, as had been before done by them in the year 1280; (if this be not the very same fact related under that year by Werdenhagen, a confused author, for whom we dare not always answer) so that Norway could import nothing from beyond sea; and that country being barren, Olaus was soon brought to terms, because of the great scarcity of provisions, and other needful things which Norway wanted from abroad. By the interposition of his friend Eric king of Sweden, he restored them to all their privileges, and was also obliged to pay them a great sum of money for the damages they insisted on. This interposition of Eric, confirms us in our suspicion of Werdenhagen's former date, as it agrees better with the chronology.

In this year, for defraying King Edward I's vast expence in his war against France, the Parliament gave a seventh of all moveables in his demesne cities and burghs, and also of the King's tenants of his demesne lands; an eleventh of the earls, barons, and knights; also the clergy gave a tenth; for which purpose, we meet, for the first time, with the King's summons or mandate, directed to the Archbishop, to cause his clergy to assemble in convocation, and, for that purpose, to order elections to be made in every diocese by the clergy and the chapters, in the manner it is arranged at present.

The power, wealth, and splendour of the republic of Genoa, seem at this time to have been in their very zenith. It is almost impossible to believe their historians, who declare, that in this year, the Genoese being at war with Venice, fitted out in one month's space, two hundred galleys, which Dé Mailly might justly call the finest fleet which that republic had ever seen since its foundation; and that on one hundred and sixty of the largest of those galleys they embarked at least forty-five thousand men, all of them being their own subjects: which being, on an average, near three hundred men on each galley, demonstrates the large capacity of those vessels. The officers of this fleet, to display their magnificence, caused eight thousand coats to be embroidered, some with gold and some with silk.

Pope Boniface VIII. apprehensive of the consequences of a war which already occasioned all Italy to tremble, tried, in vain, to soften the irritated minds of both republics. Yet it so happened, that their fleets could not meet this year, though that of Genoa sailed to Sicily, &c. in quest of that of Venice; and the former returning home, the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines opposed each other during the following winter with greater fury than ever; daily murders

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murders happening in the streets, while houses were pillaged, and palaces were burned, &c. It was a natural consequence, therefore, of its interior divisions that such a state should sooner or later come to ruin. Their panegyrist Burgus confirms in general the above account of their army and navy, under the year 1296; and he adds, that such was their expedition, that the news of their sailing was known before that of their preparations for it.

1296 This year seems to have given rise to a famous mercantile society, which subsists to this day with credit and splendour both in England and Germany, viz. the Company of Merchant-Adventurers of England. It is said to have arisen from the Guild of Mercers of the city of London; being a sort of English merchants who first began to attempt the commencement of a woollen manufacture in England, towards the close of King Edward I's reign; and that in the year 1296, they obtained privileges of John duke of Brabant, and stapled themselves at Antwerp, joining in society with them all other English merchants resorting thither. This is the account which the Merchant-Adventurers Company gave of their own origin, in 1638, to the Grand Committee for Trade of the House of Commons, on their defence against the accusations of the separate traders, then called, by that Company, Interlopers. Yet it is certain that this society had not the name of Merchant-Adventurers as a Company, till the reign of Henry VII.

The Italians, usually in our histories stiled Lombards, beside their mercantile and money dealings in England, were frequently agents for the court of Rome. In the second volume, p. 705, of the *Fœdera*, in the year 1296, "Pope Boniface VIII. recommends to King Edward I's protection certain merchants of Lucca of the society of Reifardi," (*de Societate Reifardorum*) "who" says this Pope, "were coming into England on the score of their private commerce." We meet with several such recommendatory letters in the *Fœdera* from the Popes to our Kings in behalf of such Italian merchants, most of which were found to have engaged in some secret service or other for the Holy See.

This year gave birth to the strong and eminent mercantile town and port of Hull in Yorkshire, founded by King Edward I. That prince, returning from an expedition into Scotland, chanced to hunt on the very spot whereon Hull now stands, containing then only a few shepherds cottages; and he was so taken with the advantageous situation of the ground, equally commodious for strength and navigation, being on two sides inclosed between the river Hull and the estuary or mouth of the great river Humber, that he immediately gave directions for its being fortified. At the same time he brought together so great a number of people to set about the building of houses within his intended walls, that it immediately became a town, and in three years from its foundation, he incorporated the same by the name of King's-Town upon Hull, in the year 1299. In a few years more it grew into a place of considerable commerce, chiefly to the ports in the Baltic and for the North Sea fishery. This account of the origin of Hull is invariably agreed to by all our historians. Mr. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, chap. xi. p. 292, says, "That Hull was made a free burgh, and had a grant of an annual fair, to last thirty days, in the twenty-sixth year of King Edward I." This well built and fortified town is at this time in a flourishing condition, having many very good ships and wealthy merchants, and, in general, a very prosperous commerce.

Under this year, the *Annales Flandriae* (Francofurti, 1580) relates, "That Guy Earl of Flanders obtained leave of King Edward I. of England, for the merchants of Bruges freely to purchase wool throughout England, and also to exercise all other kinds of mercantile dealings as amply as the Lombards were permitted to do." By which it appears, that the "Lombards,

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“ Lombards, that is, the free cities of Italy, as Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Florence, and Lucca, 1297 had much commercial liberty in England, even prior to those of the Netherlands. And in corroboration thereof, we have observed, under the year 1293, that King Edward I. had gained over to his alliance, Guy Earl of Flanders, for a certain subsidy, in his war against France. In return for which, we find, in volume second, p. 740, of the *Fœdera*, that in 1297, King Edward “ grants to the Flemings a community of merchandize and commerce with Eng-
“ land; and particularly free liberty to buy and transport from his territories in England,
“ Scotland, Ireland, and France, wool and all other merchandize; and there, to enjoy the
“ same privileges as do the merchants of Lombardy, or any other merchants, English or fo-
“ reign.”

King Edward I. being engaged in such an expensive war against France, and having such large subsidies to pay for his auxiliary troops, was obliged to lay heavy burdens on his English people, to raise the supplies granted. In his Parliament held at St. Edmund's Bury in this year, he obtained, First, An aid of one-eighth part of all moveables in cities and towns. Secondly, He raised the custom on wool from twenty shillings to forty shillings per sack. Thirdly, A twelfth part of the moveables of all the rest of the kingdom. And fourthly, The clergy, though very unwilling, were likewise obliged to contribute largely to this great exigency. Yet after all, most of King Edward's allies having deserted him, notwithstanding they had taken his money, King Philip of France, supported by his allies, the Kings of Castile and Arragon, and the Queen of Navarre, overpowered the Earl of Flanders, and besieged and took Lille; whereupon Edward was obliged to make a truce with Philip, which was observed for the two succeeding years.

In volume second, p. 759, of the *Fœdera*, we also find the first mention of the office of Admiral of the English seas. It is an ordinance made in this year at Bruges, in the presence of Guy Earl of Flanders, and Walter Bishop of Chester, High Treasurer of England, concerning the conduct of the ships of England and of Flanders; wherein William de Leybourne, then also present, is styled, *Amiral de la Mer du dit Roy d'Angleterre*.

That convention stipulated, First, “ That the ships of the King's subjects on the one part,
“ and of the Earl on the other, shall for the future carry in their ensigns or flags, the arms of
“ their respective princes, and should, moreover, have letters testimonial always on board
“ from their respective ports, certifying their belonging to the said ports.

II. “ That murders, robberies, &c. on either side, should be condignly punished.

III. “ Yet, that no delay of such punishment should occasion any breach of amity between
“ the said two princes.”

In a record, in the same volume, of the year 1294, William de Leybourne, commanding a fleet to convoy Prince Edmund, this King's brother, to Gascony, he is only styled, Captain of the Seamen and Mariners of the Kingdom and Territories of the King. (*Capitaneus Nautarum et Marinellorum de Regno et Potestate Regis.*) So that it may reasonably be concluded, that this is the first time the name of Admiral was given to the chief commander of the English navy.

Dr. Godolphin, in his *View of the Admiral Jurisdiction*, printed in 8vo. anno 1685, chap. iii. observes, “ That the name *Admirallius*, came first from the Eastern or Greek Empire into Italy and Sicily, thence into France,” where, in the year 1286, we first find that name, “ and
“ from thence it came into England; and this, as the learned Sir Henry Spelman doth sup-
“ pose, was after the time of the Holy War.—And that William de Leybourne was the first
“ with

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"with us that had the stile of Admiral, who at the assembly at Bruges in the fifteenth, (or rather the twenty-fifth) of Edward I. was stiled *Admirallus Maris Regis*; and that soon after, the said office became tripartite."—The *Fœdera* was not published when the Doctor wrote.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 781 to 786, the Earl of Flanders presented a declaration in this same year to King Edward I. at Lisle, "That he will endeavour, to the utmost of his power, that the barons, gentlemen, and commons of the good towns of Flanders, shall approve of, and confirm the treaties now made with England against France, &c. and the Earl obliged his sons likewise to ratify the same." This conditional promise shews, that the Earls of Flanders, as we have elsewhere observed, were far from having a despotic power over these good towns of Flanders; to whose communities, likewise, King Edward I. wrote this same year, viz. to the communities of Douay, Ghent, Lisle, Ypres, Newport, Gravelin, Dour-bourgh, (probably by mistake written for Bourbourg) Cassel, Dudam, and Popperinguen; and in an especial manner to Bruges, "assuring them, as well as the Earl and Countess of Flanders, that he was hastening over to their aid." It is almost unnecessary to remark in this place, that some of these towns are now become very inconsiderable.

It may be neither unprofitable nor foreign to our general subject, to give our readers a brief view of the martial power of our kings in those times, from the vast number of their military tenures, as we have it from such an authentic voucher as the *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 766. King Edward I. going over at this time to defend Flanders from the French, directs his precepts to the several sheriffs of counties, telling them, "That, whereas for the safety and utility of his kingdom he had resolved to pass the seas; he enjoins them to summon the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other ecclesiastical persons, and even widows and other women, who hold *in capite* of him by knight's service, serjeanty, or wardship, to have in readiness all their said service due to him, of men, horses, and arms, at London, to pass the seas with him, under the penalty of, &c." Letters also were now directed by the King himself to all the bishops, and to Edmund Earl of Cornwall, and to other great lords of the kingdom. Edward's plan was to attack Philip in two places at once; on the side of Flanders, and on that of Gascony: but a truce being made in the same year, as already mentioned, King Edward for the satisfaction of his merchants, directed letters of information thereof, not only to the Barons of the Cinque Ports, but to the towns and ports of Yarmouth, Lynn, Ipswich, Dunwich, Hull, Boston, Newcastle, Portsmouth, Southampton, Lyme, Poole, and Bristol. These therefore must then have been, as indeed the greater part of them still are, the most considerable ports of England for commerce and shipping; since the King, on the occasion of this truce, writes to the communities of no other towns of the kingdom, but only, in general, to the sheriffs, justiciaries, &c. of England, Wales, and Ireland: though London is always presumed to be excepted, as it was the King's capital residence.

In this year the Pope made a donation, (as usual, of what did not belong to him) of the kingdom of Sardinia to James King of Arragon; and in consequence of which, the Pisans who were now greatly on the decline, were soon afterwards expelled from thence by that monarch.

In consequence of the truce with France, an English act of Parliament passed in this same year, purporting, "That the commonalty finding themselves sorely aggrieved by the toll of forty shillings on each sack of wool, the King, at their request, now released them from that tax, and grants for himself and his heirs, that neither he nor they shall take such things

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1297 “things (*i. e.* tolls) without their common assent and good will: saving to us and our heirs the customs of wool, skins, and leather, granted before by the commonalty aforesaid.” It is superfluous here to remark how precarious the liberties of the bulk of the common people of England were in those times, which this and many other circumstances plainly demonstrate: and as that toll on wool was laid on without the consent of Parliament, so likewise, according to Dr. Brady, did this King, for victualling of his army and ships, take wheat, oats, malt, salt fish, pork, beef, and mutton, both from clergy and laity, without paying for them. Which great oppression causing much uneasiness, he was forced to retract his proceedings, in order to give satisfaction to the Parliament and people. In this and several succeeding reigns, the purveyors of provisions and provender for the King’s house, stables, and journeys, proceeded very frequently in an arbitrary manner, by taking such things as they wanted by force from the people at their own rates or prices: and when complaints against such unjust proceedings became very loud, the kings found it their interest, especially when supplies were wanting, to soften the Parliament and people, by permitting an enquiry to be made into such grievances, as well as by the renewing of *Magna Charta*.

We are obliged to Dr. Brady’s Appendix, No. 26, for a Latin record which gives us the demand of the whole maritime service of the Cinque Ports, and even more, in this year. King Edward I. directs his precept, To the Barons and good Men of the Port of Hastings, “that, on account of certain and urgent affairs, relating to us and our faithful subjects, you get ready and send to our port of London, your whole service of shipping, well supplied with arms, &c. so as our service be by no means retarded.

1. “Hastings, twenty-one ships, and in each twenty men and above. Its members were, Scaford, Pevensey, Hodeney, Winchelsea, Rye, Thane, Beckisburne, Grange, Northey, and Bulwerhith.

2. “Romney, five ships, and in each twenty-one men as before; members, Promhell, Ledde, Eastweston, Dengemerys, and old Romney.

3. “Hithe, ships and men as Romney; member, West Hithe.

4. “Dover, ships and men as Romney and Hithe; members, Folkstone, Feversham, and St. Margaret’s; not for the land, but for the goods and chattels.

5. “Sandwich, ships and men as Romney and Hithe; members, Fordwich, Reculver, Serre, and Deal; not for the soil, but for the goods.

“We also desire of you, that over and above the before named service which you are bound to us, you do send to us all your other shipping, as well of forty tons, as of upwards of forty tons, of wine,” (*quadraginta dolia vini*)—meaning tons by wine measure—“well furnished as aforesaid; which last demand, however, above your wonted service, shall not be drawn into consequence hereafter.”

The like precepts, dated at Plymton the same day, were directed to the ports of Feversham, Sandwich, Hythe, Winchelsea, Romney, Dover, and Rye.

1298 We find the animosity between the two sister republics of Venice and Genoa, still continuing extremely fierce. In this year, the fleets of both these powers met in the Adriatic, near Corfu; the Venetians consisting of ninety-seven galleys, and the Genoese of but seventy-three: and, if the Genoese historians are to be credited, this was so bloody a fight, and so glorious for their country, that Venice lost eighty-five of their galleys, of which the greater part were burned; the Admiral of Venice and seven thousand of his men being made prisoners. This victory, as well as that over the Pisans a few years before, is annually celebrated, accord-

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1298 according to De Mailly, even to this day at Genoa. "To such a degree was the hatred of those two republics arrived against each other," says the author of the *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce du Venise*, "that neither of them considered any evil as a misfortune or disaster if the other did but share it along with them."

The *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 813, gives us a commission of King Edward I. directed to the sheriffs of counties, who had, in those days, much more business and authority than in the present times, to enquire into the arbitrary proceedings of the King's purveyors, and other illegal acts of the King's officers. This commission was a kind of *douceur*, in order to obtain fresh supplies from his people in Parliament.

The city and republic of Florence was now in a very prosperous condition, as appears from the authentic history written by their own famous Machiavel; whose remarkable words are, "At this time all the factions in Florence became united. They therefore, in this year, first built their palace or senate-house; and our city was in as great and prosperous a state as it had at any time been. The number of citizens fit to bear arms were thirty thousand, and in their territory in the adjacent country, seventy thousand more: all the province of Tuscany submitting to us, either as subjects or as friends." This was indeed a happy time for a people so factious, and who were seldom long without intestine broils, as well as foreign wars.

This account of the city of Florence, so early as 1298, shews it to have then been one of the largest in Europe; for thirty thousand men fit to bear arms, must, we conceive, imply that it had one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, including old men, as well as women and children; a greater number by far than Florence, at present, can boast.

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1299 The Genoese were become so superior at sea to the republic of Venice, that in their treaty of peace with that state, in this year, according to Baptista Burgus, in his treatise de *Dominio Genuensium in Mari Ligustico*, lib. ii. cap. 13. "the Venetians are prohibited to navigate in the great sea between Constantinople and Syria with armed galleys, for the space of thirteen years to come." A more evident mark of the superiority of one independent state over another than this, can scarcely be instanced.

Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, is the second author we have met with at so early a period, who makes any mention of Stockholm, the present capital city of Sweden: he relates, that the nuptials of Birger, King of Sweden, and Margarer, sister to Eric VII. furnished the Pious, King of Denmark, were now celebrated at that place.

In the minority of this King Birger, the Swedes are said to have conquered Carelia, and to have converted that province to Christianity, where they built the fortress of Wybourg, for putting a stop to the incursions of the Russians into Finland and Sweden.

About the close of this century, according to Voltaire's *General History of Europe*, was invented the fine earthen-ware of Faenza in Italy, which, in those times, served the purposes of people of taste, probably as well as the fine porcelain does those of the present time. All the arts absolutely requisite for the immediate comfort of life, might, more or less, remain known even after the fall of the western empire; yet, in succeeding ages, it was long before the nations could altogether shake off their original rust.

The *Chronicon Preciosum*, and also Mr. Echard, in his *History of England*, have given us, in this year, being the twenty-seventh of Edward I. the rates or prices of the following provisions — A fat cock, three halfpence, a goose, fourpence, a fat capon, twopence halfpenny, two pullets for three halfpence, a mallard, three halfpence; a pheasant, fourpence, a hutton, sixpence, a plover, one penny, a swan, three shillings, a crane, twelvepence, two
Vol. I. K k woodcocks,

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1299 woodcocks, three halfpence, a fat lamb, from Christmas to Shrove tide, one shilling and fourpence, and all the year after, fourpence: lastly, wheat was sold for twenty-pence the quarter, and in some places for sixteen pence, or four shillings of our money: which prices were at this time set by the common-council of the city of London. The following salaries of judges are remarkable this year, viz First, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, fifty marks. Secondly, ditto of the Common Pleas, one hundred marks. Thirdly, Chief Baron, forty pounds.—And each of the other judges of the three benches had twenty pounds salary. All which, though still about thence our money, were nevertheless surprizingly small. As the price of wheat was excessively low, lamb also very low, though poultry not quite so cheap, we may fairly put the proportion of living then to that of the present times, as, at least, as six to one.

It is generally thought, that about this time the most excellent invention of spectacles, or reading-glasses, for helping the sight of persons in years, or of weak eyes, was first discovered, to the very great solace and comfort of studious and contemplative persons, as well as of artificers in many trades. Ducange will have their invention to have been earlier by one hundred and fifty years. Yet the generality of authors agree in this year 1299, or in 1300, as the period of their invention, by Alexander Spina, a monk of Pisa. Dr Platt, in his Natural History of Oxfordshire, and some others insist, that Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar of Oxford, who died in the year 1284, invented spectacles. Mr. Wootton also, in his Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, observes, that his having been said to be their inventor, agrees very well with the time in which he lived. Be this as it may, Friar Bacon is by all allowed to have had some knowledge of the use of glass, in the magnifying and diminishing of objects.

Pancirollus quotes Plautus, to prove that the ancients had the use of spectacles, when he says, *Vitrum cedo, necesse est conspiciat uti*. And Baptista Porta mentions Ptolemy's magnifying glasses for viewing ships at a great distance, and for reading, at a considerable space, the smallest characters. Yet it is by no means certain, nor indeed, scarcely probable, that the ancients knew this most comfortable art: even the words *oculorum* found on some sepulchral marbles, is no absolute proof of it. Neither has Pliny, in his Chapter of Inventions, made any mention of it: at least, if the ancients knew it, it was afterwards lost, which is by no means probable in regard to so necessary an instrument as spectacles to almost all kinds of people.

We can scarcely put too high a value on so excellent and useful an invention as is this of spectacles. Its great blessing to mankind will be clearly discerned, by only considering, that at the time of life men usually begin to lose their eyes, their judgments are generally in the highest maturity. The assistance, therefore, of glasses, enables them to be much longer useful to the public, and comfortable to themselves. One cannot, indeed, help reflecting with a kind of pity on the condition of bookish and contemplative men before this invention, most of whom must have lost the use of their eyes before their judgment or their relish either for reading or business was impaired. We shall only add, on this convenient invention, that as it was, without doubt, greatly instrumental to the revival and improvement both of speculative and practical knowledge, it afforded also, in some respects, a proportionable aid to the increase of commerce.

In this same year we find an English statute, in Mr. Hawkins's edition of them, taken from the records in the Tower, of the twenty-seventh of Edward I. entitled, *De falsa Moneta*, which prohibits the curiencies of certain base monies called pollards and clockards, which had been

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1299 been imported from foreign countries. It also contains very excellent regulations for preventing their future importation and currency.

It is related by some authors, that windmills were invented about this time.

All the Spanish historians agree, that in the last year of this century, the city of Bilboa, the capital of Biscay in Spain, was re-founded or new-built by Didacus Lopez, then lord or prince of that country, supposed to be the Flaviobriga of Ptolemy. Moriforus calls him *Cantabrie Dominus*. Some authors will have Bilboa to be the nearest of all the Spanish ports to Madrid, though that may possibly be disputed, and, on that presumption, most convenient for conveying thither the merchandize of the more northern countries of Europe. Bilboa is likewise the staple port for the iron and wool of Spain, there being much iron in that province, and a great manufacture of it, particularly for military weapons, in the neighbourhood of that city. From this famous port there were very early voyages made towards Greenland, on account of the whale-fishery, &c. Bilboa, therefore, is long since become the greatest and most eminent city of the north side of Spain, and has a great and constant resort of foreign ships thither, as well as much shipping of its own, and an extended commerce.

Until the close of this century, or before the year 1300, according to Pensionary De Witt's Interest of Holland, part ii. chap. 1. "There was but little commerce in the province of Holland, and its cities were few and small." And, in part iii. chap. 3. he observes, "That most of the ancient cities of Holland were oppressed, so long as they had their particular lords, who used to restrain and overawe them, as well as the open country, by forts and castles; and would not suffer them to be walled and fortified for the security of the inhabitants; as appears by Haerlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Gouda, Gorcum, &c. But those cities afterwards enjoying more freedom under their indigent, unarmed earls, when they made use of them to overpower the ancient Holland nobility and gentry, who likewise oppressed their own small cities, they," that is, the cities of Holland, "did, about the year 1300, begin to gain the Flemish and Brabant manufactures, which forsook their former places of abode: but they lost most of them again about the year 1450, or soon after, when our Earls," i. e. the Dukes of Burgundy, "were able, by their forces, to subdue all those cities." In the next century we shall see more on this subject.

Mr. Petyt, in his Vindication of the Ancient Rights of the Commons of England, under this year mentions a league made with France, by King Alexander III. of Scotland, and now ratified by the Scottish Parliament, (by that King, *et per prelatos, et nobiles, et universitates, et communitates civitatum, et villarum*) i. e. "by the prelates, nobles, corporations, and communities of the cities and towns of Scotland." Yet it is not very probable that many cities and towns even of England, and still fewer of Scotland, really merited, at that time, to be constantly represented in Parliament. Although, for this ratification, it might be judged proper to have such representatives, and possibly the French King might desire it to be so, for the greater security.

Dr. William Robertson, in his History of Scotland, observes, that "many causes contri-
buted to bring government earlier to perfection in England than in Scotland, as the rigour
of the feudal institutions abated sooner, and its defects were supplied with greater facility in
the one kingdom than in the other. England led the way in all these changes, and bur-
gessees and knights of shires appeared in the Parliaments of that nation, before they were
heard of in ours. Burgessees were first admitted into the Scottish Parliament by King Robert

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"Bruce, in the year 1326; and in the preamble to the laws of King Robert III." who began his reign in 1390, "they are ranked among the constituent members of that assembly."

We shall, at the close of this busy century, briefly relate what we learn concerning an important revolution in Asia, viz. the conquests of the Mahometans, commonly stiled the Moors, in the East Indies.

"It was about the year 1300," says the English translation of a book, entitled, Portuguese Asia, vol. i. p. 164, &c. "that the Mahometan Moors first began to conquer India with a great power from the north, conquering all the Gentiles as far as the kingdom of Canara, &c. The Moors of Barbary are but few in number in India: and though the conquerors of India now spoken of, were, and their successors still are, called Moors, yet they were chiefly composed of Arabians, Turks, Persians, Tartars, &c. of the Mahometan religion." They were found by the Portuguese, at the close of the fifteenth century, to have been settled as far as Malacca, and in the isle of Sumatra, and were even got to the remote Molucca isles, a little before the Portuguese arrived there, in the year 1500; though less numerous eastward, than they were to the westward of Cape Comorin. The Portuguese even found Moors at Canton in China. So that when men speak of the Moors in India in our days, we are not to think otherwise of them than merely as the Mahometan posterity of these conquerors: which was necessary to be observed in this place, because it has appeared very strange to many who read only modern accounts of India, how such numbers of Moors could go so far from Barbary, (the ancient Mauritania, from which name the word *Maur*, which we write *Moor*, is derived) the proper country of the Moors. Those invaders found numbers of their own religion on the Indian coasts, who, it is said, had been there ever since the year 900, and were become great traders in all the ports of India, as we have already, in part remarked, under the year 933. As these conquerors had come from countries nearer to Europe, they might probably be the means of making the Europeans more inquisitive about the state of India. For in the two following centuries, and till the year 1500, they transmitted the rich merchandize of India for the use of the Europeans, by the way of the Red Sea and the Nile, down to Alexandria; as well as, though less frequently, from the Persian Gulph up the Euphrates, and from thence by caravans to Aleppo. The Moors also, in those times, are said to have managed all the commerce of India eastward, to the Spice Islands, China, &c. as well as westward towards Europe. This method of conveyance was in this year revived by the Soldan of Cairo, who directed the Indian merchandize to be landed on the Arabian shore, and carried over-land to Mecca, and from thence to Egypt, Libya, Africa, &c.

We find so early as in this year, which was the twenty-eighth of Edward I. "that vessels of gold were, by act of Parliament, to be marked, after being assayed by the company of goldsmiths of London: and that no goldsmith shall thenceforth make any vessel, jewel, or any thing of gold or silver, except it be of good and true allay. That is to say, gold of a certain touch, and silver of the sterling allay at least, or of better. No silver vessel shall depart out of the hands of the workers, until assayed and marked by the wardens of the craft; and that they work no worse gold than of the touch of Paris. Gravers, or cutters of stones and seals, shall give every one their just weight of silver and gold. All the good towns of England where any goldsmiths dwell, shall govern themselves by this statute, in like manner as those of London. And one of the trade shall come to London from every good town, for all the rest of the trade there, to be ascertained of their touch."

From

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1299 From all which it appears, that wealth and luxury began to shew themselves in England much more now than in earlier times.

The Venetians, in this thirteenth century, according to Voltaire, &c. were the only people that had the secret of making chrystal looking-glasses.

He also thinks there were some clocks in Italy, particularly at Bologna.

"The other parts of Europe, at this time," says that author, in his General History of Europe, "were far from having such cities as Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Pisa, and Florence. And in the towns of France, Germany, and England, they had scarce any but thatched houses; and the same might be said of the poorer towns in Italy."

"And although these countries were over-run with woods, they had not as yet learned to guard against the cold by the means of chimnies, the kitchen excepted; an invention so useful and ornamental to our modern apartments. The custom then was, for the whole family to sit in the middle of a smoaky hall, round a large stove, the funnel of which passed through the cieling."

"Lafflamma," says Voltaire, "who wrote in the fourteenth century, complains, that frugality and simplicity had given way to luxury. He therefore regrets the times of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, of the twelfth century, and of the Emperor Frederic II. of the thirteenth century, when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they eat flesh-meat but three times in a week. Wine was then very scarce: they had no idea of wax-candles, and even those of tallow were deemed luxury; so that even the better sort of people used splinters of wood instead of candles. They wore woollen shirts; and the most considerable citizens gave not above one hundred livres for their daughters portions. But now," says Lafflamma, "we wear linen; the women dress in silk gowns, some of which are embroidered with gold and silver, and they have two thousand livres for their portions, and have their ears adorned with gold pendants. Table linen was very scarce in England; wine was sold only by apothecaries as a cordial; private houses were all of wood in Paris, as well as in London: it was reckoned a kind of luxury to ride in a two-wheeled cart in the ill-named

the presumpc," says an edict

"and two dishes." The use of silver knives and forks, spoons, and cups, was a great piece of luxury. Money was exceeding scarce in many parts of Italy, and much more in France, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The Florentines and Lombards, who were then the only people that carried on any trade in France and England, together with the Jews their brokers, usually extorted twenty per cent. for the interest of money. Great usury is the infallible sign of public poverty!—Yet it was quite otherwise with the great trading cities of Italy, where alone the people enjoyed convenience and opulence, whilst the people of the northern parts of Europe, and also of Spain, had only barbarous feudal customs, uncertain, tumultuous, and superstitious witchcrafts, &c."

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Succession of PRINCES in this Century.

<i>Emperors of Germany.</i>	<i>Kings of England.</i>	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>
ALBERT I. to 1306	EDWARD I. to 1307	ERIC VII. to 1319	PHILIP IV. } 1314
HENRY VII. to 1312	----- II. to 1327	CHRISTOPHER } 1334	(the Fair) to } 1316
An Interregnum	----- III. to 1377	II. to }	LOUIS X. to 1316
LOUIS V. to 1345	RICHARD II. to 1399	WALDEMAR } 1375	PHILIP V. to 1322
CHARLES IV. to 1377	HENRY IV. to 1400	III. to }	CHARLES IV. } 1377
WINCESLAUS to 1399	and beyond.	OLAUS V. (who } 1387	(the Fair) to }
ROBERT to 1400		annexed Nor- } 1387	PHILIP VI. }
and beyond.		way) to }	(called the }
	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	MARGARET } 1400	Courtier) to }
	JOHN BALIOL, to 1306	(Queen of all } 1400	JOHN, to 1364
<i>Kings of Castile, (called</i>	ROBERT I. } 1329	the three nor- } 1400	CHARLES V. }
<i>usually of Spain).</i>	(BRUCE) to }	thern King- } 1400	(the Wife) to }
FERDINAND } 1312	DAVID II. to 1370	doms) to }	CHARLES VI. to 1400
IV. to }	EDWARD BA- } 1390	and beyond.	and beyond.
ALPHONSO } 1350	LIOL resign- }		
IX. to }	ed to }		
PETER (the } 1369	ROBERT II. to }		
Cruel) to }	ROBERT III. to 1400		
HENRY II. to 1379	and beyond.		
JOHN I. to 1390			
HENRY III. to 1400			
and beyond.			

THE CHARACTER OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The character of this century is of much greater importance to mankind than any, or perhaps than all the preceding ones, considered in a purely mercantile sense. Great improvements are effected in naval commerce throughout the greatest part of Europe, and in the dimensions of shipping, more especially in Italy, Spain, the Hans-towns, and the Netherlands, by which, gradual approaches were making towards constituting the remarkable difference which has since so eminently appeared between nations, in proportion to their greater or lesser cultivation of foreign commerce, and of manufactures, fisheries, mines, and other commercial improvements. Yet Mr. Rymer, in the Dedication to the late Queen Anne of his third volume of the *Fœdera*, tells her very truly, "That these were times of great struggle and disorder all Europe over, and the darkest period of times." And the supposed Royal Author of the *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg* speaks much to the same effect, viz. "That ignorance was at its highest pitch in this and the next succeeding century." The lands of England, it is true, still continued to be extremely cheap, of which some very memorable instances

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1300 instances are exhibited, chiefly owing to there being as yet but very few purchasers: yet the rate of living, and the prices of most of the necessities of life were considerably risen since the beginning of the preceding century. The great King Edward III. of England, attentively observing the vast benefits accruing to the Netherlands from their extensive woollen manufacture, the principal material of which they owed chiefly, if not solely, to his own kingdom; viewing also the beauty, populousness, opulence, and strength of their cities, the neatness and wealth even of their villages, whilst those of his kingdom were mostly poor, ill-built, small, and thin of people; and reflecting that the province of Flanders in particular was thereby become so opulent and potent, as to be a dangerous neighbour to England, more especially when in alliance with France; he determined to attempt the removal of every obstacle in order to attain the same benefits and advantages to himself and his people.

Had this Prince solely confined himself to the pursuit of the woollen manufacture, that great point would have been sooner and more effectually accomplished; but his earnest pursuit of the conquest of France occasioned no small suspension of the other point, by its depriving his kingdom of much wealth and people. Yet although that towering project proved abortive, and that, in the end, he lived long enough to see all his extensive conquests in France ravished from him, the single town of Calais only excepted, (and a truly happy sight it was, or ought to have been, for the English nation, had they then as clearly perceived, as we at present do, the infinite mischief which would have been the inevitable consequence of his success;) he, however, lived long enough, to see his more salutary scheme of the woollen manufacture generally established throughout England, though since, by regular degrees, much improved. He also enacted more and better laws for the advancement of commerce than all his predecessors had done. The silver coins of the two sister-nations of England and Scotland having been the same in weight, value, figure, and denomination, from time immemorial, down to the middle of this century, they for that natural reason mutually and freely circulated in both kingdoms to that period, but the Scots beginning now first to lessen the intrinsic value of their coin, but still preserving the old denominations, England was at length obliged totally to prohibit their passing in payment. The livre, or pound of France, which originally weighed twelve ounces of silver, or a pound Troy, was, in this century, sunk to the sixth part of that weight, or to the sixth part of a pound sterling. Although gold coins had been early in use among the ancient Asiatics, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, yet, from the overthrow of the western Roman empire, until near the close of the last, or the beginning of this fourteenth century, we do not find any gold coins in use, even in the free states of Italy, who, without doubt, had them the first of any part of Europe, west of the Greek empire. In England, the first gold coins were not struck till the year 1344. In the same country, foreign merchants were still hardly and impolitically treated, by means of the exclusive charters granted to London and other cities and towns. The ports of the eastern coast of England had, by this time, engaged in a considerable trade with the Hans-Towns of Germany, and also with those of Prussia and Livonia, the voyages to which places being the most distant that were undertaken by the English, before they resorted to the countries within the Mediterranean Sea. Next after London, the city of Bristol made the greatest figure of any place in England, in commerce and shipping, during this century, and probably long before, as well as it has done ever since; which appears, in a great measure, from its affording the highest loans of money to the crown of any other place, London excepted. This century, moreover, furnishes us with the most distinct

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1300 distinct account of the full quota of the maritime service of the Cinque Ports to the crown in time of war. Many improvements are made in Europe, and particularly in England; clocks are first brought thither, and law-pleadings first ordained to be in the English language, &c. The islands of the Madeira, and of the Canaries, are fully discovered and settled, and were soon after planted with vines and sugar-canes: these islands are since known to have greatly assisted the commerce of the several trading nations of Europe, both by their product and commodious situation: so that, if it were necessary for us to ascertain a period to the times called the middle-ages, we might, possibly, with some reason, fix on the latter end of the reign of the great King Edward III. Scotland, we find, had commerce with the Netherlands from the very commencement of this century, and probably much further back. The invention of the gilling and pickling of herrings, at the close of this century, as still in use, has proved a great addition to the commerce of Europe, and more particularly to the Hollanders; and the inundation of the Texel happening very near that period, afforded means for Amsterdam to take its first great commercial flight, by engrossing the greatest part of the fishing, and of the Baltic trades. Although the Hans-Towns still enjoyed, throughout all this century, a great and flourishing commerce, yet the Netherland cities, and more especially the great and wealthy city of Bruges, began now to eclipse the Hanseatic ones both in commerce and opulence. In Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, their famous Queen Margaret is said to have made such regulations, as laid the foundations for future commerce: it was in her reign that we first meet with any mention in history of the copper mines of Sweden; which country, indeed, came very late into any degree of foreign commerce. Spain, by which name historians, in those times, generally meant the monarchy of Castile, though it is sometimes made to comprehend both modern Spain and Portugal, had some foreign commerce, carried on by large ships, called carricks, long before France, or indeed any other nation of the West, except the free cities of Italy and the Hans-Towns. To conclude, this century made various great improvements in commerce, manufactures, and navigation, and has therefore required a more considerable place in our work than any preceding century. We may also remark, that, during the contests in the course of this century between the Anti-Popes, as also in the struggles between the pretenders to the imperial throne, Italy was in a continual flame with civil broils, so that in several parts of it, according to Petavias and others, many princes and great men assumed to themselves the rule and government of cities, many of whom Pope Benedict XII. legitimated as Princes of the same, that they might be ready and willing to help and defend him against Lewis of Bavaria the Emperor, elected by one party of the German Princes, whilst his Holiness favoured the pretensions of Frederic of Austria to the Imperial throne.

1301 We have seen and traced the antiquity of the famous woollen manufacture of the Netherlands, as far back as the year 900. It continued increasing for above four hundred years after, and was much taken off by France, Germany, and England. Yet, as all things are liable to abuse, it happened, about this time, that the halls of those Netherland cities, who had at first made restrictive laws, under pretence of preventing deceit by the debasing of those manufactures, (exactly answerable to our own mechanical companies in England, Scotland, and Ireland) but which were, in reality, principally intended for fixing and confining them to the cities alone, forced, at length, much of this weaving trade out of the cities, where those halls exercised their restraints, into the villages. The wars between France and Flanders drove it back from those villages to Tienen and Louvain, in Brabant. "The Brabanters," says the great

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1301 great Pensionary De Witt, in his judicious book entitled the Interest of Holland, "nothing wiser than the Flemings, ran into the like restraining laws of the halls, of laying imposts on the manufacture; which imprudent methods had before occasioned many tumults and uproars amongst the weavers in Flanders: for, in the year 1300, in a tumult at Ghent, two magistrates and eleven other citizens were slain. In the year following above one thousand five hundred persons were slain at Bruges on the same account. And in a similar riot, and on the same score, all the magistrates of Ypres were killed. Some time after this, also, at Louvain, in a great tumult of the cloth-weavers and their adherents, several magistrates were slain in the Council-House, and many of the offenders fled to England, whither they first carried the art of drapery. Many other cloth-weavers, with their followers, as well Brabanters as Flemings, dispersed themselves into the countries beyond the Meuse, and into Holland, and, amongst other places, many of them fixed at Leyden." These cloth-workers, which are said to have taken refuge in England, seem to be the same with those mentioned in the *Fœdera*, under the year 1351, who had licences from King Edward III. and privileges granted by him for settling in England. From this great author we also learn, "That the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, in Flanders; and Brussels, Tienen, and Louvain, in Brabant; soon lost much of their trade and manufactures, partly by the ill-judged measures already related, and partly from their earls and dukes becoming so powerful as to make war against those and the other great trading cities of the Netherlands, whose cloth-trade, fishery, and traffic were, on that account, gradually driven out of the land: whereas," says Mr. De Witt, (who, however, must still be considered as a staunch republican, and ever glad of an opportunity to express his aversion to the monarchy and power of a Stadtholder or single governor) "it is manifest, by the present manufactures, fisheries, and foreign traffic of the united Netherland provinces, that commerce thrives best in free governments; for when our earls or dukes were so weak and ill-armed, that they were forced to submit to those cities that flourished by traffic, and could not oppose the true interest of the merchants, commerce then flourished."

At the beginning of this century, the city of Bruges was arrived to such a pitch of grandeur and wealth, by its vast commerce, that Philip the Fair, king of France, being here in the year 1301, with his Queen Jane, they were both astonished, says Louis Guicciardini, in his description of the Low Countries, at the magnificence and riches of that city. It seems the ladies of Bruges put her Majesty out of all patience, to see how splendidly they were decked with jewels and rich attire; so that she broke out into this passionate speech, "I had thought that I was the only Queen here, but I find here are above six hundred beside myself Queens in this city."

In this same year, groats, or groffes of silver, are said to have been first coined in Bohemia, then a powerful kingdom.

1302, Most authors fix on the year 1302 for the date of the incomparable invention, or discovery, of the mariner's compass, or magnetic needle, for the direction of ships at sea. The inventor was Flavio de Gioia, a native of Amalfi, an ancient commercial city in the kingdom of Naples, in commemoration of which, this verse of one Anthony of Palermo is recorded by the Neapolitan historians, viz.

"*Prima did. nautis usum magnetis Amalphis.*"

By which it is understood, that as the poles of the magnet, or loadstone, answered to the

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poles of the world, it could also communicate that wonderful property to an iron needle, placed on a chart, marking the points of the world.

* The power of the magnet to attract iron was known to the Ancients, and is mentioned by Plato, Aristotle, and Pliny; but its directive power, to cause a piece of iron touched with it to point north and south, is undoubtedly of a later date.

Goropius, according to Morisotus, insists that the inventors of this wonderful *pyxis nautica*, or compass, to be either Danes or Germans, because the thirty-two points on it are written and pronounced in the Dutch or Teutonic language, by all nations using the sea; though this may, perhaps, only prove the improvement of the compass by the Teutonic people. For it is agreed by every one, that, at the first, there were only the four Cardinal points, or at most eight points named on the compass, which eight winds had been so named by Charlemagne, as has been observed under the year 790; and that Emperor still using the Teutonic tongue, (though with some alteration from its original dialect) from thence those of Bruges might naturally continue the other twenty-four points in the same language, as the bringing them to thirty-two points is usually ascribed (says Verstegan, &c.) to the people of Bruges in Flanders, where the Teutonic dialect is still in use. Others, continues Morisotus, ascribe the discovery of the compass to Marco Polo of Venice, who, on his return from China about the year 1260, communicated that secret to the Italians. Some indeed have formerly thought, that what is called *versoria* by Plautus was the magnetic needle, and was consequently known to the Ancients; but the learned seem now to be of opinion, that this *versoria* was nothing more than a rope which turned the sail.

There are also two other Frenchmen, Mezerai and Monf. Huet, bishop of Avranches, who will only allow Flavio de Gioia the honour of having rendered the compass more perfect and practicable; and declare it to be a more ancient discovery, as they find mention of it, or of something resembling it, in several authors prior to this period. Bishop Huet seems positive, that it was in use among the French pilots above forty years before Marco Polo's time, as appears, says he, from some verses of Guyot de Provins, a French poet, mentioned by Fauchet, who lived about the year 1200. Notwithstanding all which, the general consent of authors give it Flavio de Gioia of Amalfi, who, according to Abraham Ortelius and others, used it only for the eight principal winds or points, till it was improved, as we have already related, by the people of Bruges, to thirty-two points. Neither, indeed, does this excellent invention seem to have been generally known and used even long after Flavio's time, as appears too plainly, from the Portuguese creeping along the shores, even so late as their first discoveries on the west coasts of Africa in the fifteenth century; yet the Portuguese ought to have the honour and justice done them to acknowledge, that the use of the astrolabe, the tables of declination, with other astronomical and arithmetical rules, applicable to navigation, were their inventions; and it is highly probable also, that the sea-charts, made by the brother of Columbus in England, were their invention. It is true, the English pretend not to the invention of the compass, as several other nations have done, yet they are said to be the contrivers of the most convenient method of suspending the box which contains the magnetic needle, so as to keep it always horizontal. The variation of that needle, or its declination from the true north point, was discovered by Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1500; and the inclination, or dipping, of that needle, when hung so as to play vertically to a point beneath the horizon, was first discovered by Robert Norman, an Englishman, in 1576, as have been many other lesser improvements in the instruments for navigation by our nation: neither ought we by any

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1302 any means to forget Lord Napier's discovery of Logarithms, so useful in our arithmetical operations for nautical as well as other purposes. Lastly, the variation of the variation, or the different declinations of that needle at different times in the same place, was first discovered by our countryman Gellibrand, about the year 1634: though some attribute the merit of this discovery to Gassendi a French mathematician. So much seemed necessary to be said on this incomparable invention, and on some of the other nautical improvements, which, as it were, sprung naturally from it. Endless are the encomiums justly bestowed by all maritime nations on the mariners compass, for the benefit of navigation and commerce.

The invention of this most excellent and useful instrument, set every maritime nation upon improvements or discoveries, by which means, things utterly unknown before, were continually adding to the more perfect accomplishment of it. Nothing can make the contrast stronger, than to view and compare the timorous coasting of the old navigators, who seldom had the courage to venture out of sight of the shore, with the exactness which, in these times, a ship, for instance, can sail from the Lizard Point in Cornwall, and directly make or arrive at one of the small isles of the Azores in the Atlantic Ocean, far distant from any land: though in the darkest weather, deprived of the comfort and use of the heavenly luminaries, and of every other mark from Heaven, earth, or sea, for his guide, the modern navigator securely sails on, generally knowing with great exactness by his reckoning where he is, and how far distant from his intended port. In short, a voyage which, before this invention, was used to last three years, can now be performed, with greater safety, in as many months.

By the help of this noble instrument it was that the Spaniards made their discoveries of a new western world, the Portuguese the way by sea to India and China, and the English and Dutch the several useful discoveries towards the North Pole, all which, but for the compass, would have probably still remained unknown; and all the wealth acquired from such discoveries, and most of the knowledge obtained in consequence thereof, would never have been possessed.

During the two last centuries, and most part of this fourteenth century, the republic of Genoa had flourished as well in military skill at land, as in commerce and naval power; so that Petrus Baptista Riquius, in his book *De Dominio Ierussalimæ Genuensis Republicæ in Mari Ligustico*, printed at Rome, in the year 1641, lib. ii. cap. 8, affirms, "That of such credit were the Genoese soldiers, and principally their archers, that the Princes both of France and Italy did not esteem their armies to be complear, without they had a body of Genoese archers therein: so that the Genoese troops were wont to be retained in the service of foreign potentates, in the same manner as the Swiss are in modern times, and in high pay."

Under this year, we have an authentic voucher, in the second volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 911, of the precise number of ships with which all the Cinque Ports were obliged to supply our English Kings in their wars. It is a precept of King Edward I. then at war with Scotland, directed to the custos or warden, and the barons and bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, to send out their ships for that service, "*(totum servitium navium quod nobis debent)*" says the King, "which whole quota was fifty-seven ships, well furnished for war. Nevertheless, if present, the King contents himself with their sending only twenty-five ships to rendezvous at Berwick, provided, however, that these twenty-five shall carry in them as many &c. as the whole fifty-seven ships are bound to have." Yet he does not therein specify number of sailors, &c.

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In the same year, we have a statute in the thirty-first of King Edward I. for ascertaining the former standard of English coins, and of measures of capacity.

"I. An English penny, still the largest coin in England, which is also called a sterling, round and without clipping, shall weigh thirty-two grains of wheat well dried, and gathered out of the middle of the ear. II. And twenty of those pence, or twenty penny weights, shall make an ounce. III. And twelve of those ounces shall make a pound." Thus the money, by this new statute, was still to be thrice the weight of our modern money. By this statute also, eight pounds weight made a gallon of wine, and eight gallons of wine measure made a bushel of London, which is the eighth part of a quarter.

Edward I. now published his charter, or declaration, of his protection and privileges granted to foreign merchants; and also ascertained the customs or duties which those foreign merchants, in return for this charter, were to pay on merchandize exported and imported. Upon the grounds of this famous charter, styled *Charta Mercatoria*, all historians agree, that this King was the first who established the great customs on merchandize. Yet this charter is not in the *Fœdera* under this King's reign; but in vol. IV. p. 361, under the year 1328, the second year of King Edward III. we have a recital of it, as confirmed by that Prince, viz.

"The merchants of Almaine, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Florence, Provence, Catalonia, his own dutchy of Aquitaine, Toulouse, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other foreign parts, who shall come to traffic in England, shall and may safely come with their merchandize into his cities, towns, and ports, and sell the same, by wholesale only, as well to natives as to foreigners. And the merchandize called merceries," which is somewhat difficult to describe, being in those days, probably, many small wares, toys, haberdashery, &c. "as also spices, they may likewise sell by retail. They may also carry beyond sea the goods they may want in England, paying the usual customs, excepting wines, however, which, being once imported, shall not be re-exported without the King's special licence. He commands all his officers in fairs, cities, and towns, to do speedy or summary justice to the said foreign merchants, agreeable to the law-merchant or customs of merchants: particularly, first, that on any trial between them and Englishmen, the jury shall be one half foreigners, where such can be had. Secondly, that a justice person shall be appointed in London, to be justiciary for foreign merchants. Thirdly, that there shall be but one weight and measure throughout the kingdom. In consideration of all which, and of the King's freeing them from prize, and all other burdens, the said foreign merchants shall pay a custom of two shillings for every ton of wine which they shall import, over and above the old custom, and for every sack of wool which they shall export forty pence, over and above the old custom of half a mark, and the like for three hundred woollfells. Item, two shillings for every piece of scarlet cloth dyed in grain, and one shilling and six-pence for every other dyed cloth, in the dying of which grain shall be mixed, also twelve-pence for every cloth dyed without any grain, and the like sum for every quintal of wax. They shall likewise pay three-pence per pound, *ad valorem*, for such merchandize imported, and also when re-exported, as cannot well be reduced to a certain custom in the above manner, such as silk, farcenets, lawns, corn, horses, and other live cattle, and many other kinds of merchandize both imported and exported, over and above the old customs on such kinds of merchandize." In vol. III. p. 269, of the *Fœdera*, we find Philip the Fair, king of France, writing, in the year 1311, to King Edward II. to have the French merchants released from this three-pence per pound: but Edward replied, that as a full English Parliament had granted that

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that custom to his father, by both English and foreign merchants, on account of the many special liberties and immunities which he bestowed on them in perpetuity, he must therefore consult his Parliament before he can give any determinate answer. This charter is declared to be perpetual; and it is therein also declared, "That the said foreign merchants should hereafter be liable to no execution, stop, or loan, either on themselves or on their goods."

From this famous *Charta Mercatoria* we learn, that there were known and established customs or duties long before this time, both on importation and exportation, although the particulars of them all cannot now be specified. The seas of Europe, in those ruder times, being frequently infested by pirates, it became necessary, for the protection of commerce, to have ships ready to guard the seas; in return for which, we shall find the most ancient tribute paid to our English Kings, was the duties on importation of merchandize, under the two denominations of *prisage* and customs. The former, *i. e.* *prisage*, was paid in kind, by taking a determined part of the goods for the King's use, at a price to be set by the King, and called the King's price, which was always lower than the current price; for instance, one ton of wine in ten, and so of other merchandize. But by this charter, *prisage* was remitted to merchant-strangers, and instead thereof a duty was laid of three-pence in the pound, called the *petty custom*, on all home commodities exported, over and above the great customs; and also on all goods imported, excepting wines, upon which we have seen there was two shillings per ton laid, since named the *butlerage duty*.

Custom was a duty or subsidy, on our native commodities exported, as wool, leather, lead, and tin; and being the most ancient, they were then called the great customs; but, since those early times, the alterations and additions in the customs are almost infinite, so that it now takes up great part of a man's time to make himself a perfect master of them; being one of the many evils resulting from our national burdens, and a grievous load on our general commerce and manufactures.

Notwithstanding these duties, which King Edward I. now obliged foreign merchants to pay, yet he did not abolish the seemingly cruel hardships which they had long been laid under in England, of one foreigner's being liable for the debt, and even punishable for the crime of another. The monopolizing privileges of London, and of other cities and towns, making them continually jealous of foreigners, as interfering with them, our people accused the foreigners coming to trade amongst us, of underselling our own merchants, and of being spies on the secrets of our commerce, for the benefit of their own respective countries.

On the other hand, we shall here observe how much more wisely the earls and people of Flanders then acted towards foreigners, by the following instance. The Scottish nation had traded, in very early times, to Flanders, Brabant, and other parts of the Netherlands; but King Edward II. being at war with the Scots and their King, Robert Bruce, and pretending to the sovereignty of Scotland, as his father had also done, he solicited Robert, earl of Flanders, to break off all trade and correspondence with that nation: to which request the Earl of Flanders made the following authentic answer, as it is in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. III. p. 771, "our country of Flanders is common to all the world, where every person finds free admission. Neither can we withhold this privilege from persons concerned in commerce, without bringing ruin and destruction on our country. If the Scots come into our ports, and our subjects go to theirs, it is not thereby our intention, nor that of our subjects, to encourage them in their error, but merely to carry on our trade, without taking part with them." By these very methods of affording protection and encouragement to all nations

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to come and trade, and to settle amongst them; the Netherland provinces, and more especially Flanders and Brabant, were then become, what Holland, by the same means has since been, the most populous countries of any in Europe, having their cities filled with most eminent traders, and their whole country with the best manufacturers, and most curious artizans, being the center of all the commerce of the western world without the Straits of Gibraltar.

- 1303 We have already, under the year 1254, &c. from the *Fœdera*, given the quantum of three royal or princely dowries; by which may be partly guessed the scarcity of money in that age. Another instance in this century we shall give under the year 1303, from vol. ii. p. 928 of the *Fœdera*, on a peace being made between England and France, and Guienne restored to King Edward I. It is the contract of marriage between Prince Edward, eldest son of King Edward I. and Isabella, daughter of the French King, Philip the Fair; by which it appears, that her dowry was eighteen thousand livres tournois yearly, equal to about four thousand pounds sterling, or twelve thousand pounds of our modern money. King Edward himself had formerly married King Philip the Fair's sister, Margaret, whose dowry he settled at fifteen thousand livres; and on this marriage of his son, he augmented his Queen's jointure to twenty thousand livres yearly.

In this year, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 930, &c. King Edward the First's Exchequer at Westminster was privately broke into, and robbed of the large sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The abbot and monks of Westminster, within whose limits or jurisdiction the Exchequer was, were, on this account, imprisoned in the Tower of London, and were indicted for this robbery, though afterwards acquitted. Whereupon the chief of the society of Lombard merchants of Florence, named the Frescobaldi, who had lived till then in great favour with King Edward, and who was a great manager of his customs, having fled into Italy with much of this King's treasure, was there secured by King Edward's direction, probably upon account of this robbery; which is all we can say about it.

The Emperor Albert I. though in other respects a wise Prince, according to Heiss's History of the German Empire, suffered his officers to treat the Swiss with so much rigour at this time, that the small cantons of Switz, Uri, and Underwalden took up arms, and expelling his officers, they entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence for ten years; and afterwards, by perpetuating the same, they shewed the way to the other cantons, and to the Grisons, with what they called their other confederates, to establish their liberty and independence in a federal union, remaining firm to this day, by the name of the Helvetic Confederacy, or Republic of Switzerland; though, in fact, made up of many independent republics, closely allied. The Swiss having assisted the Emperor Louis the Godly, in the ninth century, against the Saracens, when they invaded Italy, he suffered them, on that account, to enjoy their barren and mountainous country in their own way, remaining there in obscurity and poverty for near four hundred years, till the revolt above-mentioned; which some, however, relate as having happened in 1307, by means of the well-known story of William Tell's refusing to salute the Austrian governor's hat, placed on a pole in the market-place: which revolt the Emperors were not well able to suppress, at a time that the Guelph and Ghibeline factions were at their height.

- 1304 We now meet with the first instance of the maritime strength of the Hollanders, in a naval engagement between William Earl of Holland, son of John II. who rendered himself very famous by this great victory over Guido Dampier, Admiral of Flanders, before the port of Zierickzee, in which, says Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, lib. ii. cap. 13. ten thousand Flemings

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1304 Flemings were killed in fight, or drowned, besides vast numbers made prisoners with their ships. The same Prince had several other sea-fights with the Flemings and their auxiliaries. At another time, continued Morifotus, Earl William's fleet, commanded by Grimaldi, a Genoese admiral, fought Dampier near the said town of Zirickzee; when, to prevent their ships from being separated by the tide, &c. they joined them together with iron chains or hooks; whereas the Flemings fastened theirs only with ropes: the Hollanders therefore cutting the ropes in the night-time, the Flemish ships were thrown into disorder, and dashed against each other, and their Admiral Dampier was taken, with the loss of eleven hundred men, beside ships. Morifotus adds, that neither before, nor since the Admiral Grimaldi, do we find any admiral of Holland mentioned, through the negligence of historians, who have totally omitted the famous acts and exploits of either Hollanders or Flemings, until the year 1491, when we again read of Beverius, an admiral of Zealand.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 943, we may see the highest complement of men for the best ships, used in this year for war, in England. King Edward I. now doubly allied to King Philip the Fair of France, lends him, perhaps not very wisely, "for an expedition against the Flemings, twenty ships, to be assembled at Sandwich, and to be picked out from amongst the best and largest of those of the several ports of London, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Romhale (Romney), Hithc, Rye, Feversham, Hastings, Southampton, and Portsmouth; each of which ships were to be manned with at least forty stout men, and well furnished with all other requisites for war." The small complement of men for each of those ships, sufficiently demonstrates the meanness of ships for war in those days. Though some allege, that the harbour of Sandwich was more deep and capacious in those days than at present. At this period, and for two hundred years after, the Kings of England had no ships of war that were properly their own; for we have seen, in the preceding century, that the Cinque Ports, for sundry peculiar privileges by them enjoyed, were bound to be always ready with a stated number of their ships for the use of our Kings: but the ships here mentioned, seem to have been hired from other ports, as well as from the Cinque Ports, for this special occasion, and were, without doubt, the best and largest that could be procured in England, as the record itself expressly directed.

Yet further to oblige the French King, King Edward I. as appears by the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 944, "commands all his subjects who were merchants residing in Flanders, to withdraw from thence, and to hold no correspondence there, because," says the King, "the said people of Flanders are the enemies of his friend, the King of France; who, on his part, promises to do the like with respect to the Scots, and others of King Edward's enemies." Indeed, his scheme for the conquest of Scotland was the true source of Edward's friendship with the French King at this time. Hereupon, Philip, son to the Earl of Flanders, and the five good towns thereof, jointly request King Edward to revoke the said order; but he answered them, that he must keep his treaty with King Philip, though he suspended the execution of it till the Midsummer following. King Edward was a penetrating Prince, and well knew how great a loss it would be to his own revenue, and to his subjects, strictly to comply with what the King of France expected: but the restitution of Guienne, and the promise of Philip the Fair not to give assistance to Scotland, were the motives for his agreeing to a treaty so diametrically opposite to his own and his people's interests in every other respect. The wool of England was now taken off by the Flemings in such vast quantities, by the great

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increase of their woollen manufactures, that a large balance in money was annually brought to us.

In this same year there seems to have been some correspondence between the ships of England and the ports of Denmark: for, "King Edward I. having complained to Eric VII. King of Denmark, that certain Danish subjects had seized on the ship and wines of one John of Yarmouth; Eric, in answer, tells Edward, that justice shall be done therein: and further promises, not only justice, but favour likewise, to any English subjects who shall resort to his dominions."—*Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 249.

We have before observed, that the Lombard society of the Frescobaldi, being Florentine merchants residing in England, had great dealings with King Edward I. being not only great merchants, and exchangers of money, but were also that King's receivers of customs on wool and leather. They were also employed in coining of our money; but were accused of being likewise great clippers or diminishers of it, although strongly recommended to our Kings by the Popes, as may be supposed, for their own ends. In the second volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 953, we find that King Edward I. applies to them, "to supply his son, the Prince of Wales, with two thousand marks sterling, for the purchase of horses, &c. and to bear his other expences for his journey to France; and also to advance Mary Queen of France, Edward's mother, five hundred pounds sterling, in part of one thousand pounds, which he had promised her by way of gift." These drafts on them were probably made, in consequence of their being the King's receivers of his customs: yet we hear no more of the hundred thousand pounds of which the Exchequer was robbed the preceding year; that matter being probably made up, though we do not learn in what manner.

In the same year, Andronicus Paleologus, the Greek Emperor, granted to the Genoese the ground where Pera now stands, a mile distant from Constantinople, on which the Genoese built that suburb, wherein the Christians have usually resided ever since the Turks conquered that empire: yet this was forced to be delivered up to the Turks, on their taking of Constantinople.

1305 In those times, we again find, that the people of the Low Countries, particularly those of Flanders and Brabant, had the same spirit for a free and universal Commerce, which the Hollanders have so successfully testified in later times. In the *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 963, under the year 1305, we find Robert, Earl of Flanders, in a letter to our King Edward I. "acknowledging the receipt of the licence which that King had granted to his (Robert's) subjects, to resort and trade to England, provided they do not supply his enemies, the Scots, with arms and provisions. And he tells Edward, that he has prohibited his subjects from giving any aid whatever to the Scots, in their war against his Majesty." Yet he subjoins, like a true Netherlander, "But as our country has ever been supported by commerce, and is therefore ever free for all merchants to resort to it, we cannot, neither ought we, in the least to prohibit the said Scots from coming merely for commerce, to our country, as usual, with their merchandize, which we are bound to defend from all oppression and wrong. He therefore requests the King to make his licence absolute, and without any restrictions." We shall add, that Earl Robert, in the year 1319, as appears in vol. iii. p. 770 of the *Fœdera*, gave the same answer to King Edward II. "That he could not hinder the Scots from trading into Flanders, nor his merchants from trading to Scotland, as has been customary, since the contrary would bring ruin and desolation on his country." And a similar answer did this potent

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1365 potent and blustering King Edward I. receive the same year from the cities of Bruges and Ypres.—*Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 771.

Neither was Brabant in a less flourishing condition, in point of commerce and manufactures, at this time, under their Duke John III. and more especially the cities of Antwerp and Louvain; the latter of which cities carried on such an immense woollen trade in the beginning of this fourteenth century, that they reckoned upwards of four thousand woollen-drappers, clothiers, or master-weavers in that city, and above one hundred and fifty thousand journeymen-weavers. Though surely the present site of this city never could contain so many people as there must have been in it by this computation: we must therefore suppose, that, at least, the journeymen-weavers did not all live within the city, but perhaps the most part in the adjacent villages. Louvain is indeed still a great city, its walls being about six miles in compass, though there is now much waste ground within them, which formerly might be built on: it has still twelve principal streets, and above one hundred lesser ones.

The city of Wilna, or Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, is said to have been now built on the river Wilna, by Gedimius, Lord of Volhinia.

The historiographers of the city of London relate, that about the close of the reign of King Edward I. the trades of that city, which required much fuel, first began to use sea-coal, such as dyers, brewers, &c. against which practice, several of the nobility, gentry, and others, complained to the King, as being a public nuisance, when he granted a commission of enquiry into the same: in consequence of which, he issued a severe proclamation against the use of sea-coal, under the penalty of fines, &c. Those trades, however, finding the scarcity and price of wood-fuel daily increasing, found it their interest to make use of sea-coal; and notwithstanding this prohibition, they soon after were under the necessity of being supplied with that fuel from Newcastle upon Tyne, which has proved a very great benefit to both places.

In the second volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 1016, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the chief prelate of Scotland, being a prisoner in Winchester castle, for supporting his own King, Robert Bruce, we have his daily allowance for the maintenance of himself and his servants, viz.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For the Bishop's own daily expence	-	-	6
— one man-servant to attend him	-	-	3
— one boy to attend him likewise	-	-	1½
— a chaplain to say daily mass to him	-	-	1½
Total	0	1	0

Thus, for one shilling, (still equal to three of ours) was the daily expence of that bishop, with his chaplain and two servants, defrayed. And the bishop of Glasgow had the very same allowances in his captivity, reckoning necessaries about six times as cheap as in the days we live in. Even King Robert Bruce's Queen, Elizabeth, a prisoner in England, in the year 1314, was allowed but twenty shillings per week, or three pounds of our money, for the sustenance of herself and family, as appears in vol. iii. p. 468, of the *Fœdera*.

We have already seen that Yarmouth, in Norfolk, was, in the preceding century, a port of commerce; and by a charter in the year 1306, and the thirty-fifth of King Edward I. we find mention made of the herring-fishery of that port, and of that of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston adjoining, as having been long practised there. (*Quod semper, retroactis temporibus, navigantes e-*

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1305 at this time between Great Yarmouth and the men of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston, the latter claiming a privilege, time out of mind, to have ships load and unload in their harbours; but the former prevailed, as being a free burgh, which paid to the crown an annual fee-farm rent, whereas the two latter were no burghs. Great complaints too are here made against their foretelling each other in the sale of merchandize imported, and against brokers, (*abroccatores*) or buyers up of goods for others, &c. From all which it appears, there was a considerable trade here at this time.

1307 King Edward I. dying in this year, leaves the following legacies, viz. To his son Thomas, ten thousand marks yearly; to his son Edmond, seven thousand marks yearly; to Eleanor, his daughter, for her portion, ten thousand marks, and five thousand more to buy her apparel. This last sum must have been surely meant as a principal sum, of which she was to have the annual interest for her apparel. From these legacies we may see already, that money was beginning to be more plentiful than in former times, since one of those marks contained as much silver as two of our modern pounds.

As we are not able to fix the exact year of King Edward the First's reign, we have therefore supposed it to be in the last, according to a treatise in folio, printed in the year 1689, entitled, *The happy future State of England*, p. 114, "that a manuscript in the Bodleian library at Oxford, makes above eight thousand nine hundred parishes in England, exclusive of many chapelries, since grown up into parsonages." How far this may be the fact we cannot determine; but supposing it true, we may fairly venture to assert, that most, if not all, of those parishes are since greatly increased in number of inhabitants, as the Lord Chief Justice Hale, in his *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, and many good authors, have clearly demonstrated.

In this same year we find, by the second volume, p. 1042, of the *Fœdera*, that the Pope having collected much money in England by the tenths, &c. King Edward I. lays his injunction on the Pope's Nuncio, "That neither the English coin, nor silver in mass nor in bullion, shall be carried out of the kingdom to the Pope; but that the sums so raised, shall be delivered to merchants in England, to be remitted to the Pope by way of exchange, (*per viam cambii*)."

Now, as this could mean nothing else but bills of exchange, Gerard Malynes, in his *Center of the Circle of Commerce*, printed in the year 1623, chap. 4, must be mistaken in asserting, that merchandizing exchange, that is bills of exchange, was not as yet known. Malynes, in that work, tells us, that King Edward I. established an officer, called the royal exchanger of foreign monies imported, for English coin; yet neither in Rymer's *Fœdera*, nor in the Statute-book, do we find any mention of that office, until the year 1331. This order of King Edward, however shews, that in those days they were not well acquainted with the nature of exchanges; since, in effect, it will turn out the same to a nation, whether it exports the money in specie, or remits it by bills of exchange; since, in either case, it so far contributes to turn the balance again such a country. This is now well understood by every one who is but slenderly versed in the theory of commerce. Wherefore, though there be laws still in force, prohibiting the exportation of our coin, yet if there be a general balance due by us to any one foreign country, and which continues for any length of time, that balance must undoubtedly be made good, either by our own coin carried secretly abroad, or else melted down into bullion; (and, it is to be feared, too often falsely attested to be foreign bullion) or else we must pay the demands by the sale of our merchandize in some other foreign country, whither we must otherwise have carried our money. By paying that debt by merchandize, we so far prevent the produce thereof from being returned to us, in either foreign coin or bullion,

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1307 or else by bills of exchange, which is the same thing; and do so far therefore lessen the balance in our favour with that foreign country: yet this point was not then, nor indeed for almost three centuries later, rightly understood.

There being various complaints of mutual grievances between England on one side, and William, Earl of Holland, Zealand, and Hainault, and Lord of Friesland, on the other, our King Edward II. just come to the crown, "grants," as appears in *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 19, "a protection to certain merchants, sent from the said Earl for settling those disputes." He also, in the year following, grants two others of the same tenor; in one of which our King complains of the bad treatment which some merchants of York and Lincoln had met with from the Hollanders; and, in the year 1309, we find that earl again sending his envoys into England on the same errand.

At a Parliament held at Northampton in the first year of King Edward II. there was granted to that King a twentieth part of the moveables of barons, knights, and other freemen, excepting thereout their armour, war-horses, robes, jewels, and vessels of gold and silver. And the citizens, burgesses, and tenants of ancient demesnes of the crown, as also the clergy, gave a fifteenth part of their moveables.

1358 In these times we again find, that Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, was a place of great traffic, as well by means of their herring-fishery, as by reason of their other foreign commerce. In vol. iii. p. 70, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward II. now complains to King Philip the Fair of France, of a pirate of Normandy, who had seized a Yarmouth ship sailing from Rouen, freighted with woollen and linen cloth, iron, canvas, cables, gold, and silver, to the value of four hundred pounds sterling.

Till this year we meet with no treaties of commerce between England and Portugal in the *Fœdera*; but now, in vol. iii. p. 107, we find a letter from Dionysius King of Portugal, to our King Edward II. desiring that Edward would ratify and strengthen the agreement and correspondence already on foot between the merchants of both nations. To this Edward cordially assents, and grants his safe conduct to all merchants of Portugal resorting to England, they paying the usual customs, &c.

In this same year also, as we find in vol. iii. p. 112, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward II. in answer to a letter from Ferdinand King of Castile, agrees, "That peace be established between England and Spain, depredations to cease, and a mutual free correspondence to be established between their subjects." Yet, soon after this agreement, we find frequent complaints of depredations of the Spaniards on King Edward's subjects of Bayonne, in Gascony; and also in the year 1316, on those of Southampton, and deputies appointed to adjust the same.

Thomas Blount, Esq. in his *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, printed in 1679, gives a sample of the grandeur and pride of English prelates in these times, from a record dated the second year of Edward II. "Hugh Courtney, Esq. son and heir of Sir Hugh Courtney, held the manor of Slapton in Devonshire, of the Bishop of Exeter, by the service of being steward at the installation feast of every bishop of that see. And that, at the first coming of every bishop, he and his heirs shall meet him at the east gate of the city, when he alights from his horse, and shall go a little before him on the right-hand, to keep off the press of people, and shall attend him into the choir of the cathedral at his installation; at the feast whereof, he shall serve in the first mess to the bishop's table; in consideration whereof, he shall have for his fee, four silver dishes of those which he shall so place at the first mess, two salt-fellers, one cup whereout the bishop shall drink at that meal, one wine-pot, one spoon, and two basons.

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1308 “ wherein the bishop shall then wath, all to be of silver : provided the said Hugh, or his heirs, being of full age, do attend this service in person, if not hindered by sickness, or the King’s writ, &c. In which case, he was to appoint some worshipful knight as his deputy, who “ shall swear that his lord is sick, &c.” Although this does not directly relate to commerce, yet it well illustrates the felicity of our freedom from such ecclesiastical haughtiness and tyranny, which ever was, and ever will be, the greatest obstruction to commerce and industry.

¶ In the third volume, p. 131, of the *Fœdera*, we find King Edward II. complaining to the Earls of Namur and Flanders, and to the magistrates of Bruges, of certain sailors, whose ships were in the port of Swyn, called Easterlings, who had done great damage to his people of Scotland, and elsewhere, both by sea and land. We have also another complaint of that King to the Earl of Flanders, against some of his people, who had robbed a ship belonging to Weymouth. There were also various other mutual complaints, at different times, of both our merchants and theirs of the Netherlands, in this King’s reign ; for which cause persons were named on both sides to settle the differences which arose. And in the same volume, p. 154, we find similar complaints of our merchants to Haquin, King of Norway, in the same year, whose subjects had violently seized on several English ships on his coasts.

As in the preceding year we gave a sample of the grandeur and pride of bishops’ installations, with the sole view of demonstrating the happiness of our present freedom ; we shall now, from one who was well known to be a good bishop, viz. Dr. Fleetwood, in his useful and judicious *Chronicon Preciosum*, so often already quoted, exhibit another instance, yet more flagrant, of the pride and prodigality of the Prior of St. Austin’s in Canterbury, for the feast on his installation day ; by which, at the same time, the rates or prices of sundry sorts of provisions will be amply seen ; though the bishop observes, that the prices were then reckoned very high. “ Wheat, seven shillings and twopence per quarter ; malt, six shillings ; oats, four shillings ; eleven tons of wine, at two pounds three shillings and sevenpence halfpenny per ton ; five hundred pounds weight of almonds, at three halfpence per pound ; three hundred pounds weight of wax, at sixpence halfpenny per pound ; thirty oxen, at eighteen shillings each ; one hundred hogs, at three shillings and twopence farthing each ; two hundred sheep, at three shillings each ; one thousand geese, at threepence three-farthings each ; five hundred capons and hens, at threepence each ; four hundred and seventy-five pullets, at three halfpence each ; two hundred pigs, at sixpence each ; twenty-four swans, at five shillings and tenpence each ; six hundred rabbits, at sixpence each ; one thousand earthen pots cost fifteen shillings in all ; nine thousand six hundred eggs, at about nine for a penny ; saffron and pepper cost one pound fourteen shillings ; for spices, (*pro speciebus*) twenty-eight pounds ; three hundred ells of canvas, or flax, four pounds ; sixteen shields, (*scutis de*) or collars, of brawn, at four shillings and three halfpence each ; *de scopis et gachis*, to the value of eight pounds four shillings.” “ *Scopa*,” says the bishop, “ is a broom or beesom ; but what *gachis* signifies I know not.” What the “ fourteen hundred *sciphis* cost,” which the bishop thinks were wooden cans, or perhaps black jugs, is not set down, any more than the “ three thousand three hundred dishes, platters, or trenchards : fish, cheese, milk, onions, &c. to the value of two pounds ten shillings.” All which, including music, the cooks, &c. came to two hundred and eighty-seven pounds seven shillings, or eight hundred and sixty-two pounds one shilling of our money, for the entertainment of six thousand guests. The bishop thinks “ there must be a mistake in the rabbits, which could not then be so dear ; and that the corn,

“ beef,

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1309 "beef, mutton, &c. swans, &c. are at high rates for those times: yet the six thousand guests were sumptuously entertained for not quite elevenpence halfpenny each of their money, or probably about a sixth part of what it would have cost in our days." Thus far the bishop. Now, as almost every thing bought for this feast was higher than the customary prices in those times, we apprehend we may fairly put them, on an average, at one third part of the present expence of those things; and then it will follow, that this Prior of St. Austin's was at an expence for this installation dinner, equal to two thousand five hundred and eighty-six pounds, to be laid out in our days for such a feast.

1310 But nothing, on this subject, can come up to the pride and insolence of Pope Clement V. in the year following, in his obliging, or even permitting, Dandolo, the reigning Doge of Venice, in order to obtain a reconciliation between his holiness and that republic, with whom his infallibility was grievously offended, shamefully to submit to be tied with a chain, like a dog, under that Pope's table, as historians relate, who have justly added to his name the surname of dog.

This year is memorable for the utter subversion of the famous military-religious order of Knights Templars all over Christendom, who had made so great a figure in the late Holy War, King Philip the Fair of France, having been greatly serviceable to Pope Clement V. obtained of him a grant of their lands in France. In 1309, the whole Order was arrested and imprisoned at once all over France; which, beside other reasons, plainly shews it was a concerted point; and that the greatest crime of the Templars, in Philip's eyes, was, that they were possessed of nine thousand manors in France:

"For wealth is crime enough to him that's poor."

DENHAM.

Most heinous crimes, as well as heresies, were, however, laid to their charge, in order to colour the great cruelty, as well as injustice, which that King exercised on them in France; for in 1312, their Great Master, and fifty-nine Knights, some of whom were of princely families, were cruelly burned alive at Paris; and, as it is related, the Grand Master, and many of the Knights, when tied to the fatal stake, solemnly cited the said King of France, and also the Pope, to answer, within one year and a day, at Christ's tribunal, for their unjust murder; and, to make the story more authentic, they are both said to have died within that space. The Pope issued his bulls all over Christendom, for exciting them to follow the example of France; which England, Spain, and Italy complied with, though with none of the bloodshed that happened in France. King Philip, however, is said to have been disappointed of his expectations; for the Council of Vienne bestowed the lands of the Templars, amounting to nineteen thousand manors all over Europe, on the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem. To say the truth, the Templars, since the Holy War was at an end, had really nothing at all to do but eat and drink; whereas, the other two knightly religious orders, viz. those of the Hospitalers and Tuetonic Knights, were still thought useful, the former at Rhodes, and the latter in Prussia and Livonia. This was probably also one of their great crimes.

In England, the Pope's influence prevailed over the conviction of King Edward II's mind, for that irresolute prince, in imitation of Philip the Fair, sequestered their goods and possessions, although he had just before, as appears in the *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 35, written to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, Arragon, and Sicily, exhorting them not too lightly to credit the

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1310 the reports spread abroad, of the horrid impieties and other crimes of the Templars. In 1310, King Edward had removed their persons from the Tower of London to the four Gates of that city, (so the words are) and to a private house, because those gate-houses could not hold them all; and in England, in the year 1311, they were allowed small pensions during their lives, being, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, in general four pence per day, or one shilling of modern money.

Their great master, William de la More, had two shillings per day, or six shillings of our money. To several of their chaplains the King allowed, as the Knights had done, three pence per day for their diet, and twenty shillings yearly for their stipend, which is, by the year, five pounds eleven shillings and three pence. To other servants, two pence; and to inferior ones, one penny per day, and five shillings to some, ten shillings to others, for their stipend or livery; they being still to do the same service they had done to the Knights, whilst the lands were in their possession; which allowances demonstrate the rates of living, or what money those persons could live for in those times. Thus, for instance, five pounds eleven shillings and three pence, or sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and nine pence of our money, was the chaplain's allowance by the year; and most necessities being then about five times as cheap as at present, the said sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and nine pence, was equal to, or would go as far as eighty-three pounds eight shillings and nine pence in our days. We shall conclude this subject with observing, that by an act of Parliament of the seventeenth of King Edward II. in the year of our Lord 1323, the estates of the Templars were vested in the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, "as being a corporation instituted," says that act, "for the same purposes as was that of the Templars."

That English ships at this time resorted to the ports of the Baltic sea, even to the further end of it, we learn from the third volume, p. 215, of the *Fœdera*, wherein King Edward II. complains to Haquin, King of Norway, "That an English ship, from Grimsby in Lincolnshire, laden with corn and other provisions in Eastland," *i. e.* the coast of Poland and Livonia, "which had been driven by a storm into a port of Norway near Malstrand, was there violently made a prize of." And, in the year 1313, we find another complaint to Haquin, of the seizure of a ship of Lynn in the port of Bergen, (vol. iii. p. 400.) "which had been fishing on the Norway coast for herrings; but Haquin accuses them of murdering his Bailiff, and ten other persons there. On the other hand, Edward complains to Haquin, that his people of Tonnefbergh had, in revenge of that supposed murder, seized on three English merchant ships there, laden with herrings, &c." Ladings of herrings carried to any distance must, undoubtedly, have been salted: and although the art of pickling them was not, according to all accounts, as yet found out in the manner now practised, yet it is plain, from this and many other instances, that salted herrings, either wet, or else dried, called red herrings, were, in those times, a saleable commodity in foreign parts. And as the herrings caught so far north as the coast of Norway, could not, in all probability, be made into red herrings, those being always made from the fish newly caught near our own ports, it seems probable enough that salted wet herrings were then an article of commerce.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 222, we find King Edward II. preparing for an expedition from Ireland against Scotland. He summoned, on this occasion, the sea-port towns of England to send out all their service of ships due to him; which service we conceive to be difficult to know at this distance of time, excepting only that of the Cinque Ports, which was always fixed.

Those

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1310 Those other towns, now named in this summons, were probably the principal trading sea-ports then in England, viz.

I. From the Thames mouth westward.] Sandwich, Dover, Shoreham, Rye, Winchelsea, Romenhale, (*i. e.* Romney) Hythe, Portsmouth, Ermouth, (*i. e.* Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight) Lāpole, (*i. e.* Poole) Wareham, Weymouth, Melcombe, Lyme, all in Dorsetshire, (Sidmouth, in Devonshire) Exmouth, Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Bristol, Bridgwater.

II. From the Thames mouth northward.] Harwich, Colchester, Gippeswic, (*i. e.* Ipswich) Donewic, (*i. e.* Dunwich) Orford, Great Yarmouth, Little Yarmouth, (Snyterlee, N. N.) Burnham, Holkham, Lenn, (*i. e.* Lynn) Boston, Grimsby, Ravenss, Hull, Scarborough, Hartlepoole, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Newbiggin in Northumberland.

It is here to be remarked, that the following, which are now good port towns, are not mentioned, viz. Chichester; Southampton, though then a place of great commerce; Fal-mouth, then no town, nor any other port in Cornwall: Barnstaple; Gloucester, though now a port; Chester, Liverpool, and Lancaster. It may also be observed, that Sidmouth and Snyterlee are now obscure places. The first, Sidmouth, is, it seems, at this time, a poor village in Devonshire; the last may possibly be Snitterby in Lincolnshire. Neither is London mentioned therein; for which omissions there was then, without doubt, some good reason, at present unknown, or but guessed at. The ships claimed from London were, probably, already in the service; and the rest might not be bound by their respective tenures, to supply shipping for the King's service on this occasion.

The chief commander of this expedition is styled, "Captain and Governor of our Fleet." But in the following year John de Ergade is styled, *Admirallum et Capitaneum Flote nostre Navium*, &c. *i. e.* Admiral and Captain of our Fleet of Ships against Scotland. There was as yet no Vice Admirals nor Rear Admirals in England; those names not being introduced till a much later period; for though there was, as we have seen, before this time, the name and office of Admiral of the Seas of England, yet our fleets for war were altogether composed of the ships of merchants, now and long after.—*Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 265.

Upon the loss of Ptolema, in the year 1291, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem retired to Cyprus, but being ill-treated there, they went and besieged the isle of Rhodes; which, after two years siege, they gained from the Turks, with five other neighbouring isles, and here they fortified themselves, and flourished many years.

1311 The old opinion concerning the unlawfulness or sinfulness of either giving or taking of usury, or interest, for money lent, was revived in this century, although we have seen it was generally practised in preceding ones, and even by a Bishop in the year 1292. At the Council of Vienne, in 1311, in the papacy of Pope Clement V. that Pope, who was so instrumental in the cruel butchery of the Knights Templars, on the prospect of filling his own coffers, and those of his patron, King Philip the Fair, with their vast estates, is now so squeamish as to pass the following decree, viz. "If any shall obstinately persist in the error of presuming to affirm that usury is not sin, we decree that he shall be punished as an heretic." Whereupon, the inquisitors were very busy in many parts. At Florence, however, on account of a great disorder that happened in that republic in the year 1335, a law was made to restrain the power of the inquisitors, as was also done in Castile, and several other parts. But the prudent republic of Venice would never admit of those inquisitors, nor that any kind of usury, nor even the occupations of commerce and artizans, &c. should be called in question by ecclesiastics.

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1312

In Skene's Exposition of the old Scottish law book, called *Regiam Majestatem*, we have a treaty between Robert I. (Bruce) of Scotland, and Haquin V. King of Norway, in the year 1312, by which that made between King Alexander III. of Scotland, and King Magnus IV. of Norway, is confirmed, and the isles of Scotland resigned to Alexander in full propriety, on condition of Alexander's paying a perpetual annuity of one hundred marks sterling to Magnus and his successors.

According to Heits' History of the German Empire, there had not been any German Emperor in Italy from the year 1250, to this year 1312; "whereby" says this author, "the rights of the empire in Italy were almost entirely lost or buried in oblivion. Every nobleman set himself up for a sovereign, and the two parties of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines had never at any time been so inveterate as now against each other. Wherefore the Emperor Henry VII. in the year 1312, went thither with an army, attended by the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria, the Elector of Treves, the Earls of Savoy and Flanders, the Bishop of Liege, &c. And though he met with opposition from the Guelph faction, he nevertheless made Milan and other Lombard cities receive him as their sovereign, and pay him considerable sums of money. Padua paid one hundred thousand crowns. Venice a considerable sum," (though, with this author's leave, the Venetians would never acknowledge any German Emperor as their sovereign.) "That state, however, presented him with an imperial crown of gold, embellished with diamonds, &c. He, on this occasion, appointed Governors at Verona, Parma, Milan, and Mantua, and was magnificently received and entertained by Genoa: and having been invited by the Collonna's, and other powerful friends, to advance towards Rome, he took that city sword in hand, and caused himself to be crowned there by three cardinals," (the Pope being absent.) "And, in short, though much against the pleasure of the Pope and Cardinals, he triumphed over the Guelphs, and reduced all the city under his power, by means of the Governors he left there." All this, it is true, was by force, yet it served afterwards to keep up the imperial authority in Italy.

1313

In further support of what we have observed in our Introduction, concerning the various and very remarkable removes of the Herring Fishery, we shall here give the following paragraph from an octavo book, printed at London in the year 1701, intitled, *An Account of Livonia and Courland, in seventeen Letters, viz. letter xv.* "Several authors agree, that the great herring fishery was at first on the Livonian and Courland shores, where they continued till the year 1313; thence they drew to the Danish coasts," (*i. e.* as we have seen, chiefly on the coast of Schonen, then belonging to Denmark) "where there has been such shoals, and plenty of them, that they have been caught with hands. These fish, it seems, love change of places; for from thence they removed to Norway. Not content there, they advanced further, and settled on the British coasts, where they have ever since continued; having, however, lost their resemblance, in miniature, still in the Baltic Sea, which is a small fish they call *Stremling*." Possibly the same as our Sprats, though some think the latter to be no other than young herrings. This author seems to have omitted the coasts of Pomerania and the isle of Rugen, where they were found in great plenty in the twelfth century. On this subject we may observe, that although the grand shoals of herrings had their principal rendezvous on the several coasts above-named, yet there was always great store of that fish to be had on the British coast, prior to the times above-named, as is partly evident from our own histories.

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1312

The great demand for English wool in Brabant, Artois, and Flanders, obliged King Edward II. in this year, to ordain the staple for it to be fixed at one certain place or port in the Netherlands, for the better ascertaining his custom thereon: which staple port was to be appointed by the Mayor and Commonalty of the Merchants of the Staple; and was at this time found fixed at Antwerp; but how long before we cannot say.

The ports of export for our wool were Weymouth, Southampton, Boston, Yarmouth, Hull, Lynn, Ipswich, and Newcastle, from which ports alone, by an injunction of King Edward II. in the year 1320, and from none other was our wool to be exported, either by our own or foreign merchants.

During the reign of King Edward II. we meet with various complaints, in the third volume of the *Fœdera*, of that King to the Earl of Flanders, concerning his Flemings supplying King Robert Bruce's party in Scotland with ammunition, provisions, &c. particularly in this year 1313, when thirteen ships went at once from Flanders to Scotland for that purpose. In this same year, Edward, on account of the depredations of the Flemings, or rather possibly in resentment for their supplying of Scotland, seized on all the Flemish ships in the port of London. On the other hand, the Earl of Flanders complains of English depredations, in all probability, not without some ground. Which mutual complaints were very frequent, and peace was often to be settled by mutual adjustments of grievances; which, we find in the *Fœdera*, were followed by fresh declarations, from Edward, of liberty and protection to the persons, ships, and goods of the Flemish merchants resorting to England.

In the third volume also of the *Fœdera*, p. 429 to 432, we find King Edward II. necessitated more than once to borrow money, as it was called, of his bishops, abbots, and other wealthy ecclesiastics: particularly, in this same year, being pressed for money to carry on his war in Scotland against King Robert Bruce, he demanded of every bishop from one hundred to five hundred marks; from abbots, and from some deans and chapters, five hundred, three hundred, two hundred, or one hundred marks each; and from four or five of them forty or fifty marks each. And the same in the year 1315, which in all amounted to a large sum.

In p. 449, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, King Edward II. again complains to Haquin King of Norway, of his suffering several English merchants to be imprisoned, and their goods to be seized, to the value of three hundred and ten pounds sterling, at the instigation of certain Eastland merchants, "who," says our King, "by all possible ways strive to obstruct the advantages of the said English merchants." Those Easterlings were the Hans-towns on the south shores of the Baltic Sea, who in those times were in great naval power, from Lubeck up to Narva, and seem, on many occasions, to have acted so arbitrarily, as if none but themselves had a right to trade to the adjacent countries of Norway, Denmark, Poland, and Sweden.

Another complaint, this year also, was of three English ships stopped in the port of Tonnefbergh, laden with herrings, &c. to a great value, till they should pay forty pounds sterling each ship, on account of a murder committed by others. Those ships belonged to Wainfleet.

In the same third volume, p. 458, King Edward II. grants to the city of Dort his protection, with certain privileges, for its merchants resorting with their ships to England. But as it was at the request of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who had married Elizabeth Countess of Holland, the sister of Edward, those immunities were to endure no longer than the life of that Countess.

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Stowe's Survey of London, gives us an instance of the splendor of our great English nobility at this time, in their grand retinues, house-keeping, cloathing, and equipages. It is from the account of the Cofferer, *i. e.* Paymaster or Steward, of Thomas Earl of Leicester, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.
1. Paid for account of the pantry, buttery, and kitchen	3405	0	0
*2. Three hundred and sixty-nine pipes of red wine, and two of white wine	104	17	6
3. Grocery of all sorts,	180	17	0
4. One thousand seven hundred and four pounds wax, vermilion, and turpentine	314	7	4
5. Charge of the Earl's great horses, and of servants wages	436	4	3
6. Linen for the Earl, his Chaplains, and his table	43	17	0
*7. One hundred and twenty-nine dozen of skins of parchment, and for ink	4	8	3
*8. Two scarlet cloths for the Earl, one of russet for the Bishop of Anjou; seventy pieces of blue for the Knights; twenty-eight ditto for the Esquires; fifteen pieces for the Clerks; fifteen for the Officers; nineteen for the Grooms; five pieces for the Archers; four for the Minstrels and Carpenters,	460	15	0
9. Seven furs of powdered ermine; seven hoods of purple; three hundred and ninety-five furs of budge, for the liveries of Barons, Knights, and Clerks; and one hundred and twenty-three furs of lamb for the Esquires,	147	17	8
10. One hundred and sixty-eight yards of russet cloth, and twenty-four coats for poor men, with money on Maunday Thursday,	8	16	7
11. Sixty-eight saffron-coloured cloths for the Barons and Knights in summer; twelve red cloths for the Clerks; twenty-six cloths for the Esquires; one for the officers, and four ray cloths for carpets in the hall,	345	13	8
12. One hundred pieces of green silk for the Knights, fourteen budge furs for furcoats, thirteen hoods of budge for clerks, and seventy-furs of lamb for liveries in summer,	72	19	0
13. Saddles for the summer liveries,	51	6	8
14. Fees paid to Earls, Barons, Knights, and Esquires,	623	15	5
15. Twenty-four silver dishes, twenty-four ditto saucers, twenty-four cups, one pair of Pater-nosters, and one silver coffin, all bought this year, silver being at one shilling and eight-pence per ounce,	103	5	6
16. The Countess's disbursements,	440	0	5
17. Two thousand three hundred and nineteen pounds of tallow candles, and one thousand eight hundred and seventy pounds of Paris candles	31	14	3
	6775	15	6
18. Six barrels of sturgeon, six thousand dried fish of all sorts, and many other items, amounting to	533	4	6

Total expence for the year 1313. £. 7309 0 0
 or twenty-one thousand nine hundred twenty-seven pounds of our money.—The rate of living being at this time about five times as cheap as in our days, that Earl's expences for the
 said

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1313 said year was equal to the expence of one hundred and nine thousand six hundred and thirty-five pounds of our silver money, theirs being still thrice the weight of our modern money.

This Earl's vast estate, both in England and Anjou, was, we see, in a great degree, laid out in the equipages of the Barons, Knights, and Esquires, who were his retainers and vassals by Knights-fees, being bound to do him military service in the King's war, by virtue of the number of fees which he himself owed to our Kings on that account. And by this sole article now before us, may probably be formed a more clear and adequate idea of the feudal tenures or holdings of these times, than by a multitude of words otherwise expressed. Here is a number of Earls, as well as of Barons, Knights, and Esquires, holding of, and liable to be called out with their men and arms to attend on one great Earl, who by virtue of his holding so many Knights-fees of the King, was bound to appear in his armies with a proportionable number of armed horse and foot, whom, we see, by the Cofferer's account, he is obliged to supply, except those of the degree of Earls, with cloathing and accoutrements. So that, in this view, he appears with the splendour of a sovereign prince, though merely a vassal of the crown. This is, indeed, the proper idea we ought to form of a great Lord, who under the feudal system holds a great number of Knights-fees under the crown, many of which are held under himself by his sub-vassals or tenants, who consequently were bound to attend him in the same manner as he was bound to attend the King.

With respect to the prices or rates of some things in this account, they are well worth observing. * The three hundred and seventy-one pipes of wine cost but three hundred and fourteen pounds twelve shillings and six pence of our money, or sixteen shillings and eleven pence halfpenny per pipe; which, however, he might probably have had at the first hand, as he had an estate in Anjou. * The skins of parchment cost but two pence farthing per skin. Linen-rag paper was not as yet invented; and although there was a kind of paper made of cotton, yet the most important business was generally written on parchment in those times. * The cloths, silk, &c. being intermixed with several other things, cannot be justly calculated; yet we may naturally suppose that they were very cheap, compared with the same things in our age.

1314 In this year died Philip the Fair, King of France, in whose reign we are to remark, that the communities or corporations of cities and towns first began to exist as a separate estate in that kingdom, by which regulation the people were not only delivered from their cruel subjection to the Barons, but were erected into a *Third Estate* in the assemblies of the States General of that kingdom, in which they were closely followed by England; who before, had only two estates or honourable orders, the Nobles and the Clergy. The consequence whereof, in France, as well as in England, was, that these cities and towns gradually raised their drooping heads: more especially such as had been eminent in the time of the Roman government, began to clear away their rubbish, and wear a new face; villages also grew up into good towns, in consequence of that independence which they now enjoyed, and to which they had been strangers. The same Prince first established the court of Parliament in France, which not a little contributed to lessen the feudal constitution, although neither the monarchs of France were able, as yet, to go to war without the feudal service of their vassals, as not having the means of keeping numerous standing forces, which were not yet known in Europe, nor even of raising troops occasionally, without the assistance of their feudal vassals.

In volume third, p. 482, of the *Fœdera*, Lewis the Tenth, King of France, complains to our Edward II. "That whereas the English wool merchants, who had before kept their staple

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1314 "at Antwerp, had been permitted by him to settle their staple at St. Omers, under his protection, hoping that thereby great benefit would have accrued to his kingdom; nevertheless, the said English merchants at St. Omers do omit going with their wool to the fairs at Lisle, to the great prejudice of his people, although they constantly frequented those fairs when they held their staple at Antwerp, and although St. Omers be nearer to Lisle than Antwerp is." It cannot be doubted but those staplers had substantial reasons for this apparent inconsistency, though we are not now so well able to discover them, the *Fœdera* being silent on this point. From hence, however, we may learn the antiquity of our staple at Antwerp, and also the great importance of our wool, in those times, both to France and the Netherlands.

In volume third, p. 490, of the *Fœdera*, Robert Earl of Flanders writes a respectful letter to our King Edward II. acquainting him of a peace being concluded between him and the King of France, and requesting him, "That, as it is now agreed, between his Flemings and the Mayor and Constables of the Staple of England, that the staple for their wool be fixed at Bruges, where he engages the English shall enjoy all possible privileges, his Flanders-merchants trading to England may be allowed the like privileges." Yet one would think that the staple was again removed, either in part or else totally, to Antwerp in the year following; King Edward II. twice complaining to King Philip V. of France, of certain ships of Calais having seized some English ships laden chiefly with wool, and bound for Antwerp; one of which ships our King values at two thousand marks.

1315 In volume third, p. 510, of the *Fœdera*, we learn which were, in general, the most important towns in Ireland at this time; for King Edward II. directing his orders to the Prelates, Peers, and communities of that kingdom, to give intire credit to his Ministers therein named, the only towns by him mentioned are Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Ross, Drogheda, Trymm, and Kilkenny.

The English Parliament having petitioned King Edward II. and his Council, in relation to the intolerable dearness of provisions, it was thereupon enacted, "That the best ox, not fed with grain, should be sold for sixteen shillings, and no more: and if fed with corn, for twenty-four shillings, at most. The best fat cow for twelve shillings. A fat hog of two years old, for three shillings and four pence. A fat wether unshorn, for twenty pence; if shorn, fourteen pence. A fat goose for two pence halfpenny. A capon, two pence. A fat hen for one penny, and twenty-four eggs for one penny. Two chickens for one penny. Four pigeons for one penny. And those who would not sell them at these rates, should forfeit them to the King." Although we may here observe some difference between the value put on some kinds of provisions then and in our days, yet, upon an average, the difference of living then and now seems to be nearly as five or six is to one; always remembering that their money contained thrice as much silver as our money or coin of the same denomination does. Thus, for example, if a goose then cost two pence halfpenny, *i. e.* seven pence halfpenny of our money, or according to the proportion of six to one, it would now cost three and ninepence.

Also the Parliament now granted an aid to that King for his war against Scotland, viz. of every town, except cities and burghs, (probably Parliament-towns) and excepting the King's domains, who were obliged to aid the King by their tenures, one stout footman, armed with a sword, bow and arrows, a sling, lance, &c. at the charge of each respective town, for sixty days, at four pence per day.

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In volume third of the *Fœdera*, we find Phillip V. king of France, being in this year at war with Flanders, pressing our King Edward II. to prohibit the Flemings from trading with England. Edward gave Philip fair promises: nevertheless, the trade between England and the Netherlands went on still, as being equally necessary for both nations. For, as on the one hand, the Flemings could not support their immense woollen manufacture without the wool of England; so, on the other hand, the customs thereby accruing to the English kings, and the general returns of cloth, and of various other useful wares, as well as of a considerable balance of money from Flanders, were rightly judged to be very beneficial to England: and in this situation the trade in general remained in succeeding times, as long at least as the commerce of both countries continued in the condition of the one supplying wool, and the other receiving back cloth made of that wool. We may here add, that from the great number of records or deeds in the *Fœdera*, about these times, between England on the one side, and Flanders, Brabant, and Holland on the other side, as well as from the historians of both countries, it appears, that we then carried on a greater trade with the Netherland provinces, than with all the world beside.

In the same volume, p. 543, we find King Louis X. of France, earnestly requesting our King Edward II. to suffer a staple to be opened for English wool in France, (that of St. Omer's, before-mentioned, being dropped) any where between Calais and the mouth of the river Seine. Whereupon Edward orders the magistrates of Shrewsbury to depute two or three of the wool-merchants of their town to attend him at his Parliament at Lincoln, there to be consulted jointly with other merchants, concerning the expediency of Louis's proposal. Of which business, however, we can find no farther documents or information.

The *Chronicon Preciosum*, in this year, gives us the very high prices of certain provisions, viz. by great rains wheat rose to two pounds per-quarter, or six pounds of our money; pease and beans to one pound; malt to thirteen shillings and four-pence; and good ale rose to two shillings and three-pence, and even to four-pence per gallon, or one shilling of our modern money.

1316

The commerce, power, and wealth of the new Vandalic cities of Wisnar, Rostock, Stralsund, and Griepswald, on the south shore of the Baltic, were, according to Werdenhagen's *Traëtatus de Rebus-publicis Hanseaticis*, vol. I. pars III. cap. xxiii, now become much increased; and, still increasing in their trade to the countries on both sides the Baltic Shores, they occasioned much envy in the crown of Denmark, and some others of the neighbouring Princes.

By Meursius's *Historia Danica*, we also find, that the towns of Harderwick in Guelderland, and Deventer in Overijssel, had commercial privileges conferred on them by Eric VIII. King of Denmark, in order to encourage their inhabitants to resort to the fairs at Schöonen. And two years after, he acquaints us, that the same Danish King granted similar privileges to Stavern in Frickeland, then and formerly a city of great commerce, (*tunc commercii florentem*) as that author expresses himself.

By the third volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 552 to 556, we find grievous complaints of many seizures of ships and merchandize, on both sides, between England and Norway; the two respective Kings whereof, Edward and Haquin, appointed plenipotentiaries to adjust their differences. It appears, that the principal ports of England which carried on the trade to Norway at this time, were Berwick, Hull, and Lynn; the last of which towns made fresh complaints against the Norwegians, in the year 1319.

Upon

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1316

Upon the humble application of the city of Bourdeaux to King Edward II. he granted them a charter, by which that city was formally annexed to the imperial crown and kingdom of England—"So as never to be aliened from thence, excepting only to the eldest son of the King." In the succeeding years of this reign, we find several other towns in Guienne annexed to England in the very same stile and terms, p. 560, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*. And here we cannot but observe how vain are all such unalienable charters, where there is so great a separation of territory! For in one hundred and thirty-seven years later than this time, England will be deprived of every foot of ground, in that fine province, for ever.

In p. 564 of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, we find there were ships from Italy, Sicily, and Spain, trading to England. For King Edward II. now complains to the Council of France, there being then no King, that their having lately been a very great dearth of corn and other provisions in England, he had sent to Genoa, Sicily, Spain, &c. to fetch a supply of those necessary commodities. But that a commander of certain Calais ships had taken a great ship of Genoa in the Downs, laden with corn, honey, &c. partly for his own use.

In p. 565 of the same work, the King also complains to the republic of Genoa, of one of their merchants supplying King Robert Bruce of Scotland with armour. Edward tells them, "That there had been a long friendship of old between his progenitors, Kings of England, and their predecessors." Yet this does not appear by any thing in the *Fœdera* till the present æra.

1317 By De Mailly's History of Genoa, vol. I. p. 154, we find that city traded to the Low Countries in this year; but how much earlier we cannot say.

In this same year, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, (from Stowe) wheat was so high as four pounds per quarter, or twelve pounds of our money: yet a very early and good harvest brought it down to six shillings and eight-pence per quarter. Surely such a great alteration, in the same year, must have been owing to something more than the mere variation of the weather. If the mean or most usual and moderate price of wheat, and two or three other necessities of life, such as oxen, sheep, and poultry, could be justly ascertained at certain periods, we could then exactly fix the proportion or rate of the expence of living, between that period and our own times. But as this is quite uncertain, we must be content with making the most rational computations and conjectures which the materials handed down to us will admit. Thus, for instance, when we read in any record, that two-pence per day was the allowance of a labouring man, and that the moderate price of wheat was at this time four shillings per quarter, with the other necessities in the same proportion, we are to consider, first, that the said two-pence weighed six-pence of our money, and that the said four shillings was actually twelve shillings of our money: and that if the mean price of wheat in our days be about thirty-six shillings per quarter, then living was actually but thrice as cheap as in our days, his pay being but equal in point of living to eighteen-pence in our money, considering the then rate of necessities. This is carefully to be remembered, as has been already and frequently observed.

At this time, Mr. Gent, in his History of Kingston upon Hull, chap. ii. acquaints us, "That this new town had, in this year, arrived to so considerable an increase, though founded but twenty years before, that the streets were well paved, &c. And that King Edward II. hearing how much it was already improved, granted it a charter, empowering the rich inhabitants for the future to build their houses of lime and stone,—to erect strong castles and towers,—to make a wall and moat, as intended by his royal father the founder." We

know

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1317 know not well how to reconcile this panegyrical account of Hull with what Mr. Drake, the historiographer of York city, says, and for which he quotes Leland's Itinerary, viz. "That Hull, even in the reign of King Edward III. was but a poor fisher-town, (and in another place he calls it but a village) that its first increase was owing to the cod fishery to Iceland, and a great trade in stock fish, whereby it waxed very rich. That in the fifth year of King Edward III. in the year 1331, it was incorporated, their first mayor being William de la Pole, then one of the greatest merchants in England, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, whom that King calls *dilectus mercator et valedictus noster*, i. e. our beloved merchant and servant. He was father to Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk.

In vol. III. p. 647, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward II. grants permission to the subjects of John Duke of Brabant, Lorraine, and Luxemburg, at his request, freely to traffic in England with their ships and merchandize, and to enjoy their wonted privileges. He makes the same declaration of permission to the subjects of the Duke of Bretagne; which is the first instance in the *Fœdera* relating to commerce with Bretagne; though in the succeeding part of this reign we find several complaints of depredations on both sides, followed by as many truces. Complaints also of depredations committed by French ships, now became more frequent.

In page 678 of the same volume, King Edward II. at the request of Alphonfus III. King of Spain, as he is always termed in this third volume of the *Fœdera*, because he reigned over the two Castiles, the largest or principal territory of it, grants safety and freedom to the merchants of Bilboa and other towns of Biscay; and particularly, "that neither they nor their goods shall be arrested nor stopped for the debt of any other Spaniard for whom they shall not be personally bound." This was a common custom in England in those times, when the importance of the absolute freedom of commerce was not so well understood. In succeeding periods, therefore, an article was usually inserted in the treaties made between other nations and England for preventing so unjust a practice, unless in the case where all of any foreign nation residing in England, had bound themselves to answer for each other.

1318 In the *Fœdera*, vol. III. p. 744-5, we find King Edward II. zealously meditating a reconciliation between Robert Earl of Flanders, and William III. Earl of Holland, Zealand, and Namault, and Lord of Friesland, then at war against each other, instructing his ambassadors for that purpose, "left," says he, "our merchants resorting thither for traffic, should suffer in their persons or estates."

1319 We have seen the foundation of Copenhagen, the present capital city of Denmark, or rather of its castle, to be no earlier a date than the year 1169. Its happy situation for maritime traffic, brought it gradually to the size of a city. So that, according to Meursius's *Historia Danica*, King Eric VIII. of Denmark, in the year 1319, first bestowed special privileges on it, such as the power of choosing their chief magistrate, and of laying tolls or duties on the commerce of strangers; with certain immunities for their burghers, &c. in imitation of the incorporating charters of other nations. It is at present, after various fortune, so large and beautiful a city, as very well to merit the title it bears of a metropolis.

King Edward II. allowed six-pence per day for the maintenance of his leopard in the Tower of London, and one penny halfpenny a day for his keeper.

In the preceding century, we have seen that the exportation of the staple merchandize of England, in the reign of King Henry III. was under the management of a set of merchants associated under the resemblance of a modern corporation. And though we cannot determine how long before this twelfth year of King Edward II. these merchants had the legal form of a corporation;

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corporation; yet, says Gerard Malynes, in his *Center of the Circle of Commerce*, already quoted under the year 1267, there are records in the Pipe Office of the Exchequer, mentioning, that it was actually a corporation, with the title of the Mayor and Constables of the Staple of England, who then had their staple at Antwerp, for the conducting of the vent of English staple wares, and of the importation of such foreign ones as were wanted at home; being by far the most ancient mercantile society that ever was in England.

- 1320 About this year, Mr. Camden, in his *Remains*, published in 1623, p. 176, conjectures, that the Princes and States of Christendom first began to coin gold; viz. the Emperor, the King of France, the Genoese and Venetians; and that from the two last-named states, who had Doges or Dukes for their chief magistrates, the coin called a ducat took its name. We shall, however, see, that till the next reign, which was that of King Edward III. there was no gold coined in England, though some writers have asserted the contrary.

- 1321 At this time, Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, were united under the government of James II. King of Arragon; and the Genoese and Pisans being at war about the partition of Sardinia, by which they had both wasted themselves much, to prevent further difficulties, Pope Boniface VIII. in the year 1324, confirmed that island to the King of Arragon, who had driven both the Genoese and Pisans from it.

- 1322 The property of the isles which compose the present province of Zealand, had occasioned many disputes between the Earls of Flanders and Holland; the right to which isles was till now generally pretended to be claimed by the former. But in this year 1322, those two Princes concluded a peace, by which those isles were finally yielded to the Earl of Holland.

The Earl of Flanders attempting to remove the mart from Bruges to Sluys, so great a tumult ensued, that the Brugians took their Earl, and imprisoned him for six months. So powerful was this city become from its great commerce in those times.

Heiss, in his *History of the German Empire*, observes, "That this was an age of great darkness, and the Popes, by degrees, had gained the ascendant so much, that Pope John XXII. had the audacity to declare to the Emperor Lewis V. That the imperial dignity was a fief of the Holy See, and that no election of an Emperor could be valid without his approbation. that as it belongs to the soul and understanding to command and govern, and to the body to submit to their orders and to obey; so, in Christendom, frail and perishable things," i. e. Emperors and Kings, "ought to be subject to those that are celestial and eternal, the prophane to the sacred, and the corporeal to the spiritual. The Emperor Lewis, however, not complying with his insolent demand of quitting the imperial dignity, he immediately excommunicated him; nevertheless the Emperor maintained himself on his throne, though not without much disturbance raised against him by this Pope."

The power of the Guelphic or papal party was so great at this time, as even to have an influence to obstruct the course of commerce, which of all other things ought ever to be left most free and unrestrained. For in vol. III. p. 921 of the *Fœdera*, we have, in this year, a letter from King Edward II. of England, to Robert King of Sicily, in favour of one Vannus Fortigair, then filed the Earl of Pembroke's merchant, whose wool King Robert had caused to be seized at Nice in Provence, because its owner was esteemed one of the Ghibeline, or Imperial faction, "whom," says our King, "you prosecute as your enemies." Edward vindicates his character, on account of his having lived fifteen years in England. He also writes to the Pope and to one of the Cardinals in his behalf, this same year.

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1322 In Madox's History of the Exchequer, chap. x. p. 262, King Edward II. in this year, being the fifteenth of his reign, directs the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex to buy, provide, and send into the Tower of London, two hundred quarters of wheat, one hundred quarters of beans, three hundred quarters of oats, one hundred quarters of big salt, twenty-four oxen, one hundred and twenty hogs in bacon flitches, as and for the stores of the said Tower. This shews that those sheriffs, as well as the like officers in other counties, were then receivers of the crown rents, and the King's agents.

Whilst the now unfortunate King Edward II. had more than enough upon his hands, between his struggles with his Queen, his own subjects, and the Scots, all at the same time, we find, towards the end of vol. III. of the *Fœdera*, p. 949, &c. that he frequently complains to Robert Earl of Flanders, of the depredations of the Flemish subjects, chiefly about and near Yarmouth; and also of their supplying the Scots with provisions, ammunition, &c. But finding no redress, he directs the barons of the Cinque Ports to fit out ships against the Flemings. Yet, in the year following, p. 997-8, Lewis Earl of Flanders concluded a truce with the King of England, by which commerce on both sides was restored; which truce, as we find by the *Fœdera*, was from time to time renewed in this and the succeeding reign, without containing any additional circumstance relating to the commercial interests of either country.

1323 We find, in vol. III. p. 1009 to 1011 of the *Fœdera*, that Venetian ships usually resorted at this time to our English sea ports. Five of their gallies, laden with merchandize, coming now into the port of Southampton, happened, in an affray with the townsmen, to kill an Englishman; whereupon all other Venetian ships were afraid to approach our coasts. King Edward II. duly weighing this, wisely published a pardon for the merchants, officers, and sailors of those five gallies, and also an absolute freedom for them and all other Venetian ships to resort to and trade at the English ports. Yet in this proclamation of indulgence, we find no mention of our King's expecting the same freedom for English ships at Venice, nor the least hint or suggestion of any antecedent treaty of commerce with that state. We may therefore conclude, that England had not as yet any intercourse of commerce with any place so remote.

Neither does it appear, by any thing in the *Fœdera*, nor in history, that English ships in those times usually traded so far as the coasts of Majorca. It is true, indeed, that this very year, (*ibid.* p. 1028) we find a complaint of Sancho King of Majorca, and Count of Roussillon, &c. to our King Edward II. against some Englishmen who had committed depredations at sea against his subjects; to which Edward promises redress, with free access for all Sancho's subjects resorting to the coasts of England. Yet Edward says not one word of any privileges for English ships resorting to the King of Majorca's ports, which was very natural for him to do, had our people, at that time, had any concerns whatever either on the Majorcan coasts, or (in the instance above-mentioned) so far south as the Venetian Shores.

1324 Although by the apparent beginnings of commerce, and the visible increase of gold and silver in Europe, and in England in particular, the feudal law already shewed visible marks of an approaching declension; yet it is somewhat strange that the Parliament of England, in the seventeenth year of King Edward II.'s reign, passed such an act in behalf of the crown, relating to wardships, as favoured not a little of bondage; and yet more strange that it nevertheless remained unrepealed till the twelfth of King Charles II. viz. "first, the King shall have the "wardship," that is the guardianship, till twenty-one years of age, "of the heirs of all that

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“ hold of him in chief. Secondly, he shall have the marriage of the said heir who shall be under or within age. Thirdly, the premier seizin, after the death of him that held of him in chief, of all his lands. Fourthly, the assignment of dower to his widow, who likewise shall not marry without his consent. Fifthly, he shall not alienate the major part of his lands, without the King’s consent. Clauses ninth and tenth, the lands of idiots shall be in the custody of the King, and those of lunatics shall be also under his direction,” &c.

1375 Mr. Echard, in his History of England, observes, that in the disputes between King Edward II. and his Queen, then in France with her favourite Mortimer, preparing war against her husband, “ the King’s officers, with the navy of the Cinque Ports, &c. so scoured the narrow seas, that in a short time they brought one hundred and twenty Norman ships into England as lawful prizes.” By this and other instances of captures from the Norman coast, it appears there must have been, in those times, a considerable commerce in Normandy: they were indeed, at that time, the great carriers of French wines to other parts of Europe, although their own province never produced any.

The city of Hamburg was become so considerable by this time, according to her learned Secretary Lambecius, in his *Origines Hamburgenses*, that the Duke of Holstein, in the year 1325, granted to that city the perpetual privilege of coining money, exclusive of all other parts of his dominions.

We have exhibited, under the year 1308, the first commercial treaty between England and Spain, after many complaints of depredations. We now find, in the fourth volume, p. 118, of the *Fœdera*, “ That King Edward II.” after fresh depredations of the Spaniards were complained of by him against his subjects both at Bayonne and in England, “ at the request of Alphonfus VII. King of Castile, grants full liberty to all noblemen, merchants, masters of ships, mariners, &c. of that kingdom, to resort to England and to Aquitaine with their merchandize, &c. and to sell and dispose thereof at pleasure, paying the usual customs; and that they may return home at their pleasure.”

In vol. IV. p. 138, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward II. “ grants his protection and safe conduct to all merchants, mariners, &c. resorting to England for ten years to come, from the city and territory of Venice, with liberty to sell their merchandize in England, and to return home in safety, without having either their persons or goods stopped on account of other peoples crimes or debts. Provided always that they pay the usual duties, and exercise none but legal merchandize.” This ~~excepting or saving clause~~, the second of its kind hitherto to be found in the *Fœdera*, it is probable, was the condition on which the state of Venice accepted of our King’s liberty of commerce with England: for what state or nation would tamely submit to such abject conditions as to permit their innocent merchants, as our former practice was, to be liable both for the debts and crimes of others. Yet still here is no clause in behalf of English merchants trading to Venice; which shews that, in all probability, there was no commerce from England to so great a distance then thought of. The same may be observed in the before-named treaty even with Castile.

In the same volume, p. 146, of the *Fœdera*. we see a letter from King Edward II. desiring his kinsman, Alphonfus King of Portugal, to grant his protection to an English ship coming thither with merchandize for sale, and intending to load corn and other provisions for our King’s dutchy of Gascony. From whence it is probable that English ships did not, in those days, very usually trade to Portugal, which therefore occasioned King Edward to make this request. We may here add, as observed elsewhere, that not only Portugal and Spain, but France

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1325 France also, produced more corn and less wine than in modern times. But luxury increasing the demand for wines along with the increasing wealth of Europe, those three nations found their benefit in augmenting their vineyards, for supplying the more northern countries with that alluring liquor.

So considerable were the power and privileges of the great mercantile cities of Flanders in this century, that in vol. IV. p. 147 of the *Fœdera*, we find the burgomasters of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, alone declaring or proclaiming a truce between the merchants, subjects of the Earl of Flanders, and those of King Edward II. of England: Bruges thereby appointing her burgomasters to go over to London for settling of peace and commerce in their own behalf, and in behalf of all the people of Flanders, jointly with the deputies of the other two good towns of Ghent and Ypres, (*avecque les deux bonnes villes, Gand et Ypres.*) In the same year, we find that King Edward II. settled a truce with those deputies: and, in the year following, he writes to the Magistrates of Bruges, that he consented to the prolongation of the truce. *Fœdera*, vol. IV. p. 157.

In Madox's *Firma Burgi*, chap. xi. sect. 4, we have a list of all the nations of foreigners, trading to England in the year 1325, to whom King Edward II. and his father had granted a charter of privileges, viz. French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, those of Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Catalonia, Provence, and our dutchy of Aquitaine, of Thoulouse, Flanders, Brabant, and other foreign parts. It may be proper, however, to observe, that there is no mention of any merchants from Denmark, Sweden, Poland, or Muscovy, as yet trading thither; and that the merchants of Gascony had great dealings with England, chiefly for wines, and for woad for dyers.

In vol. IV. p. 166 of the *Fœdera*, we have a complaint of James King of Arragon, Valencia, Sardinia, and Corsica, and Earl of Barcelona, to King Edward II. of England, "That some English ships had forcibly seized on the sea, and carried into Sandwich, certain galleys of Barcelona," which city is in this volume always called Barchinonia, "which were returning home from Flanders laden with merchandize, for which our King promised to do justice."

King Edward II. settles all disputes relating to commerce and depredations on the seas, with William Earl of Holland. Although in the following year, some Englishmen having slain certain people of Zirikzee, there was a fresh convention made with the said Earl. *Fœdera*, vol. IV. p. 179—187.

1326 In vol. IV. p. 220 of the *Fœdera*, we first find any mention made of two Admirals at the same time in England. King Edward II. in this year, directing his precepts, "To the Admiral of his Fleet from the Thames mouth northward, and to the Admiral of his Fleet or Ships from the Thames mouth westward."

The isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, are first mentioned in the *Fœdera*, p. 223. King Edward II. directing the governors of those isles to seize on the persons and goods of all Frenchmen, because their King had made war on him, and had detained his Queen and son in France, &c. Also to seize on all the church lands of the French in those isles, allowing each prior for his sustenance three-pence, and each monk two-pence per day.

It is here proper to remark, that in King Edward II.'s declarations of war against France and its territories, there was usually an exception of the Flemings (*præter Flandroses*) although Flanders was in those days deemed a part, or at least a fief, of the French monarchy, or under vassalage to France particularly in Vol. IV. p. 226 of the *Fœdera*, under the said

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1326 year 1326, in the act intituled, "Ad Civitatem Bayonæ super aggressibus Gallorum, et de Navigio mittendo." Which shews of how great importance to England its commerce to Flanders was judged to be in those times.

"In this same nineteenth year of King Edward II. the Engrosser and Remembrancer at the English Exchequer, were allowed twelve marks for the maintenance of two clerks yearly, i. e. four pounds each clerk." Madox's Exchequer, cap. xxiv. p. 718. And the silver money being thrice the quantity of ours, each clerk had twelve pounds yearly of our silver for his maintenance.

King Edward II. being, in this year, deposed by the wicked arts of his lascivious Queen, had, according to Walsingham, one hundred marks per month allotted him for his maintenance; which she took care he should not long live to enjoy.

1327 In the year 1327, being the first of Edward III. according to Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, upon an inquisition at Tunbridge in Kent, "a capital messuage, with seventy acres of arable land, was worth no more per annum than one pound fifteen shillings: Twelve hens sold for one shilling and six-pence. A cock and thirteen hens for one shilling and seven-pence." If wheat was proportionably cheap, then the rate or expence of living at this time must have been five or six times as cheap as in our days. "Eighty acres of arable land was worth twenty shillings per annum, or three pounds of modern money, that is three-pence, which is nine-pence of our money per acre. Meadow land was let at four-pence, and pasture at one penny per acre."

This account is corroborated by what James Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, says he had read, but does not quote the author, that in the first year of Edward III. in the year 1327, "John of Oxford, a vintner of London, and afterwards Lord Mayor, gave to the Priory of the Holy Trinity in London, two tofts of land, one mill, fifty acres of land, two acres of wood, with the appurtenances in Kentish Town, in value twenty shillings and three-pence by the year," or about three pounds and ninepence yearly of our money.

Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, observes, that in this first year of King Edward III. sundry incorporated trades were then existing in the city of London, as the taylor, armourer, skinner, goldsmith, &c. Other trades were at various succeeding times incorporated, viz. the grocers, anciently called pepperers, in the year 1345—The mercers, in 1393—The salters, in 1394—The fishmongers, in 1421—Vintners, anciently called merchant wine tunners of Gascony, in the year 1437—Drapers, in 1439—Haberdashers, in 1451—Ironmongers, in 1464—Merchant-tailors, in 1466, anciently called taylor and linen armourers—Clothworkers, anciently called sheetmen, in the year 1482. The haberdashers were anciently called hurrers and miliners, the latter name coming from the wares they sold, which came from Milan and Lombardy.

Southwark, though but a village, having been at this time, and even long before, an asylum for rogues, bankrupts, &c. from which circumstance the city of London often suffered great damages: upon application to the crown, the bailiwick of Southwark was now granted to the city of London; whereby that city acquired a more immediate authority in that constantly increasing suburb.

About this time, according to Sir James Ware's *Historical Relations*, (or a Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never intirely subdued to the Crown of England, till the beginning of the Reign of King James I.) the old English colonies in Ireland became gradually so degenerate, that they fell back into Irish barbarism, and rejected the English laws and customs.

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1327 This circumstance was partly occasioned by the bad government of King Edward II. and by Prince Edward Bruce, brother to King Robert Bruce of Scotland, marching up to the walls of Dublin, spoiling the English pale, passing through Leinster and Munster as far as Limerick, and becoming every where master of the field. Thus Ireland remained for several ages; the crown of England not taking any proper measures to reduce the Irish, and the degenerate English, into a regular way of government, and to the laws of England. Any thing like a History of Commerce cannot, therefore, be expected from a country so abandoned and neglected, and which remained in that condition for several succeeding centuries.

Historians have observed, that only the principal Barons of England were summoned to great Councils and Parliaments; and that it was in the reign of King Edward II. whose miserable death happened in this year, that the title of Baron, which before had been given to all who held estates immediately of the crown, was given, in future, only to such as were summoned to Parliament.

1328 The animosity of the opulent city of Bruges, joined to that of the other Flemish cities, against their Earl, having, notwithstanding a peace concluded between them, caused them at this time, to break out into fresh rebellion,—their Earl prevailed over them, and, in this year, they are discomfited, with the loss of twenty-two thousand slain in battle.

King Edward III. finding it would be too much for him to wage war with France and Scotland, at the same time, determined to make peace with the latter, that he might be at greater liberty for making preparations to attack the former. Wherefore we find him, in the fourth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 337, “renouncing all right and pretensions to any kind of superiority or homage from King Robert Bruce and his successors Kings of Scotland; styling the said King Robert, *Magnificus Princeps Dominus Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum, illustris Confederatus noster, et Amicus charissimus*.”—“The magnificent Prince and Lord Robert, “by the Grace of God, King of the Scots, our illustrious Ally and most dear Friend.” Yet Edward’s ambition being boundless, this peace lasted no longer than the brave Robert’s life; whose infant son, David, succeeding, in the year 1329, revived in Edward the hope of conquering Scotland.

In volume fourth, p. 340, of the *Fœdera*, we find two several complaints of King Edward III. of England, to Alphonso King of Castile, against the sea robberies and piracies of certain of his people of St. Andero, Castro, Durdial, St. Sebastian, Vermé, Rede, Fontarabia, &c. in the bay of Biscay; more especially on the merchants of Southampton. The port of Southampton was in those times very considerable in shipping, and had great dealings at Bourdeaux and Bayonne in our King’s Dutchy of Guienne; and their voyages thither exposed them to the piracies of the Biscayans in that neighbourhood.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 353, King Edward III. settled on his Queen Phillippa, daughter of William III. Earl of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and Lord of Friesland, a dowry of fifteen thousand small livres tournois yearly in lands, or an equal value in sterling money. Whether those small livres, as they are termed, were equal at this time to what we find they were an hundred years further back, when four of them were equal to a pound sterling, is very doubtful; because the French sunk the intrinsic value of their money faster than any other nation of Europe. If they were still of that value, then this jointure was equal to three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling, or to eleven thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of our money; and would have gone as far in the expence of living, as about five or six times as much in our days.

In p. 354 of the *Fœdera*, volume fourth, we have another royal dowry. It is a contract of marriage between King Edward III. as guardian to his sister Joanna, an infant, and Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, in behalf of his infant son and heir David, Prince of Scotland: the dowry of the Princess was to be two thousand pounds yearly, in lands in Scotland, [*Duo Millia librarum Terræ et redditus, per annum.*] or six thousand pounds of modern money.

As this is probably the last time we shall have a proper opportunity of making the following remark, which we have frequently before made, we must here observe, that, in the contract, there is no difference made between the value of the money of the two kingdoms, though the lands were to be in fit parts of Scotland, (*in locis competentibus in regno Scotiæ.*) And it is almost needless to point out, that Edward's contract would have expressed the word sterling, had there been any difference as yet in the Scottish from English money. Speed says, that by this treaty, King Robert agreed to pay King Edward thirty thousand marks for reparation of damages; of which circumstance there is no mention in the *Fœdera*, nor of any portion to be given with the Princess: so that, in all probability, the remission of these thirty thousand marks was to be in lieu of a portion.

We shall soon see the Kings of Scotland injudiciously sinking the value of their coins, although they, like the French, still kept up the same denominations, as we have them in both nations to this day: and this alteration soon brought on the distinction between pounds sterling and pounds Scottish.

In this same year, there is an English act of Parliament, cap. xiv. intitled, The Measure and Assize of Cloths of Ray and of Colour, "Whereby is directed the length and breadth of those two sorts of cloths, and that the King's Aulneger shall measure them; and they shall be forfeited to the King, if they be short of the following lengths and breadths, viz. First, The cloths of ray, (not coloured) were to be twenty-eight yards in length, and six quarters broad. Secondly, The coloured cloths were to be twenty-six long, and six quarters and an half wide." This is the first time we find any mention made of the office of Aulneger in the statute book; his designation coming from the measure then called an Aulne, now an Ell. There were several other statutes afterwards made in this reign, for regulating the dimensions of cloth, and for the Aulneger's duty on cloths, and many more were made in succeeding reigns, which are not now worth our particular attention.

It may, and it certainly does, seem somewhat strange, that our English Kings and Parliament should take upon them to limit the dimensions of cloth coming from foreign parts, yet that is, by some, asserted to have been the fact: and one John May, who was the general Aulneger, published a treatise, in the year 1613, called, A Declaration of the State of Cloathing, now used within this Realm of England, wherein he says, "That before the making of cloth, that is, fine cloth, in England, the Aulneger was ordained, who exercised that office upon all cloths coming from foreign parts, to measure and try them where they were put on land, even as far back as the fifteenth year of King Edward II. 1322, by letters patents." Yet as we, doubtless, made much more coarse woollen cloths at home, for our lower people, than were imported from foreign parts, it is probable that the above quoted act of Parliament had at least a more special regard, to our own home made cloth.

Under this same year, being the second of Edward III. there is a statute, cap. 9. which enacted, "That the staples, as well beyond sea as on this side, shall cease;—and that all merchant-strangers, and privy, may go and come with their merchandize into England, after the tenor of the great charter."

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1328 In vol. iv. p. 361, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. confirms at large the charter of privileges granted by his grandfather, Edward I. in the year 1303, to foreign merchants, and the additional customs and duties they were bound to pay in consideration of those privileges. This charter of King Edward I. titled *Charta Mercatoria*, with the names of the foreign nations from whence merchants-strangers usually come, were exhibited under the said year 1303.

1329 We have seen, in former reigns, that the Lombard merchants, residing in England, had great money dealings there, as well with our Kings as with their subjects. They continued the same in this reign; for, in the fourth volume, p. 387, of the *Fœdera*, we find a deed or instrument of King Edward III. in the year 1329, “whereby he borrows five thousand marks of the Society of the Bardi, (*Bardorum*) of Florence, for defraying the expences of his voyage to France. King Edward, at the same time, acknowledges a former debt of seven thousand marks. In return for these services, he presents them with two thousand pounds sterling, which he promises faithfully to pay them.” Thus, without the name of usury or interest for money, which the church had so often declared to be unlawful, and yet so often connived at, these modest Lombards are contented to be over-paid by the name of a free-gift.

At the Parliament of the third year of King Edward III. according to Sir Robert Cotton’s Records, p. 21, “Sundry merchants of Lynn, and Barton upon Humber, do undertake, at a certain price, to deliver ten thousand quarters of all sorts of grain at the town of Berwick, and in the road of Leith; the wheat and malt at nine shillings per quarter,” (dear enough) “oats, beans, and peas, at five shillings per quarter,” their money being still three times the weight of ours.

1330 Dr. Kennet, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, relates, that the nurse to the Black Prince had a pension of ten pounds per annum, or thirty pounds of our money, settled on her by King Edward III. which was equal, in the expence of living, to sixty pounds in our days, by the rule of the price of wheat, poultry, &c. and a rocker had ten marks, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence yearly, or about sixty marks of our money, settled on her by way of pension.

Two statutes now passed, in this fourth year of Edward III. “For restraining the violent and arbitrary proceedings of the purveyors for the King, Queen, and Royal Issue; corn, hay, litter, bestial, &c. having been taken in times past, from the people, for which no payment was made,—at other times, at an under-rate.” These violences were, for the present redressed; but we shall hereafter find similar complaints in Parliament, and fresh laws enacted for rectifying them.

In this same year, a statute, cap. iv. enacts, “That Parliaments in England shall be holden in every year once, and more often if need be.”

According to many authors, gunpowder and guns were, in this year 1330, invented by one Swartz, a German Monk of Cologne, or, according to others, by one Anklitzen, of Friburgh, like many other very considerable discoveries, by mere chance: for, whilst Swartz was preparing a pot of nitre for physical or chymical use, a spark of fire happened to fall into it, and made it fly up. Whereupon he made a composition of what we now call gun-powder, and putting it into a hollow instrument of brass or iron, and setting fire to it, it made such an explosion as he expected. Swartz, for after all he is the undoubted discoverer, is said to have made known this discovery the very same year to the Venetians, who are related by some

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1330 to have been the first who made use of ship-guns (the immediate consequence of the discovery of gun-powder) in a sea fight with the Genoese, in the year 1376, or as others, in 1380, but all historians seem to agree, that our King Edward III. employed guns against the French at the battle of Cressy, in the year 1346, and also in the following year at the siege of Calais, which was previous to the æra when the Venetians are said to have used them. The French adopted them from the English, and Spain had them near as early; as also the Hans-towns, now grown very considerable indeed in commerce. The Turks got them in their wars with Venice; but the Persians did not employ them till they were instructed in their use by the Portuguese in the former part of the sixteenth century; and the Moors of Barbary had them from the Moors of Spain. This therefore, as well as many other instances, shews how vain it is for any one nation to pretend to engross an invention or discovery, of so important a nature, for any long time, whether it relates to war, navigation, or commerce, &c.—Roger Bacon, a Monk, and Fellow of Merton College in Oxford, who flourished about the year 1260, is said to have understood at least the theory of gun-powder, having, in one of his letters, observed, “That out of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal dust, he could make fire to burn at what distance he pleased, and could cause thunder and lightning thereby, which could destroy cities and armies with a great noise.” This account of our Roger Bacon is confirmed by Mezerai’s History of France, who speaking of the great reputation of the University of Paris, at the close of the thirteenth century, mentions, among other foreigners resorting to it, “Roger Bacon, an Englishman by birth, of the order of St. Francis, of a very subtle genius, thoroughly versed and accomplished in all kinds of learning, particularly in chymistry; in whose works is to be found the secret for making of gun-powder.” “We must also observe,” continues Mezerai, “that, in the famous battle of Cressy, in the year 1346, the English had four or five pieces of cannon, which, having never before been used in our wars, gave great terror.—In the wars of Italy they began to make use of such ponderous musquets as took two men to carry them: they loaded them with round pebbles, and fired them upon a rest. These proved the destruction of the Men-at-arms, who before feared nothing but cannon.” Bombs and Mortars did not come into use till about the year 1634.

The island of Majorca had, in this year, some degree of eminence in maritime power. Mr. Campbell, in his History of the Balearic Isles, observes, “That, in three days space, there were twenty-five galleys fitted out from thence against a like number of Genoese, who at that time molested their coasts. That author observes, that, from the year 1250 till the rebellion of the Commons in 1520, Majorca enjoyed its best fortune. In those days there might be seen, lying before the city of Majorca, to the number of three hundred sail of large ships, mostly foreign. They reckoned then to have twelve thousand seamen in the island.—Before the Indies were discovered, Majorca had a very extensive trade; for it was a general mart whither the merchandize of the East was brought; particularly spices and drugs from Damietta, Alexandria, and Alexandretta: for they were carried by the Red Sea from the south east parts of Africa, and thence by camels to Cairo, from whence they were brought down the Nile to the aforesaid cities, and from thence to Majorca, from which island they were transported into all parts of Europe. For proof of this, there are to be seen, at this time, the ruins of the arsenals, with stately arches, which were made for the building of galleys and other vessels, as also the magnificent exchange; and, beside this general exchange, there was a particular one for the Genoese.—There was scarcely any gentleman

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1330 "A man in the island that did not maintain some galleys; whereby the Majorcans had the Moors of Africa so much under their subjection, that, from Tunis, as far as the Straights of Gibraltar, almost all the maritime parts paid tribute to them." As this account is professedly taken from Spanish authors, we must consider their maritime power, and also their great trade in spices for supplying the rest of Europe, with proper grains of allowance: yet how obscure soever they have been of later times, it is certain, from impartial accounts, that, in this and the next century, Majorca made no inconsiderable figure in the maritime and commercial world, with the title of a kingdom; it having been annexed to that of Arragon, by James, its warlike king, who, in the year 1229, had expelled the Moors from this and the other Balearic isles of Minorca and Ivica.

Not much different, and possibly more authentic, is the following state of the trade into Europe with East India merchandize, as given by Marco Sanudo, a Venetian author, quoted by Bishop Huet, in his *Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens*. At this time, viz. about the year 1330, "The provinces of Malabar and Cambaya carried on the most considerable traffic; and so it remained whilst the Soldans reigned in Egypt. The Indian merchandize was brought to Aden in Arabia, thence up the Red Sea to Suez, and from thence over land to the Nile, and down that river to Cairo and Alexandria, and thence, by the Venetians, dispersed over Europe;" which account is, in general, confirmed by all other authors: yet it may be also true, that Majorca, and also Genoa and Marseilles, (then, as well as before and since, a very famous emporium or mart) might trade in East India wares by their voyages to Alexandria. It seems, the Mameluke Soldans of Egypt were, in those days, so extremely jealous with regard to this traffic, that they would not permit any Christian to go to India either in their ships, or through their dominions.

1331 King Edward III. attentively observing the riches and power of the provinces of Flanders and Brabant, proceeding merely from their vast woollen manufacture, in consequence of which the greatest princes strove to gain their friendship; for the natural product of the Netherlands is but very inconsiderable: and considering further, that they owed all their wealth and power entirely to his English wool, it was extremely natural for him to infer, that if he could gain the artificers in that manufacture to settle in England, the trade thereof would soon prosper in his kingdom. It seems, indeed, somewhat strange, that our preceding kings, and especially this King's sagacious grandfather, did not sooner resolve on so obvious, so easy, and natural a way to enrich this kingdom, instead of pursuing their ambitious and destructive territorial conquests.

Edward having thus determined, we find, in the fourth volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 496, the first instance of any step towards that great purpose: it is "a letter of protection to John Kemp, of Flanders, a woollen cloth weaver, coming over to exercise his trade in England, in the year 1331, and, as his protection expresses it, to teach it to such of our people as shall incline to learn it; the King hereby taking the said Kemp, with all his servants, apprentices, goods, and chattels, into his royal protection:—and promising the same likewise to all others of his occupation, as also to all dyers and fullers, who shall incline to come and settle in England."

In consequence thereof, seventy families of Walloons were, this year, brought over to England by King Edward's invitation, for promoting the woollen manufacture, and teaching it to our people. Which remarkable transaction nearly corresponds with the time mentioned by the great Pensionary De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, where he says, "That the cloth-

1331 "workers of the great towns of Flanders began to be uneasy, by reason of the growing power of their Earl; wherefore they were glad to seek for new settlements elsewhere."

Upon this famous subject, which has principally brought England to its present grandeur and opulence, it may be necessary, for the sake of some readers, to remark, That when all our historians say that King Edward III. introduced the woollen manufacture into England, what is properly to be understood thereby is, that he taught his people to make and dress fine woollen cloths, by means of the Netherlanders whom he brought hither, which laid the foundation of that great manufacture which England has long since brought to perfection: but that, nevertheless, it must be admitted and allowed, that woollen cloth of some sort or other, was always made in this nation, ever since the Romans first brought the Britons to the wear of cloth, instead of the skins of beasts; and that they left that art here behind them: nor can we suppose that our Saxon ancestors had not always among them spinners and weavers of woollen cloth of some kind, for the wear, at least, of the lower ranks of their people, more especially as, for want of commerce, there was then but little communication with the continent; and, besides, the woollen manufacture of the Netherlands did not probably come to any height till the latter part of the tenth century: so that, had they not made all their cloth at home, which was necessary to the bulk of their people, as far as appears, they must have sent as far as Florence, and other free cities of Italy for it, till the Netherlanders took up the fine manufacture thereof; which certainly the greater part of our people could not afford to do, their whole riches consisting only in their cattle: though the King, the great Lords, and the higher Clergy, probably had their best clothing from those parts. They therefore contented themselves with such coarse and homely woollen wear as they themselves could make, or hire a family for themselves, as is still the case in some parts of Britain, and in many other parts of Europe; and probably most of the lower people wore leather doublets and stays, or boddices, for cheapness and duration, which was a considerable part of their entire cloathing, as is even worn at this day by numbers of the labouring people. As for the times from the Norman conquest downwards, the making of some sort of woollen, and also of linen cloth in England, is past all doubt: and we have seen a Fraternity, or Guild of Weavers in London, as far back as the reign of King Henry II. In the Magna Charta which King Henry III. was obliged to swear to, in the ninth year of his reign, 1225, there is the following twenty-fifth head or article, viz. "That there be one breadth of dyed cloth, rustets, and haberjects; that is to say, two yards within the lists." Now, as we then certainly made cloth at home, this article, without doubt, related to that more than to foreign cloth; and, notwithstanding what the And-neger writes, in the year 1613, (already quoted) we cannot help thinking it unnatural for the legislature to prescribe rules to foreign nations for the dimensions of their cloths; and that it seems more agreeable to reason to suppose, that the Magna Charta and the Legislature, in the year 1228, meant only the dimensions of our own home made woollen cloths, more especially, as the dimensions specified in the latter period, are so different from those in Magna Charta; and this supposition is still further corroborated, by there being no mention, either in the Magna Charta article, or in the act of Parliament, in 1328, of the cloth's being foreign, or being imported. We shall soon see, that King Edward III. did not lose sight of this project, although he had employment enough of another kind by his war with France, and his quarrels with the Netherlands.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 500, there is a declaration of that King, whereby he exempts all such vessels as exported herrings, and other fish, from being subject to the offices of exchange,

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1331 established at Dover and other ports, for changing the foreign coins received for their fish for English coins; so as the said fishers do give security, not to transport their said English money into foreign parts.

This declaration explains the practice at that time of exchanging of money or coin, either at going out, or coming into England. It sets forth, "That lately, by consent of the " Prelates, Earls, and Barons" (here is no mention of citizens nor burghesses) " of our " realm, we have ordained that no person shall carry good sterling money out of our king- " dom; but that a table of the values, weight, and fineness of English and foreign monies, " shall be hung up at Dover and other ports, where there is an usual passage beyond sea, for " the exchange of the necessary expences which may be wanting by persons either going be- " yond sea, or coming into this kingdom from foreign parts, of every sort or kind of money : " (*Pro exchange expensarum necessarium hominibus ultra mare extra regnum nostrum transiuntibus, " et intra idem regnum de partibus transmarinis venientibus, de quocunque genere monetæ faciend.*") This shews, that Malynes, in his Center of the Circle of Commerce, was mistaken in saying, that King Edward I. erected this office of a Royal Exchanger, as he terms it, since it would, undoubtedly, have been mentioned in the *Fœdera*, if any such deed had then existed; beside, that the very first words of this declaration shew it to be the first establishment of it. This same Royal Exchanger, or Exchange-office, then was only a genteeler way of taxing all such of our merchants and clergy, as well as of foreigners, as had occasion to go out of, or to return or come into England. Other declarations or mandates were, in this same year, transmitted to Chester, Newcastle, Hartlepoole, York, Scarborough, Ravensfrede, (query, where?) Lincoln, Norwich, Lynn, Ipswich, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Southampton, and Bristol, for this purpose; and, in the year 1335, at London, Yarmouth, Hull, and Boston, where tables were hung up; and all other exchanges, but those made by the King's officers in this manner, were strictly prohibited, on forfeiture of the money, because the King's revenue was augmented by those offices of exchange. Several laws were also made in this reign, and also in succeeding ones, for obliging foreign merchants, receiving money in England for their merchandize, to lay out at least half the said money on wares of our realm, and that at most but half the money should be permitted to be exported. At length, however, by the wild and impracticable act of the fourth year of King Henry IV. cap. xv. in 1402, the whole money which those foreigners received here, was to be laid out on English merchandize.

In the curious treatise, intitled *Cottoni Posthuma*, or Sir Robert Cotton's Remains, printed in the year 1651, in 8vo. p. 191, Sir Robert makes the customs of the port of London, in this year, amount to one thousand marks per month, or eight thousand pounds per annum, that is, to twenty-four thousand pounds of our modern money; which, considering the low rate of the customs at that period, is a proof of that city's having had, even then, a considerable foreign commerce for those remote times.

1332 At this time, the town of Great Yarmouth was a considerable port of commerce and shipping. Dr. Brady, in his *Treatise of Burgles*, gives us a charter of King Edward III. in the year 1332, being the sixth year of his reign, for adjusting of disputes again arisen between that town and those of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston near it, concerning the right of lading and unlading of goods, &c. He thereby directs, " That ships, laden with wool, leather, and skins, upon which the great custom is due, shall clear out from that port where " our Beam, and the seal called Cocket remain, and no where else."—*Ubi thronus noster et sigillum nostrum, quod dicitur Coket, existunt, et non alibi carentur*. This same King's Beam

for weighing of merchandize, called *Thionus*, or *Tionus*, in the Latin of that age, stood usually in the most public place of the town or port: in some places, especially northward, it is to this day in English named the Trone. Yet this was not established by act of Parliament till the year 1429; when it was enacted, that every city and town should establish, at their own charge, a common balance and sealed weights, according to the standard at the Exchequer, to be in the keeping of the chief magistrate; and at this balance all the inhabitants were to weigh without any expence, but strangers not without paying for it. They have also, to this time, probably, or not long since had, in some parts of Scotland, a difference of weight between troy-weight and trone-weight on certain goods, the latter being the largest weight. This charter, after directing the unrevoked clauses of his grandfather's charter to be observed, adds as follows: "Saving the rights of the citizens of London and Norwich, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports, or any others, who may claim by our said grandfather's charter, &c." We may hereby partly observe the great privileges which London and the Cinque Ports enjoyed above most other ports of the kingdom; and with respect to the above-named exception in behalf of Norwich, it was naturally to be expected; Yarmouth being properly the sea-port of Norwich.

King Edward III. resolutely pursuing his plan for war against France, so as to assert and maintain his right to that monarchy, now sent his ambassadors to the republic of Venice, to desire aid against Philip de Valois, the French King in possession, though without success. This has been England's stile, even to our own times, as our kings still keep up the title of Kings of France; viz. in speaking of a French monarch in actual possession, to stile him only the French King, and not the King of France. The Genoese favouring Philip's right, probably induced Edward to apply to the Venetians, the mortal foes of Genoa. James Howell, in his Survey of Venice, p. 75, thinks that this was the first time there was any acquaintance between England and Venice, in which he probably judges right, any further than King Edward the Second's general grant of protection to Venetian ships trading to England, in the year 1325.

King Edward III. as appears by vol. iv. p. 512, of the *Fœdera*, contracts his sister Eleanor in marriage to Reynold, Earl of Gueldres and Zutphen, and with her gave a portion of ten thousand pounds sterling, or thirty thousand pounds of modern money; and for enabling him to make payment of that large portion, he demanded a subsidy of his Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, the form of which takes up a good many pages of this volume of the *Fœdera*, on the other hand, Reynold settles a dower on the Princess of sixteen thousand small livres tournois yearly.

By Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum* we learn, that, at this time, a chaplain, for all necessaries of lodging, diet, and robes, required six marks; or four pounds per annum, or twelve pounds of our modern money. Now, as a single clergyman, even in a low station, cannot, in our days, live decently for less than about fifty pounds yearly, we may conclude, that the rate of living, or the expence of all things, on an average, then and now, is as about five or six to one. The clergy, indeed, are supposed to have lived more abstemiously then, than is the case in our days. The head chaplain of Windsor Castle chapel at this time had a salary of but ten marks, or twenty pounds of our money, per annum.

1333 Yet, in the year 1333, we find, by the *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 562, that King Edward the Third's physician, named Magister Pantius de Coutrone, had a pension of no less than one hundred pounds sterling yearly for life settled on him, or three hundred pounds of our money

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1333 and would have perhaps gone as far as fifteen hundred pounds in our days in point of expence. But then the King, in his grant declares, that he had been very serviceable to his parents.

In the same year, King Edward III. complains to the Earl of Flanders, and to the burgo-masters of the three good towus, as they are always termed, “ of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, “ of their inhabitants aiding the Scots, his enemies, (*i. e.* the party of King David Bruce) “ with their ships, ammunition, and provisions — *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 562.

In those times also, there were various mutual complaints, in matters of commerce, between England on the one part, and both Flanders and Brabant on the other part, about sea-robberies, &c. for the adjusting of which differences there were frequent conventions held.

There were likewise contests renewed between the subjects of Castile, and King Edward's people of Bayonne in Guienne, touching commercial concerns, which were now adjusted. And although, in the following year, mutual complaints of the same kind were renewed between England and Flanders, yet commerce was still mutually carried on between them.

1334 This year was remarkable for a project of Philip Valois, King of France, at the Pope's instigation, to make one great effort more for the conquest of the Holy Land, after its having been abandoned for above forty years. Maimbourg, in his History of the Crusade, part iv. book 3. says, “ That he had made such prodigious preparations for an embarkation, as surpassed all “ that any of his predecessors had done on like occasions. He caused to be equipped, in several ports, the fairest fleet that France had ever seen, being capable of transporting forty thousand men at arms, with their horses, and with all kinds of provisions in abundance. King “ Philip had also published his intended Crusade throughout Europe, whereby he had engaged the Kings of Arragon, Majorca, Sicily, Cyprus, and Hungary, with the republics of “ Venice and Genoa, to join their arms with his; insomuch, that so mighty an army would “ consist of three hundred thousand combatants.” But all these vast preparations were frustrated, by Philip's discovering that King Edward III. of England was diligently preparing to attack France, and assert his claim to that kingdom, as sister's son to Charles the Fair, who died without issue in 1328, which obliged Philip to turn his whole force against Edward; and, indeed, the forces of almost all the princes of Europe were soon engaged, either directly or indirectly, in this great quarrel between England and France, of which we shall soon have occasion to take further notice.

1335 De Mailly, in his History of the Genoese, informs us, that they took two large Venetian galleys, laden with rich merchandize, coming from the Netherlands. How much further back Venice had any commerce with those provinces, cannot be exactly determined; but it is very probable, it must be at least one hundred and fifty years before this period. more especially, as the Venetians had so long before engaged in the silk manufacture, and had traded to England much earlier than this time.

It may now be very sensibly perceived, from many instances, some of which have been already produced, that money was become much more plenty, even within so small a space as since the days of King Edward I. of which we have at this time an additional instance, by King Edward the Third's allowance to the Earl of Murray, then a prisoner in Nottingham castle, which was twenty shillings, or three pounds of our modern money, per week, for his maintenance; whereas the bishop of St. Andrew's, the chief ecclesiastic of Scotland, had but sixpence per day allowed for his own expence, by King Edward I. when a prisoner, though at London, which must always have been more expensive for necessaries than other parts of England.

land. The same observation may be extended to most other parts of Europe at this time, more especially where there was any commerce.

*One may make a true judgment of the low maritime strength of most nations in those times, from the small size of their ships destined for warlike expeditions; excepting, however, the great free cities of Italy, who had much larger vessels in earlier times than the countries without the Mediterranean sea. We have now, in the *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 664, a precept of King Edward III. directed to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, "To take up all ships in their port, and of all other ports of the kingdom, of the burthen of forty tons, and upwards, (*quadraginta tonna vini et ultra portantes*) and to furnish the same with armed men, and other necessities for war, against the Scots, his enemies, confederated with certain persons of foreign nations." By whom he means the French and Flemings.

The cities and towns of England continuing to harass and distress such foreigners as lived amongst, or came to trade with them, being authorized thereto, in some measure, by their monopolizing charters, which are ever obstructive of, and destructive to, freedom and the increase of commerce; that judicious Prince, King Edward III. passed an act of Parliament at York, in the eleventh year of his reign, of which the preamble runs thus: "That grievous damages have been done to him and his subjects, by some people of his cities, burghs, ports of the sea, and other places, which, of a long time past, have not suffered, nor will yet suffer, merchant-strangers, nor others, who do carry and bring in, by sea or land, wines, and other things to be sold, though necessary and profitable, to any others but to themselves: by reason whereof, the same are sold to the King, and to his people, in the hands of the said citizens, &c. more dear than they should or would be, if such merchant-strangers, and others, who bring such things into the realm, might freely sell them to whom they would." It was therefore now enacted, "That all merchant-strangers, as well as denizens, may freely buy and sell corn, wine, flesh, fish, and all other provisions; wools, cloth, and all other vendible wares, from whencesoever they come, as well in cities, burghs, towns, ports, fairs, and markets, &c. having franchises, as in all other places;" and penalties are hereby inflicted on any one who give them disturbance: "Provided, that no merchant-stranger shall carry any wines out of this realm, agreeable to their charter," called *Charta Mercatoria*. "And with regard to the franchises, or exclusive charters of cities and towns, &c. they are herein declared to be of no force, to endamage the King, or his prelates, earls, barons, and other great men, nor to the oppression of the Commons."

Yet this well-judged law was afterwards invaded by the said cities and towns, under colour of their charters, excluding all but their own freemen from keeping open shops, and from importing, buying, or selling, and also from exercising manual occupations within the precincts of those places. This law, however, answered the great plan which this King had formed, of introducing foreign cloth-workers to settle in England, and for preventing the English people from insulting them, who have been too much inclined at all times to ill-treat foreigners.

In this ninth year of King Edward III. it was enacted, cap. 1. "That none shall carry any sterlings," that is, coined peace, "out of the realm, nor silver in plate, nor vessels of gold, nor of silver, upon pain of forfeiting the same." And, cap. 2. "No false money, or counterfeit sterling, shall be brought into the realm. Yet all people may safely bring to the King's exchanges, and no where else, bullion, plate and silver money, if not base, and may there receive good current coin in exchange." And, cap. 3. "No sterling halfpenny, or farthing, shall be molten, to make vessels, by goldsmiths, &c."

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Although King Edward III. had been long engaged in his project of reducing Scotland, which, after all, did not succeed, yet he continued his preparations for making good his claim to the crown of France; and, for that end, we now find him retaining several foreign princes, with pensions, in his interest, who were to supply him with troops against France; as the Earls of Montbelgard, Juliers, and Namur; the last of which Earls had also, with many of his people, assisted Edward in his wars against Scotland, and who, besides an annual pension of four hundred marks for life, received a daily allowance of ten marks, for his expence in the war against Scotland, with many additional presents to his countess and retinue, in plate, &c. This same year Edward also retained the following princes in his interest, by gifts and pensions, viz. the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, whose subsidy was three hundred thousand florins; the Electors of Cologne, Palatine, and Brandenburg; the Duke of Lorraine; the Duke of Brabant, whom he most mistrusted, and, for that reason, made him so large a present as sixty thousand pounds sterling, or one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of our money, as appears by Edward's bond to the said Duke of Brabant, in the *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 777. We must also add the Earls of Hainault, Zealand, Gueldres, Savoy, Limburg, &c. and also many great lords, retainers of these princes, who were to supply King Edward with certain numbers of horse. On the other hand, the allies of King Philip of France were, the King of Bohemia, the Earl of Luxemburg, the Bishops of Liege and Mentz, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Austria, the Marquis of Montferrat, the Counts of Geneva, Deuxponts, Sarburg, Vaudemont, with many other lords of Germany, Spain, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, &c.

For all which vast expence, Edward found himself necessitated to extort large sums of money from his English subjects by many various means; and those very obedient subjects, had he succeeded, were necessarily, in return, to have the inestimable honour of being reduced to be a province of the French empire.

But, beyond all others, Edward's endeavours to gain over the Flemings to his side, would answer two important purposes:—First, it brought him supplies of money, their cities and country being then very rich, and in their zenith of glory. Secondly, what was yet of more consequence to him, it would enable him to assemble his army in Flanders; from which quarter he accordingly opened a passage into France, whilst, with another army, he entered that kingdom from his own province of Guienne. “Ghent being at this time the head city of Flanders, sometimes hesitated,” says Mezerai, “in their inclinations, between the fear of the power of France on the one hand, and the danger of disobliging the English on the other, from whom they had all their wool, which supplied the infinite number of cloth-workers in their numerous cities, towns, and villages, with the great material of their manufactures. Edward strove, by all means, to make a strong party for him in Flanders, to prevent their favouring the French interest. For this end, he gained over the famous James d’Arteville, who, though only a brewer and beer-merchant in Ghent, had obtained so great credit in all Flanders, that he brought the principal cities to revolt against their Earl, who, not being able to resist his power, was obliged to withdraw into France.” These were some of Edward the Third's political proceedings in this year, and the two following, for the prosecution of his grand scheme; the further consideration of which we will suspend for the present, to take in some other useful points.

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The Venetians sent out a fleet against the Turks, which got possession of Smyrna a second time; they were, however, soon after beaten at sea by the Turks, who now grew very trouble-

1336 some on the coast of the Lesser Asia, already portending the total ruin of the decayed Greek empire.

About this time, great jealousies, contentions, and underminings, in commercial concerns, happened between the two states of Venice and Genoa; the latter strenuously endeavouring to exclude the former from trading in the Black or Euxine sea, wherein they had been hitherto, in some measure, masters, by means of their port of Caffa, in the Crimea. But the Turks, in a few years after this time, effectually excluded all Christendom from that sea.

In the fourth volume, p. 702, of the *Fœdera*, we find King Edward III. acknowledging to the republic of Genoa, that, in his father's reign, Hugh le Despenser, a commander of his fleet, had, contrary to that King's letters of protection and safe conduct, made prize of a large Genoese ship on the coast of Essex, coming to trade in England, laden with divers precious and oriental wares, (probably East India spices, &c. brought from Alexandria) to the value of about fourteen thousand three hundred marks sterling; a very capital cargo indeed, for those times, and equal to twenty-eight thousand six hundred pound of our modern money. Edward now going to actual war with France, and fearing to provoke so potent a maritime state as Genoa then was, offers them eight thousand marks sterling, by way of compensation, payable out of the customs of the Genoese trading to England, of which they thankfully accepted.

Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum* observes, that under this year, there was such plenty of corn, and scarcity of money, that at London wheat was sold at two shillings per quarter, or six shillings of our money; an ox, at six shillings and eightpence; a fat sheep, at eightpence; a fat goose, at twopence; a pig, at one penny; and six pigeons for one penny. Which cheapness, according to Knighton and Fabian, was occasioned by King Edward the Third's gathering up all the money he could get, for carrying on his wars with France and Scotland: so that this could not be made a permanent rule of the expence of living for the future.

Louis Earl of Flanders, being in the French interest, had connived at the depredations of his people, and seizing on the English merchants and mariners in his ports, with their ships and goods; of this King Edward loudly complained, and reprisals were thereupon made by the English. Whereupon, the Duke of Brabant, our King's ally, takes advantage of this quarrel, and earnestly presses Edward, that the staple for English wool, before in Flanders, might be fixed somewhere in Brabant; to which the King agrees, provided Flanders receives no kind of benefit from it. Yet the good towns of Flanders were in the interest of England, for the reasons already assigned.—*Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 701, 702.

1337 King Edward III. grants his protection and privileges to two weavers of Brabant, to settle at York, for carrying on their trade there; "which," says the King, "may prove of great benefit to us and our subjects."—*Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 713.

King Edward III. writes to the cities of Brussels, Louvain, and Mechlin, signifying his consent to the removal of the staple of wool from Flanders to their country. He also wrote earnestly to Alphonso, King of Castile, urging him to prohibit his subjects from sailing to Flanders, or supplying them with any kind of merchandize, as they, that is, their Earl, adhered to his enemies; and that Alphonso would rather direct his merchants to bring their ships and cargoes to England, (this might principally respect Spanish wool) where he promises they should be kindly entertained. Yet this very same year, we find a treaty set on foot with the Earl and good towns of Flanders; the mutual commercial interests of both countries not permitting them to be long at variance.—*Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 736, 744.

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Whilst King Edward was getting his army ready to invade France on the side of Flanders, he summoned a Parliament, wherein his determination to commence a woollen manufacture was treated and approved of in this eleventh year of his reign, and it was then enacted, cap. 1. "That no English wool should be exported till otherwise ordained; and, cap. 2. "that all "cloth-workers should be received from any foreign parts, and fit places assigned them, "with divers privileges;" and a certain allowance was made them from the King, says Echard, though this be not in that statute, till they were fixed in a competent way of living. By another act, cap. 2. it was ordained, "That none should wear any cloth for the future, "but such as was made in England, except the King, Queen, and their children." And by another act, cap. 4. "That none should wear foreign furs, or silks, unless he was worth one "hundred pounds per annum. Neither," cap. 3. "was any foreign cloth to be imported, "on pain of forfeiture, and other punishment." The prohibiting of wool to be exported, lasted but a short time, yet it answered expectation well enough for that time. It was indeed about two hundred years after this period, before England could venture totally to prohibit the exportation of her wool; for, beside that our people could not arrive sooner at the compleat manufacture of it, both in quantity and quality, the duty on wool and wool-fels exported, was now, and long after, the best branch of the King's revenue. This temporary prohibition, therefore, of wool's being exported, and woollen cloth imported, was merely a political expedient for the mortifying of his enemy, the Earl of Flanders, by letting him see how much he might be distressed by such measures.

"Before the halls and tumults," says Pensionary de Witt, in his Interest of Holland, "had removed the weaving-trade to England, the Netherlands could formerly deal well "enough with that kingdom, the English being only shepherds and wool-merchants; and "their King received few other imposts but from wool exported; no less depending on the "Netherlands, who were almost the only wool-weavers in Europe, than the weavers on "them."

Our King took the most effectual means to be revenged of the Earl of Flanders, and the Flemings of his party, in ruining their grand manufacture, the material of which they owed entirely to our negligence, in not working it up ourselves. We shall see hereafter, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of this prudent King, we were not so soon ready to maintain a total prohibition of the exportation of our wool, nor of the importation of Flemish cloth; such great and total alterations in the current of commerce, not being usually to be brought about but by slow and gradual steps, requiring a course of many years to perfect them. "By "these, and such-like good regulations," says Mr. Barnes, in his History of King Edward III. "though, for the present, they took not their full effect, King Edward restored the woollen "manufacture, after it had been lost for many years in this nation, from whose reign it has "flourished unto our days." For the truth of which assertion, he, in the margin, quotes Judge Hale's Origination of Mankind, p. 186; an authority sufficient to overthrow theirs, who assert that our woollen trade was almost lost till King Henry VII. revived it. There were, however, some other favourable circumstances, which, about this time, contributed not a little to set forward our infant woollen manufacture; such as the restrictive bye-laws of the halls of the manufacturing cities of the Netherlands, already mentioned under the year 1301, and the laying of imposts on the manufacture: a great tumult also of the weavers and their adherents, at the vast manufacturing city of Louvain, wherein several of the magistrates were killed, having obliged the offenders to make their escape, they took shelter in England, and

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1337 became instrumental in forwarding their art of drapery in it. The frequent letters of licence and protection granted by King Edward III. for weavers, and other workmen belonging to the woollen manufacture, from the Netherlands, to settle in England, being probably the consequence of those tumults and discontents in the towns of Flanders and Brabant; which also occasioned many of them to settle in Holland, "whither," says Pensionary De Witt, "many of the Flemish and Brabant manufacturers removed soon after the year 1300, whereby the towns of the Hollanders increased in greatness and number of inhabitants." We see also, in the fourth volume, p. 751, of the *Fœdera*, in this year, King Edward III's protection to fifteen workers in wool and cloth, therein named, with their families and servants, coming from Zealand to settle, and to carry on their trade in England. Yet, to confirm our conjecture, that King Edward's resentment against the Earl of Flanders was one great reason for his so strictly prohibiting the exportation of our wool, we see, this very year, in vol. IV. p. 757 of the *Fœdera*, the Duke of Brabant, the English King's ally, again taking so far advantage of that resentment, as to obtain "for his towns of Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Boisleduc, Malines, Tirllemont, Lyewes, Nivelles, Diefle, Herentals, Lyre, Filford, Tiet, Joudoigne, Graven, Breda, Bergenopzoom, and Arschot, and also for the other smaller towns having privileges, freely to resort to England to buy wool: but then every such town shall buy no more at any one time than they can work up in six months space, to be certified by letters from the Duke, and also by the oaths of two of their burghers; and that the said wool shall be worked up no where but in Brabant."

King Edward III. before he opened his campaign in Flanders, issued out a commission for seizing the estates of all the Lombard merchants in England, who were grown odious on account of their high usury and extortion: he also seized on all the revenues of the alien priories. These seizures (how far justifiable is unnecessary to observe) were, however, good helps for defraying the vast expence in which he was now engaged. In the mean time, his troops already landed in Flanders, defeated those of the Earl and of France, in the Isle of Cadfan, who were employed against the troops of the Flemish towns in King Edward's interest.

In this year, the French fleet burned the mercantile town of Southampton; Philip having hired many ships of the Ghibelines of Genoa, and the Guelphs of Monaco, who took a great store of booty from the English, according to Barner from Foliet.

1338 At length King Edward III. himself embarked with five hundred sail of ships, landed at Antwerp, and afterwards marched with forty thousand men toward the frontiers of France. Dr. Brady's account is, that the land forces, exclusive of the lords, amounted to thirty-one thousand two hundred and ninety-four men; and sixteen thousand more for the mariners of seven hundred ships, barges, victuallers, &c. being about twenty-three men to each vessel on an average. In this army, the daily pay of thirteen earls was six shillings and eight-pence each, of forty-four barons and bannerets, four shillings each; of one thousand and forty-six knights, two shillings each; of four thousand and twenty-two esquires, captains, constables, and leaders, one shilling each; of serjeants, archers, and hobelars, six-pence each; archers on foot, three-pence; masons, carpenters, engineers, smiths, artillery men, &c. some one shilling, some ten-pence, six-pence, and three-pence, per day. The sum total of the expence for one year and one hundred and thirty-one days, was one hundred and twenty-seven thousand one hundred and one pounds two shillings and nine-pence halfpenny, or three hundred and eighty-one thousand three hundred and three pounds eight shillings and four-pence halfpenny.

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penny of modern money. How different is this from what the expence of such an army and fleet would amount to in our days; not owing to the difference of the daily pay then and now, since the lowest pay then was two-pence per day, which was the pay of four thousand four hundred and seventy-four Welchmen, equal to ten-pence of our money, and was certainly much higher than the pay of common foldiers at this time. The fifteen thousand four hundred and eighty archers on foot had each three-pence, equal in silver to our nine-pence, and to about fifteen-pence per day, if we consider the rates of living then and now; so that those troops were much better paid than our troops in Europe at this period. But it was chiefly owing to the cheapness of their artillery, or instruments of war, in those days, viz. battering rams, bows and arrows, slings, darts, lances, and swords; instead of our very expensive fire artillery, of guns, cannon, bombs, granadoes, and muskets, with the vast expence of lead and iron bullets, bomb shells, gun powder, &c. The cheapness of provisions for the army must also be considered.

• We find, in the fifth volume, p. 12, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. directing seventy large ships to be got ready at Portsmouth by Burghersh, his Admiral, for transporting into Gascony many peers, &c. for the defence of that province, with proper necessities for the carriage of horses, provisions, &c. for the army, which was to sail with that fleet. He had obtained of his Parliament the ninth sheaf, fleece, and lamb, and of the citizens and burghesses the very ninth of all their goods for two years to come; he being by treaty bound to return in person to Brussels, and to remain there as a kind of hostage, until the sums he was engaged for there should be repaid, which, however, were afterwards changed for or into twenty thousand sacks of wool, because the above-named ninth could not be soon enough collected for his present urgent occasions, and the wool, the King knew, he could speedily dispose of in the Netherlands. The provisions now shipped for Guienne, were four thousand two hundred quarters of wheat, two hundred quarters of beans and pease, six thousand three hundred quarters of malt, five hundred quarters of salt, two thousand one hundred bacons, (bacones) probably slices of bacon, or perhaps hogs for salting, seven hundred oxen, eight thousand one hundred sheep-wethers, fifty-six lasts of herrings,* ten thousand six hundred and ninety stone weight of cheese, and fifty-six thousand five hundred stock fish. These provisions, the record in the *Fœdera* says, were for his voyage, (*pro passagio nostro*). But from the great number of sheep, &c. one would imagine they intended them for provisions in Guienne. King Edward was so sensible that this war would greatly burden his English subjects, that in the directions to his Bishops to put up prayers for his success, they were at the same time ordered to labour to quiet his people's minds on that account, as necessity alone obliged him to it. *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 21.

Whilst this voyage to Guienne was performing, the French fleet invaded the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, killing, burning, and destroying, as well there as on the English coasts. Whereupon King Edward commands Walter Manny, his Admiral from the Thames mouth northward, speedily to collect all the ships in those parts, both great and small, that were fit to cross the seas, to the rendezvous at Great Yarmouth, well furnished with men, arms, &c.

* This was forty years before the Dutchman, Buckeleem of Bieveliet, is said to have invented the present method pickling herrings; which is a further proof of their having been salted herrings in use for sea voyag, either wet or dry, called red herrings, long before that supposed invention of pickling, as we have already observed under the year 1310.

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1338 And he finds fault with that Admiral, that under pretence of many ships being beyond sea for lading wines, &c. in Gascony and other parts, a sufficient number of ships were not got ready in due time; so that great damage accrued by delay of the expedition. Those two Admirals were impowered to compel the bringing in of those ships, and to imprison delinquents. And we find, in p. 53, of the fifth volume of the *Fœdera*, similar directions given in this same year to Peter Barde, Admiral of the West Station, and to Thomas de Draton, of the North Station, in the absence of the other, to go and attack the French galleys at Zealand, who had destroyed some English ships, and threatened to invade England.

These rigorous modes of sitting out fleets, must have been extremely grievous to all concerned in the little commerce there was then in England.

In this same year, the King directs his said Admiral Manny, to assemble a number of warlike ships at Ipswich, for conveying two thousand two hundred sacks of wool, besides other wares, to Brabant, at the desire of its Duke, for the supply of his merchants and manufacturers therewith. *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 32.

King Edward III. also directs the bailiffs and collectors of the customs at Boston, for the future, on no pretence whatever, to permit any live rams to be transported beyond sea, as it seems had been frequently done by foreign merchants and others. "By which practice," says the King, "the price of English wool is lowered, and the quality of foreign wool meliorated, to the manifest prejudice of King and people." *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 36.

☞ If the transporting of live rams from England could essentially meliorate foreign wool, we should have had no need of laws at present against the exportation of our own wool.

In the same volume, p. 38, King Edward III. "writes to the three good towns of Flanders, "so often before-named, commending their disposition of keeping a friendly correspondence with England," although their Earl, as a vassal of France, could not well be otherwise than at enmity with him whilst he was at war with France, "and he desires they will send their deputies to his commissaries then in Brabant, for adjusting of matters: accordingly, it was "in this same year stipulated in substance,

"That the King should allow the towns and free people of Flanders to resort with their ships to the ports of England, freely to buy wool and other English wares; and the like freedom to be allowed to the English merchants to resort to the ports of Flanders with their ships and merchandize: but no ships of war shall be permitted to enter their ports, but in case of stress of weather. The said towns also promise, for themselves and the free country of Flanders, not to intermeddle in the war between England and France, but to remain entirely neuter: but yet they cannot hinder their Earl, with his own immediate vassals, knights, and servants, from aiding the French King out of Flanders. And England shall not attack their Earl's dominions in Flanders merely on that score. Neither, on the other hand, shall the good towns and free people, in that case, assist their said Earl therein. England shall not enter into or pass through Flanders, in order to attack either their Earl, or the French King his ally; and in case England shall nevertheless so do, the towns then are at liberty to assist their Earl. On the other side, it is stipulated, that France shall not, through the way of Flanders, do any kind of hurt to the English." This treaty is said to be, "with the good people of the towns, castellanies, and lands of the whole-country of Flanders," "*avec les bons gens des villes, castellanies, et terroirs de tout le commun pays de Flandres.*"

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1338 This remarkable treaty shews us how nearly the mercantile and manufacturing cities of Flanders approached in those days to independence in their commercial interests. The *Annales Flandrie*, under the following year 1339, goes still further in favour of King Edward III. For through the interest of the Duke of Gueldres, and of the famous James d'Arteville, of Ghent, of whom we have already spoken, they took an oath of fidelity to King Edward III. "saving the liberties and privileges of the said towns, and the property of the country to "their Earl."

Besides the extraordinary and unjustifiable methods, already mentioned, which King Edward III. took for supporting the immense expence of this war with France, 1. He seized on all the tin in Devonshire and Cornwall, as well what belonged to foreign merchants as to his own subjects, which was sent beyond sea and sold for his use, promising, however, to repay the proprietors of it in the space of two years. *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 39.

II. In consideration of the fines paid for the same, "by a deed intitled, *De Manumissione Nativorum*, he manumits or releases three men, born in his manor of Brustwyk, and all "their posterity; from all servile labour, and that they shall be for ever free, and of free "condition, so as neither he nor his successors shall or can ever exact or claim any thing "whatsoever from them or their posterity, for or by reason of their then villenage," p. 44. It is probable that Edward, on this emergency, liberated many more who might by their industry and parsimony be able to pay him well, although we meet with no more instances hereof in the *Fœdera*. But this example is sufficient to demonstrate the slavish condition of a very great part of the people of England in those times: for it was the same in the manors of the Barons of the Church, as it was in the King's numerous manors. This also confirms the observation we at many different times have already made, that the feudal law was far from being favourable to a free and extensive commerce.

III. He borrowed of many religious houses their gold and silver plate; such as fine gold cups, set with precious stones, as also crucifixes of the same kind, with many other rich utensils of gold and silver, with jewels and rings set with precious stones; giving the owners his written acknowledgments for paying for the same, as therein valued; of which there are many instances in this fifth volume of the *Fœdera*. And here we have an authentic proof, that still, in this very year, a pound in money was completely a pound weight, or twelve ounces of silver, gold not being as yet coined in England; for, in the above-named valuation of the silver plate borrowed by the King, there is very little allowed for the fashion or make above the weight, excepting some jewels were set in them; and some of those pieces being probably old and battered, are said to be (for instance) *pondus et pretii sex librarum*; of the weight and price or value of six pounds.

IV. He had no less than twenty thousand sacks of wool now granted to him by his Parliament for this war; which wool was, as usual in those times, sent to the Netherlands to be sold for the King's use. But when he arrived in Brabant, he sent back loud complaints, that instead of twenty thousand, there was yet no more than two thousand five hundred sacks arrived at Antwerp, although he was then in very great want of the whole for paying the subsidies to his allies. Wherefore he commands the wool collectors, p. 80, vol. V. of the *Fœdera*, "to seize on as much wool, wherever they find it, as will make up the remaining quantity, either from laity or clergy, and to send it forthwith to Antwerp." Such were the arbitrary proceedings of this great and famous monarch, whose prowess and wisdom are so much celebrated by all our historians. How much happier had he made his people of England

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by studying solely to promote, in an island not suited to great territorial conquests on the Continent, the peaceful arts of commerce, manufactures, fisheries, mines, and agriculture: which naturally enrich a country, while the former impoverish, and, in the end, generally enslave it, more especially when it possesses an insular situation?

In p. 77—80, of the fifth volume of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. being at Antwerp, with his good ally the Duke of Brabant, in order to bind him the closer to his interest, “the King grants certain privileges to his towns of Brussels, Louvain, Tienen, Diest, Mechlin, Antwerp, &c. for their purchasing of wool in England, for their own sole use only; and for their freely bringing and selling in England the ~~best~~ ^{best} cloths of their own manufacture only.” This, and many more instances, even of a later date, plainly shews, that the law made in the preceding year for prohibiting the exportation of our wool, and the importation of foreign cloth, was merely a political engine for bringing the Flemings into this King’s views, it being, as yet, neither practicable to prohibit the former, nor the latter, as we have already observed.

Accordingly, even in this very year, p. 87, of the same volume, through the mediation of the Earl of Gueldre, and the allurements of Louis Earl of Flanders, (according to Camden, in his Elizabeth) in granting the English most ample privileges to settle their staple of wool at Bruges, a treaty was made between Edward III. and the Earl and good towns of Flanders, for the renewal of mutual commerce and friendship, “from which time,” says Camden, “through the resort of almost all nations to Flanders to buy cloth of English wool, it is incredible how much commerce, shipping, and fishing, have flourished in the Netherlands.”

King Edward III. now “confirms to the citizens of Cologne,” in those days, and long after, a great and rich commercial city, “the privileges which his ancestors had granted them in England.” This confirmation was also principally made with a view of gratifying the Elector of Cologne his ally.

In p. 86 of vol. V. of the *Fœdera*, the Prince of Wales, known also by the name of the Black Prince, left Custos or Guardian of England, in his father’s absence beyond sea, “directs his precept to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, forthwith to shut up or fortify their city next the Thames, with either stone or boards, (*de Petro vel de Bordis*) against a French fleet of ships and galleys,” which, it seems, had already invaded the realm in divers places, “and also to drive piles into the Thames quite across the river for the same purpose,” and all persons, as well religious as laity, who had any estate in London, were obliged forthwith to pay their contributions for this end.

In this same year, which is full of matter for our subject, p. 91, vol. V. of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. “borrows eleven thousand pounds of one English merchant at Antwerp, named William de la Pole,” which is equal to thirty-three thousand pounds of modern money. A very great sum for any one merchant to lend in those early times, and much more for a native Englishman, most of our commerce being now, and too long after, carried on by Italians, Germans, and Flemings. There is also Edward’s acknowledgment, of the same date, to the said William de la Pole, for seven thousand five hundred pounds more, or twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds of modern money, “which, at the King’s request, he was bound for to the Earl of Gueldre, the King’s brother-in-law.” In all, the sum of fifty-five thousand five hundred pounds of our money. For which services, he was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer of England, and a Knight Banneret, and had also the Lordship of Holderness bestowed on him, with other crown lands.

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1338 The King's necessities obliged him this year also, to borrow one thousand and forty-one marks of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell, near London. *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 94.

King Edward III. in this year also, directed certain galleys to be built for his service at Nice, on the coast of Italy. Page 94.

On the other hand, and, perhaps, to counterbalance those galleys, we find, by De Mailly's *Histoire de Gennes*, vol. I. p. 181, that the Republic of Genoa gave assistance in shipping, this very year, to Charles the French King. This is not to be wondered at, as England had, in those times, no commerce within the Mediterranean sea; and that France was their near neighbour, and had always a great sway with the Genoese.

1339 The Bishop of Ely's *Chronicon Preciosum*, from Sir Robert Cotton's abridgement of the Records, relates, "that several undertakers in the year 1339, agreed to deliver at Berwick and Leith ten thousand quarters of wheat and malt, at nine shillings per quarter; which was called a high price." Still remembering that the said nine shillings contained as much silver as twenty-seven shillings in our days.

The Mediterranean Sea now swarming with pirates, the Republic of Genoa sent out a fleet under the command of their Doge, Simon Boccanigra, which totally destroyed or dispersed them, according to Petrus Baptista Burgus, lib. II. cap. xiv.

King Edward III. was now in such want of money, for carrying on his war against France, that we find him (by the fifth vol. p. 101, of the *Fœdera*) actually pawning his imperial crown to the Elector of Triers for fifty thousand gold florins of Florence; four of which coin being before shewn to be equal to one mark sterling, it made twelve thousand five hundred marks, or twenty-five thousand pounds of our money. Edward also pawned his Queen's crown, and another smaller one, to others. And in this transaction, as well as in many others in this volume of the *Fœdera*, we find the words *damna et intereffe, ex retardata solutione*, in case of postponing of payment, made use of in such manner, as clearly evinces that usury or interest, in our modern sense of the word, was thereby intended.

The Elector of Triers was also to be paid eleven thousand florins more for his assistance against France, before the imperial crown should be restored to King Edward. Historians say, that this King pawned his crown three several times, so great was his necessity for supporting his ambitious projects.

In this year the Duke of Brabant contracted his daughter Margaret in marriage to King Edward's valiant eldest son, usually called the Black Prince, and agreed to give fifty thousand pounds sterling to Edward for her portion, or one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of modern money. Which sum of fifty thousand pounds, would probably go six times as far as that sum would do at this period, and, consequently, was equal to three hundred thousand pounds in our days, in the purchase of all necessities. In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 113, King Edward III. acknowledges the receipt of that great sum, and binds not only himself, but also a number of his prelates and great lords, in a penalty of double that sum to the Duke of Brabant, in case the marriage be not accomplished; which he again repeats in the year 1340, p. 181. Nevertheless, that marriage never was accomplished. Thus the vast woollen manufacture of Brabant, enabled that Duke to advance a sum for his daughter's portion, which, every thing duly considered, is more than perhaps any Prince or Monarch in Christendom will at this day give with a daughter in marriage.

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We find by the *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 105, that the Mayor of London, for the time being, had an allowance or contribution of fifty marks, or one hundred pounds of our modern money, yearly, paid by the foreign merchants residing and trading in London, towards supporting the expence and dignity of his Mayoralty.

In p. 110 of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, King Edward borrows one hundred and forty thousand gold florins at Antwerp, of a Lucca merchant, and fifty-four thousand more (p. 118) of three merchants of Mechlin, also (p. 120) nine thousand six hundred more of the Lombard merchants of the society of the Bardi; and six thousand four hundred of the society of Peruch, for the redeeming of certain of his jewels pawned at Bruges. Several other sums did that King borrow in this and the following year; in some of which contracts the word *interesse* is used, without doubt, for good reasons.

The woollen manufacture, in the mean time, began gradually to spread into several parts of England. In vol. V. p. 134, of the *Fœdera*, we find that several citizens of that ever industrious city of Bristol, had, in this year, set up looms for weaving of woollen cloth, in conformity to the late Act of Parliament: which laudable example has been long since effectually followed by four of the counties near to that city, viz. Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, and Wilts, to the very great benefit of commerce.

It appears, in p. 113 of vol. V. of the *Fœdera*, that copper or brass money was now in use in Ireland. And the learned and ingenious Mr. Ruddiman, in his preface to Anderson's *Diplomata, et Numismata Scotiæ*, conjectures, that the Scots borrowed from thence the use of copper money: which, he imagines, might be as early as the reign of King Robert III. or perhaps of King Robert II. Buchanan also mentioning the copper coins under the reign of King James III. observes, that some Kings further back had also struck copper coins, more for the convenience of the poor, he might also have added, and the rich, than for any profit to themselves. It was the opinion of the great convenience of copper coins, which induced King James I. of Great Britain to introduce them into England, as King Henry III. of France had some time before done into his kingdom, for the same reason.

In p. 18, of Sir Robert Cotton's *Abridgement of the Records*, there is the following paragraph, viz. "The Commons in Parliament declare, that, for keeping of the sea, the Cinque Ports, or other haven towns," meaning, probably, the three additional members of them, "who are discharged of all other contributions, should do the same aid for their costs. And that such as have lands thereby, be bound to keep thereon twenty-one ships by the Cinque Ports, and nine from the Thames, so that half the charges themselves, the other half by the Privy Council." The monarchs of the west promised to set forth ninety sail, and ten ships of the burthen of one hundred tons or more, says Mr. Barnes, and to bear the whole charges, if they could.

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King Edward III. having now assumed the arms and title of King of France, his English subjects were, it seems, so weak as not to be generally pleased with it, as fancying it added to their felicity, as well as to the grandeur of the monarchy, &c. His last year's campaign, however, producing nothing very material, he exerted himself in this year to the utmost. The Parliament granted him a large subsidy; and he, in return, which indeed was no more than they had a right to claim, confirmed to his people their *Magna Charta*. And, to hood-wink such of his people as had sense enough to foresee, and actually started the objection, that should he conquer France, England would be in subjection to that potent kingdom, which would undoubtedly have been the case, he passed a law this same year, which ordained, "That the

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1340 "realm of England, and the people thereof, should not be subject or obedient to the King or "kingdom of France, as such." Yet who could be so blind as not to see, that when Edward should settle his constant residence at Paris, England would in all respects have been no other than a mere additional province of the French monarchy? He had left his Queen and her infant son, with several great lords, as hostages at Antwerp for his speedy return, to satisfy the Duke of Brabant, and secure him in his interest. He therefore sailed for Flanders, with his fleet of three hundred sail, mostly high-decked vessels instead of galleys, although he knew that the fleet of France waited for him, consisting of four hundred sail: he gladly engaged the superior French fleet in person near Sluys, two hundred of which were large vessels, and full of French, Spaniards, and Genoese, with amazing courage and conduct. The English archers did great execution whilst fighting at some distance; and soon after the ships, for the most part, grappling each other, fought most desperately, as if on dry land, from morning till night; when the French being quite overpowered by the undaunted courage of the English, a terrible slaughter was made, and the rest were forced to leap into the sea, to avoid the enemy's swords. Thirty thousand Frenchmen, with both their admirals, were either killed or drowned, and of their whole fleet but thirty ships escaped. This amazing naval victory was believed to have been the greatest that had ever been in these narrow seas, and the first that had been won by an English King in person. It was indeed such a complete victory, and so terrible a slaughter, as no naval fight between England and France, either before or since, can parallel.

After this, it is needless to relate with what triumph he landed in Flanders, and marched to the frontiers of France with the finest and greatest army that ever any King of England commanded, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men, English, Germans, Flemish, and Gascons, with which he besieged Tournay; but after three months ineffectual siege, the French continually harassing his army, all this mighty parade and expence produced nothing; he being obliged to agree to a truce with King Philip of France, which was continued for two years. Edward's allies had been unfaithful to him, especially the Emperor, and some other German Princes, and the Duke of Brabant withdrew his troops. He was not well supplied with money, and his debts were very large: all which inclined him to come into that truce, notwithstanding his high spirit and ambitious projects. Although the history of commerce be our proper and immediate province, yet it is impossible to omit such brief and general relations of military transactions, without falling into an abruptness which would break the thread of our connection.

Edward, on his return, had thirty thousand sacks of wool granted to him by his Parliament, which, beside his usual custom of forty shillings per sack, were worth from five pounds, to six pounds, and four marks per sack, containing four hundred and sixty-four pound weight. (Cotton's Records, p. 322) This grant was in compensation for the ninth of corn, wool, and lambs, and the twentieth part of citizens goods, and the fifteenth of foreigners goods, which had been granted in the preceding Parliament, but shamefully embezzled during the King's absence in Flanders, for which he now punished the guilty. And the King promises, that this subsidy, as also the revenues by wards and marriages, customs, &c. shall be employed for the safeguard of the realm, and for his wars in Scotland, France, and Gascony. A mark additional subsidy was also laid on each sack of wool exported; and for every sack so exported, the exporter to bring home two marks of silver. (fourteenth of Edward III. cap. 21.) It is almost unnecessary to observe to our readers, how vain all such laws for importing of coin and

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1340 bullion are ; and that the sole means of being supplied with plenty of bullion in any nation, is to make its exports constantly to exceed the value of its imports.

Before we leave this year, we must observe, that the war which was waged between England and France rendering the seas unsafe for merchant ships, the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, obtained of King Edward III. his protection and safeguard for the ships of Spain, (*i. e.* Castile, the greatest kingdom in it) Catalonia, Majorca, &c. coming peaceably with their cargoes to Flanders in great numbers, on account of the vast woollen manufacture of the Netherlands.—*Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 179, 203. In this same year, p. 203, we find these three great cities of Flanders, which had openly assisted King Edward III. against France, were in the greatest favour with him ; and some of their citizens or burghers, were styled by him his counsellors, to whom he allowed salaries during life ; some of twenty pounds, and others ten pounds annually, as appears in p. 184, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*.

The Earl of Holstein now observing the prosperous condition of the Hamburgers, over whom he claimed the superiority, or a kind of sovereignty, attempted to lay new taxes upon them, notwithstanding this noble city had been before this time declared an imperial one. The Hamburgers refusing to pay those taxes, he made preparations for war against that city ; but the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, sending them assistance, and taking Hamburg under his protection, the Earl of Holstein was obliged to drop his design.

About this time, historians generally observe, that the very largest trading ships in Christendom, were those of the republics of Venice and Genoa, as were also, soon after, the ships of the Hans-towns, and also those of Spain, named carracks, which began to carry cannon in them.

Mr. Lewis Roberts, in his *Merchants Map of Commerce*, first published in 1640, and since several times re-printed, treating of the city of Cracow in Poland, thought that it was not then above three hundred years since the Poles first began to use silver money stamped. “ For before that time,” says he, “ they trafficked with little pieces of uncoined silver, and also “ by barter, or exchange, for skins, and other such commodities.” This, we conceive, could not be meant to comprehend Dantzick, and the other cities of Prussia, which probably had coined money prior to this date, as being members of the Hanseatic Confederacy. But excepting the Hans-towns of Dantzick, Königsberg, &c. Poland’s inland parts have never been eminent for either commerce or manufactures, though very well situated for both. The Scots, about a hundred years ago, and before, and the Jews first, have supplied that extensive and fruitful country, in a pedlary, travelling way, from city to city, with most of the foreign commodities they wanted.

In this same year, and second session, cap. 2. an act of Parliament passed, granting leave for all foreign merchants to come with their merchandize into the realm, and buy and sell freely, and return back with their merchandize : “ So always, that franchises and free customs reasonably granted by us and our ancestors to the city of London, and other cities, burghs, “ and good towns of our realm of England, be to them saved.” An exception which has ever been obstructive of the freedom of commerce.

At this time Speed, in his *Chronicle of England*, acquaints us from writers near the age in which we are engaged, that there were usually no fewer than thirty thousand students at the university of Oxford. And indeed there is nothing improbable in that account, when we consider the great number of monasteries then in England.

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1340 The Isle of Man had remained in the possession of Scotland from 1263 to this year, when Montacute Earl of Salisbury conquered it, and was permitted to enjoy the pompous title of King. It was afterwards sold to the Lord Scrope, whose treason made it fall to the crown; and it was given to Percy Earl of Northumberland by King Henry IV. with the same lofty title: but he also rebelling, Henry bestowed it on the Stanley family, now Earls of Derby, with the title only of Lords of Man; and it is at present possessed by the Duke of Athol, in right of his descent from a female of the house of Derby, with the peerage of Baron Scrope.

1341 In this century, the city of Bayonne in Gascony, made a considerable figure in the commercial world. Under the year 1341, we find, in the fifth volume, p. 228, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. of England, interposing with the Duke of Bretagne, and also with the city of Bruges, in behalf of the merchants of Bayonne. That same year likewise he enjoins the Lord Warden and magistrates of the English Cinque Ports, to unite with the ships and mariners of his city of Bayonne for the suppressing of pirates, and other enemies on the seas.

- In vol. v. p. 273, of the *Fœdera*, “King Edward III. re-established the staple for English wool, woollens, leather, and tin, at Bruges; directing the mayor, constables, and community of merchants of the staple of England, to govern the trade thither, and to impose taxes, tallages, &c. relating thereto.”

We shall here observe, that the English word *staple*, is in the civil law Latin stile of those times, termed *stabile emporium*, that is, a fixed port or mart for the importing of merchandize. From whence, probably, the contracted word *staple*, used, with some small variation of the orthography, all over Europe, had its derivation.

In p. 286 of the same volume, King Edward III. declares a free correspondence between his subjects of England and Guienne, and those of his cousin James, King of Majorca, &c. And in the following year, King James writes to Edward concerning a league and internarriages: yet there is no mention made of any particulars relating to commerce.

It may seem strange, that by a statute now made in England, being the fourteenth of King Edward III. usury, or interest for money lent, should be prohibited, as being the bane of commerce, when, in fact, it was universally practised; and that it is evidently, in its nature, a very great means of promoting and diffusing commerce every where. Such was the ignorance and bigotry of those dark times.

1342 We have seen, under the year 1204, that the famous city of Amsterdam was then only a castle, under which were a few fishermen's cottages. And in that state it appears to have remained till about the year 1342, when William III. Earl of Holland, according to Werdnighagen, began to adorn it; so that its buildings were increased pretty much on the east side of the Amstel. After this, we shall find it become considerable enough to be ranked amongst the Hanseatic towns, or rather one of their confederates, in the year 1370.

From similar memoirs, it appears that Amsterdam is not quite such a new or upstart place as many superficial writers would make it, who assert, that but a little before the fall of Antwerp, it was an inconsiderable fishing town. For, in the year 1391, we find a charter of privileges to this city by Earl Albert, directed thus: *Fidelibus et dilectis nostris, scabinis ac senatoribus urbis nostræ Amstelredamensis*: that is, “To our faithful and beloved the burghomasters and senators of our town of Amsterdam.” By which also we discover, that they trafficked to Schonen in the herring-fishery, and to other parts of the Baltic sea. Moreover, in the year 1400, some buildings were erected on the west side of the Amstel.

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1342 The business of the succession to the Duchy of Bretagne, now rekindled the war between King Edward III. of England, and King Philip of France; yet a truce for three years was, through the Pope's mediation, signed by Edward in that duchy. He also made a truce with David King of Scotland.

In the same year Edward, amongst other means for procuring money, had again recourse to loans from his bishops, secular clergy, and religious houses; as appears in vol. v. p. 346 of the *Fœdera*, each loan being from three hundred pounds down to forty pounds.

We find in the *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 345-6, the current value of a sack of wool to be about eight pounds, in paying Ralph de Stafford four hundred and fifty-five pounds for fifty-seven sacks, and in the King's sending three hundred and thirty-four sacks and a half, to Cologne, to redeem Queen Philippa's crown, which had been pawned there for two thousand five hundred pounds. Now a sack of wool containing three hundred and sixty-four pounds weight, by the statute of the fourteenth of Edward III. was equal to twenty-six stone, each stone being fourteen pounds weight; one pound of wool, at this rate, was worth fivepence farthing, or one shilling and threepence three-farthings of our money.

1343 In the following year, p. 369, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. in order to keep up the value of his wool, got the prices for the following counties to be fixed by Parliament, so as none should be bought under those several prices, viz.

The wool of Shropshire bore the highest price, being fourteen marks, or nine pounds six shillings and eightpence per sack; Oxford and Stafford-shires, thirteen marks; Leicester, Gloucester, and Herefordshire, twelve marks, that is, precisely eight pounds: and in the same manner in other counties, it descended in price to eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, &c. till it came to the lowest priced wool, which was that of Cornwall, valued no higher than four marks per sack.

We have now the current value of a ton of French wine: for King Edward III. in the *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 370, complains to Alphonso King of Castile, that his subjects had, on the coast of Normandy, taken a ship belonging to Harwich, laden with fifty-six tons and a half of wine; the ship is valued at eighty pounds, and the wine at one hundred and sixty-nine pounds, or about three pounds per ton. We find many such mutual complaints of depredations and violences on the seas exhibited by the Kings of England, Castile, and Portugal.

In this same year the great ton, or Renish wine vessel of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, was first made, containing six hundred and seventy-two urns of four English gallons and a half each; being in all two thousand six hundred and ninety gallons English, or about forty-two hogheads, or twenty-one pipes of wine.

Authors, under this year, mention a fierce nocturnal engagement in the Thracian Bosphorus, between the fleet of Venice and that of Genoa; the former, though assisted by the ships of Arragon and Constantinople, being defeated. Yet the next year, the Venetian fleet defeated that of Genoa on the coast of Sardinia, and took thirty-two of their galleys; which so weakened the Genoese, that they were forced to put themselves under the protection of the Duke of Milan.

The truce between England and France was now broken, and the seat of war was transferred to Guienne.

We find by Campbell's History of the Balearic isles, that Peter King of Arragon and Majorca, now granted leave to his subjects to trade with Barbary and with England; which is conformable to what we have quoted from the *Fœdera*, under the year 1341.

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1344 So ignorant were the people of this age in Geography, that, as it is related by Robert of Avesbury, Pope Clement VI. having in this year granted to Louis of Spain, to be Prince of the Fortunate Islands, by which was meant the Canary isles. so termed by Ptolemy and other ancient authors, and having for his assistance towards settling those isles raised troops in France and Italy, our wise ambassador then at Rome, and the rest of our countrymen there, being firmly persuaded that Louis was thereby appointed Prince of Britain, they immediately made haste home in disgust, to give information of that event. Yet, according to others, we shall find that those islands were not discovered at such an early period.

Under this year, we find by the *Fœdera*, that Ireland had been very serviceable to King Edward III. as indeed it had always been to his father and grandfather, in supplying numbers of armed vessels for transporting its great lords with their attendants and troops to Scotland, and also to Portsmouth, for his French wars. This circumstance proves, that Ireland must then have had some commerce, though we know very little of the particulars.

In vol. iv. p. 428 of the *Fœdera*, it appears, that the London mob, probably consisting of our own weavers, &c. having insulted the foreign cloth-weavers, who had been brought over and settled here under the authority of an act of Parliament, of the eleventh of Edward III. already mentioned under the year 1337, so that those weavers could not with safety carry on their business; King Edward thereupon issued his mandate to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to seize on, and imprison the rioters in his prison of Newgate. The King also renews and confirms his former grants of all possible freedom and protection to foreign cloth-workers.

We are at length come to the time of the first coining of gold in England, which, from all that appears, we apprehend was not till this year 1344. For in the fifth volume, p. 403 of the *Fœdera*, we have a proclamation of King Edward III. acquainting the public, that his Parliament had agreed to the coining of three different coins in gold, the title of which act is, (eighteenth of Edward III. cap. 6.) "Money shall be made, and exchanges ordained where the King shall please;" viz. one piece of the value of six shillings, being the weight of two small florins of Florence; a second of half that value and weight; and a third of a quarter of the first. This gold was of twenty-three carats, three grains and a half fine, and half a grain in alloy. The standard of our silver coins was then eleven ounces and two pennyweights fine, and eighteen pennyweights alloy, called old sterling standard; and an ounce of silver weighed exactly twenty pennyweights, and was coined into twenty silver pence. This proclamation commands the sheriffs of London to publish the same, and to see that all persons do, without scruple, take the said gold coins in all payments. Another proclamation was issued this same year, directed, as the former, to the said sheriffs, (the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 416.) signifying his having, by the advice of his council, caused three other gold pieces to be coined, viz. one of six shillings and eightpence value, in imitation of the gold florins of Florence, which he names a gold noble, or half a mark; others of half that value, to be called maille-nobles; (here the word *maille* means the half of any pre-supposed integer, as in our Introduction we have shewn it always meant a halfpenny, when named with a penny) and a third piece to be a quarter of the first, i. e. one shilling and eightpence value, and to be called a farling, that is, a farthing-noble. The King, by the same proclamation, also prohibits the exportation of any gold or silver coins, excepting the last named gold coins, without special licence. He also directs proclamation to be made, that none of his subjects shall pay or receive any other but English gold and silver coins; nor shall they refuse the taking in any payment of upwards of five shillings value, either the latter or first named gold coins; directing, at the same

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1344 same time all persons to apply to his offices of exchange alone, in the Tower of London, and other parts of the realm, for exchanging of gold coins for silver ones, (*par Esterlings*, says the original Norman French, meaning silver pennies, hitherto the largest silver coin in England.) One penny to be paid to the King at the said offices for exchanging every noble or half mark of gold for the like value in silver coin, and in proportion for the smaller ones, viz. a *maille*, or halfpenny for exchanging the half noble, and a farthing for the quarter one. Taking thus one-eightieth part of the value of all gold coins exchanged for silver ones, although he, at the same time, obliges all his people to take the gold ones at their nominal value in all payments.

By a third proclamation in this same year, the King confirms the two former ones, with an exception as to the first named three species of gold coins of six shillings, three shillings, and one shilling and six pence, for now he discharges his people from the obligation of receiving these in payment at any higher value than their real weight and worth in bullion: which shews that they had been over-valued in the King's first proclamation. From all which, it seems plain enough, notwithstanding what Mr. Echard, in his History of England under 1257, alleges, that this was the first coinage of gold in England, and that the coins of that metal were not at first so acceptable to the people as silver ones;—perhaps not without just grounds, as having been probably over-valued: and the King's taking an eightieth part of their value from his subjects for exchanging them for silver, was not surely the most ready method to recommend them to the public.

From the above offices for exchanging of gold for silver, and silver for gold, and from Edward's vast expence in his wars with France, Castile, and Scotland, probably proceeded his beginning, after this year, for the first time, to lessen in some degree the quantity of silver in his coins, still keeping to the old denomination. It could, however, be but little in this King's time, since Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum* makes the penny to be near two pence halfpenny of our modern money, from this year 1344, to the eighth of King Henry V. 1420.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 428, still under the same year, we have the proportion which English money bore to that of the gold florins of Florence, then the most famous city of Europe for the purity and excellence of its gold coins. King Edward was in treaty with Alphonfus King of Castile, for a marriage between the eldest son of Alphonfus, and Joanna, Edward's daughter; and for the sake of this alliance, (probably as it might prove serviceable to his grand project, the conquest of France, which he never lost sight of) Edward instructs his ambassadors to offer so high as twenty thousand pounds sterling for his daughter's portion. And herein we find, that fifteen thousand pounds sterling, was then equal to one hundred thousand florins of Florence, which is just three shillings sterling per florin. Yet there was another of the Florence gold coins, called *florins de scuto*, which was worth four shillings sterling. Edward was, however, so earnest for this match, that he at length agreed to so vast a sum as four hundred thousand of the first named florins, or sixty thousand pounds sterling, or one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of modern money, for the lady's portion: but he afterwards pleads strongly with Alphonfus, “either to abate part of that sum, or else to give him a longer “time for paying it, in consideration of the great expence of his wars, &c.”—Vol. v. p. 476, *Fœdera*.

In this same year the Isle of Madeira was first discovered. It seems one Macham having run from England to sea along with a Mistress, was by a storm driven thither, where his Mistress dying, and his ship leaving him, he made a canoe, and got to the African shore, and from thence

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thence to Spain, whose King he informed of the discovery ; which proved the means of its being planted in the next century.

In this same year, King Edward III. renewed the war in Guienne against France.

1345 And in the year following, he invades Normandy with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred men-at-arms[†]; having embarked at Portsmouth with one thousand sail of ships : some make them one thousand six hundred sail, great and small.

James d'Arteville, of Ghent, whose interest in the great cities of the province of Flanders, has been before noticed, having agreed with Edward III. that his son, the Prince of Wales, should be acknowledged for Earl of Flanders by the cities, to the exclusion of Louis their then Earl ; Edward hereupon carries the Prince over to Sluys, in this year, but could not, however, bring the cities to discard their Earl ; and D'Arteville, on this account, was torn in pieces by the mob. So that an end was thereby put to the interest which Edward till now had enjoyed with the cities of Flanders.

The republic of Genoa, by intestine divisions and foreign wars, especially by their fierce conflicts with Venice, with whom they at length made peace, had, by this time, run so considerably in debt to her own citizens, that in this year, four of them were elected to make provision for those debts, and for the current service of the year. This, says their historian De Mailly, vol. i. p. 299, gave rise to the bank of St. George at Genoa, though that bank was not, however, formally erected till 1407, as De Mailly himself allows, and will be then more fully related ; only this scheme laid a foundation for it. Machiavel, in his History of Florence, confirms this account of the original of St. George's bank at Genoa ; and that the proprietors of those vast debts had the customs assigned to them, to be annually divided amongst them, assigning them also a proper office for their meetings and business. Their council consisted of one hundred persons, wherein all matters were to be debated and settled ; and their governors for the execution of business consisted of eight persons : the whole accumulated debt was divided into certain parts, which they called shares. They styled themselves, The Society of St. George ; and managing their stock prudently, and having many rich men concerned with them, they afterwards supplied the further necessities of the republic, and, for that end, had at length, most of the cities and territories of Genoa pawned, or rather sold, to them ; which cities, &c. this society governed and defended. Machiavel was of opinion, that, in time, this bank would get possession of the whole city and republic.

In the fifth volume, p. 471, of the *Fœdera*, the daily allowance of Grussel, King Edward the Third's Ambassador in Spain, where, at this time, there was much treating about alliances and intermarriages, was twenty shillings per day, that is, one thousand and ninety-five pounds of our modern money by the year, whilst he was abroad, and thirteen shillings and four pence, or a mark, per day, whilst employed in the King's service at home, beside reasonable expenses for his voyage.

And according to the same volume, p. 496, during the same year, King Edward settles, for life, a pension of six pence per day on Courfus de Gangeland, an Apothecary of London, for his care and attendance on him whilst he formerly lay sick in Scotland. A moderate pension to appearance, being but twenty-seven pounds seven shillings and six pence of our money ; yet, if it be considered that all things were, on an average, about five times as cheap as in our days, it is not so contemptible as nine pounds two shillings and six pence of their then money may at first sight seem to be, viz. forty-five pounds twelve shillings and six pence.

† This is the first mention of an Apothecary that we can find in the *Fœdera*.

This year was very glorious for King Edward III. in consequence of the noble victory he gained over Philip the French King at Cressly in Picardy, by which great advantage he was enabled to ~~forth~~ the siege of Calais.

We must not, however, forget that most historians agree, that in this famous battle, great guns or cannon were first used by the English; four of which being planted on a little hill, are said to have done great execution against the French army, cannon being as yet unheard of in France. Morisotus quotes Munster, for asserting that the Danes used guns in the year 1354; which may not be improbable: but he also quotes Crantzius, in saying, that Christopher King of Denmark was slain in battle by a gun, so early as the year 1280. Thus authors differ about one hundred years, concerning the date of this invention. And indeed it is not impossible that this invention might have been carried so early into the northern countries before it reached England, and that from England it might be communicated to France and Italy. Travellers agree, that China had the use of guns and gunpowder many ages prior to their discovery in Europe.

In this same year, Eric IX. King of Denmark, or rather Waldemar III. for there is not a little confusion in the chronology of those northern countries, sold the Duchy of Esthonia, (being a part of Livonia) to the Great Master and Teutonic Knights of the Cross of Prussia, contrary to the good pleasure of the Esthonian nobility, as well as to the stipulation of King Christopher his predecessor, never to alienate that Duchy from the crown of Denmark.—*Historia Danica*, lib. iv. p. 81.

In this year there was so intimate a commercial correspondence between England and Flanders, their Earl having been killed in the battle of Cressly, by reason of their mutual dependance on each other in traffic, partly also, perhaps, on account of King Edward's success against France, that this King caused nobles, half nobles, and quarter nobles of gold to be coined in his name in Flanders, declaring that they should have the same currency there as in England, for the public utility and convenience of merchants, &c.—Vol. v. p. 506, *Fœdera*.

King Edward III. for supporting the vast expence of his wars, seized on the ecclesiastical revenues or benefices of foreigners in England. He also made large demands of loans from his bishops and religious houses; from some, even so high as one thousand marks, from others five hundred, three hundred, &c. down to forty pounds. Loans also were demanded of several laymen, and particularly from John de Cherleton of London, one thousand pounds. And for his armies, his cities and towns supplied him with certain numbers of well armed men, who were to enter on the King's pay on their embarkation at Portsmouth.—Vol. v. p. 493, of the *Fœdera*. Of which cities we give the following list, with the number of men they furnished in this year, viz.

London, one hundred men-at-arms, (who in those times were on horseback, and in armour, attended each by three or four men armed on foot, so that this might amount to five hundred in all) and five hundred armed foot soldiers:

Notwich, one hundred and twenty; Bristol, sixty; and Coventry, forty foot soldiers.

Oxford, Shrewsbury, Hereford, St. Edmundsbury, Winchester, Salisbury, and Exeter, thirty each:

Northampton, twenty-five:

Cambridge, Gloucester, Worcester, Reading, Chichester, and Bodmyn, twenty each:

St. Albans, Wells, and Lanceson, fifteen each:

Leicester, and Shaftesbury, twelve each:

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1346 Baldeck, Huntingdon, Ludlow, Abingdon, Bedford, Rochester, Maidstone, Barnstable, and Honiton, ten each.

The rest of the towns named therein, many of which are now very considerable, such as Froome, Taunton, Stafford, Warwick, Devizes, Birmingham, Bridgwater, Bradford, Dorchester, and others, are all rated to supply fewer than ten men each; and some of them so low as two men each. We should observe, however, that Manchester, Liverpool, Lynn, Canterbury, York, Newcastle, Chester, Lincoln, and Hull, most of which were then, as well as now, considerable places, are not mentioned at all. It is possible that many of the inland towns might have compounded with the King in money, and of the sea-ports in shipping and mariners. From the several quotas above exhibited, some probable conjectures, we conceive, may be formed of the comparative magnitude of these cities and towns at that time, with their present condition.

It may, perhaps, be worth our while to record here, an authentic account of a very early toll, if not the most early ever collected in England, for the repair of a public road, in which also there is somewhat curious relating to antiquarianism and trade, and to the ancient state of the suburbs of London westward. It is in the fifth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 520, in the present year 1346. "King Edward III. grants his commission to the Master of the Hospital of St. Giles in the Fields, without the city of London, and to John of Holborn, to lay a toll on all sorts of carriages; for two years to come, passing through the highway, (*via regia*) leading from the said hospital, to the Bar of the old Temple of London:" *i. e.* to Holborn Bar, near to which stood the old Temple, or house of the Knights Templars, and where, behind a private house, there stood, very lately, the shell of an old stone building, chapel, or refectory, once probably belonging to the Templars, "Also through another certain highway, called Perpoole," (now Gray's-inn-lane, Gray's-inn being built on the site of the manor house of Perpoole, and an adjoining lane, still bearing the name of Perpoole, vulgarly called Purple-lane, "joining to the before-named highway.—Which roads were, by the frequent passage of carts, waynes, and horses, to and from London, become so miry and deep as to be almost impassable,—as also the highway called Charing:" probably what is now called St. Martin's-lane, leading to the then village of Charing.

The tolls were as follow, viz.

1. For every cart or wayne laden with wool, leather, wine, honey, wax, oil, pitch, tar, fish, iron, brass, copper, lead, tin or other metal, corn, &c. for sale, to the value of twenty shillings,	£. s. d.
- - - - -	0 0 1
2. For every horse load of merchandize,	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
3. For every horse used in carrying corn, or other provisions or goods, shall be paid weekly	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
4. Every load of hay,	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
5. For carts used to carry charcoal, bark, &c. weekly	0 0 1
6. For every horse, ox, or cow, passing those roads,	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
7. For every score of sheep and hogs,	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
8. And for all other merchandize of five shillings value	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$

But ecclesiastical persons of both sexes were exempted from this toll;

1347 This year proved more glorious to King Edward III. than the preceding one; First, By his taking of the town of Calais. Secondly, By Queen Philippa's defeating of the Scottish army
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1347 lish on the Genoese are liquidated, and all differences on both sides adjusted, with free liberty for the Genoese to trade to or settle in England.

In volume fifth, p. 573, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. after becoming Master of the town of Calais, thereupon directs his mandates to all the sheriffs of England, to send thither all sorts of provisions; inviting also all English merchants, &c. to settle there, and promises them all due privileges, with easy house rents, &c.

In this same year, that King, being much straitened for sufficient means to carry on his war against France, had again recourse (576—583, *ibidem*) to borrowing (*i. e.* demanding) both wool and money of his bishops, chapters, monasteries, &c. all which together amounted, to a great sum.—Vol. v. p. 576, 583, *Fœdera*.

By p. 594, of the same volume, King Edward III. acknowledges the good behaviour of the inhabitants of Dunkirk towards him; and therefore he grants them the privileges now usually allowed to foreign merchants coming from countries in alliance with him; such as, their being exempted from arrests for the debts of other persons, for whom they stood not sureties, &c. This town, we have already observed, was founded by Baldwin, surnamed the young, about the year 966.

In this year, King Edward III. built, at his palace of Westminster, the fine chapel of St. Stephen, now the assembly room of the House of Commons. Yet Sir Robert Cotton observes, that his demesne lands had from time to time been so much reduced in this twentieth year of his reign, that the crown revenue was but one hundred and fifty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-nine pounds seventeen shillings and five pence.

1348 The worsted weavers and merchants of Norwich petition the King, in this year, to revoke his patent to an Aulneger of worsted in that city and county, and that they might have a grant of the same in his stead. Which was accordingly granted. Cotton's Remarks, p. 71, twenty-second year of King Edward III.

From the histories of the northern nations of Europe, we learn, that King Waldemar III. of Denmark, had at this time a long naval war with the Hans-towns, now very potent at sea, attended with various success on either side; though, in the end, it is said to have terminated to the disadvantage of the Danes. In this year, the Danish fleet in the Sound having interrupted the navigation of the Hanseatic ships by demanding tolls, &c. was attacked and defeated by the combined fleet of the Hans-towns; so that most of the Danish ships being destroyed, Waldemar, in order to obtain peace, was forced to assign to them all the fine province of Schonen, for the space of sixteen years to come, by way of indemnification for their losses. Those tolls or demands by Denmark were for or upon ships passing the Sound to or from the countries in the Baltic Sea; and this is the most ancient account we have met with of the Danish toll at that famous Streight, which has since so often occasioned disputes between Denmark and other nations.

Bergen in Norway is without doubt an ancient emporium or port of commerce; perhaps more ancient than any records now existing can trace. It had of old, as well as in later times, been frequently destroyed by fire; to which calamity, like many other northern cities, as being mostly built of timber, it is still very liable.

The *Theatrum Urbium Septentrionalium*, printed at Amsterdam, relates, That about this year that cruel confederacy of northern sea pirates called the Vitaliani, possessed themselves of Bergen, seizing on all the merchandize therein, as well of the English and Germans as of the natives,

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1348 natives, and then returned to Germany with their booty. This proves that the English had commerce at this time, as well as long before, with Norway.

"At this time," says Echard in his History of England, "the English so gloried in the spoils of France, that there was scarce a woman of condition but could shew some rich furs and foreign furniture; and the English ladies began to pride themselves in the fashions of the French. Luxury now increasing, fine table linen, gold and silver plate, and jewels, were commonly seen in the houses of private persons." We may add also, that this foolish and impolitic spirit of imitating foreign nations, and more especially France, has never left us to this present time.

Bristol must, this year, have been a considerable city: for King Edward III. in this twenty-first year of his reign, grants the inhabitants of that city a charter for enabling them to erect an house of correction, or prison for thieves and disturbers of the public peace in the night-time, after the manner of the city of London. The King directs therein "that bakers, as in London, be drawn on sleds, (or sledges) through the streets, and be otherwise punished, for offending in the assize of bread."

Under this year, Nevill, in his *Norvicum*, describes such an horrible pestilence to have raged in the city of Norwich, that between January and July there died fifty-seven thousand one hundred and four persons, besides ecclesiastics: too great a number, we conceive, to have been in that city so long ago, or even perhaps at present: possibly the people from the country might have flocked thither, though that is not very probable in such a distemper. Nevill himself seems to question the truth of it, by adding, "it must indeed have been a vast and most memorable pestilence, that in so small a compass of time destroyed so great a multitude." Stowe's *Chronicle* makes them fifty-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-four.

The town of Great Yarmouth also buried this year seven thousand and fifty persons of the plague. Yet Mr. Barns, in his History of King Edward III. makes this plague and mortality to have happened in the year 1349, at least it was not dissipated till that year, when Stowe asserts, though surely with no common exaggeration, "That there hardly remained a tenth part alive in most places."

In this year De Maillay, in his *Histoire de Gènes*, vol. i. p. 306, acquaints us, That Genoa being at war with Venice, its fleet attacked that of Venice, confederated with those of Peter King of Arragon, and of John Cantacuzene, Emperor of Constantinople, and a bloody fight ensued, the confederates having seventy galleys, and the Genoese but sixty. Yet the latter totally routed the confederate fleet, which lost near four thousand men, while the loss of the Genoese did not amount to more than seven hundred. They took thirty Venetian galleys and eighteen galleys of Arragon, and entered the city of Constantinople; but the Greek galleys were not able to join in the battle, and so escaped unhurt. This made amends for the ill success of the Genoese before Negropont, of which they were forced to raise the siege after losing fifteen hundred men. Some authors place this victory in the year 1352.

Florence was at this time a very great, rich, and potent city, full of excellent woollen and silk manufacturers. A most terrible plague, which broke out in the East, had spread its contagion into Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca, and Spain, and had almost depopulated Italy. In the city of Florence alone, ninety thousand persons are said to have died, which is a sufficient proof of its greatness. This sad mortality was, through the hatred of the clergy and the

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1348 the ignorance and bigotry of the laity, believed at that time to have happened in consequence of the Jews having poisoned the rivers.

In this same year, James King of Arragon sold his barony of Montpelier to King Philip of France for one hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold. A most prudent purchase for France, from which it has reaped benefits infinitely superior to the price that was paid for it.

The town of Calais being pretty well peopled by the English, King Edward III. now fixed in it the staple of English wares, viz. wool, and woollen cloth now made in England; also of other woollen cloths of worsteds brought from other countries; and also for tin, lead, and feathers, for seven years certain, vol. V. p. 618 of the *Fœdera*. From this authentic account it should seem that worsteds were but lately in England. And yet, this same year, in Cotton's *Abridgment of the Records*, we find the worsted weavers and merchants of Norwich praying the King to revoke letters patent granted to his servant Robert Pooley for the aulnage of Norwich worsteds; which was accordingly granted. But forty-six years later, in the year 1394, we find, by the same authority, they were made in England in great variety. Some authors allege, that this sort of woollen goods took its denomination from being first manufactured at a market town, which others call a village, in Norfolk named Worsted, in the hundred of Tunstead, (so spelled in Sir Henry Spelman's *Villare Anglicanum*, and in other authors) which possibly will meet with doubtful credit from many who see by this record, that it was so named as a foreign manufacture. Though it must be confessed, that the affinity of the names of the manufacture and the town would give countenance to this opinion, or else to another, viz. that the foreign manufacture so named, might give name to the town; which, however, is not very probable. To this newly erected Staple, and to no other place, all merchandize exported from England, Wales, and Ireland, either by denizens or aliens, was to be shipped from England, and there landed; so that King Edward III. had the advantage of a double profit, viz. first, the duties on the exportation from England; and secondly, the duties paid on landing the merchandize at Calais. We may add, in a great degree, a third emolument, arising from a re-exportation of those goods from Calais, both by water and land, into the Netherlands and Germany, as also in time of peace to France, and some as far as Spain and Italy: by all which regulations, the customs are said to have amounted to upwards of sixty-thousand pounds sterling yearly. But King Edward, when in distress for money to carry on his wars, would sometimes, on very slight pretences, forcibly seize on vast quantities of his subjects wool, which was afterwards exported by him to other ports than Calais, to very great profit. Notwithstanding which, and many other arbitrary proceedings, this great man afterwards generally found means to quiet the complaints of his Parliaments; our constitution and liberties not being, in those times, so happily and firmly established as in our own more fortunate days.

The Danish and Norwegian historians fix on this year for the utter loss or vanishing of a Christian colony long before planted in the large country named by them Groneland, *i. e.* Greenland, running North east from Hudson's Bay towards Spitzbergen, by the English mariners also erroneously named Greenland. Part of that vast coast was formerly settled from Norway, but before inhabited only by savages, and known to the Danes as far back as the year of our Lord 779. In the year 835, there is a bull of Pope Gregory IV. constituting Ansgarius, then Bishop of Bremen, to be Archbishop of the North, and particularly of Norway, Iceland, and Greenland. The Danes and Norwegians are said to have built towns in Greenland;

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1348 land, the chief of which they named Garde, and erected a bishoprick there. The Danes had traded annually, that is in the summer, when it was free from ice, to Greenland, the governors whereof were always appointed by the crown of Denmark: in some parts of it, say their historians, there was good corn and cattle; in other parts it was extremely cold and barren, there being nothing to live upon but fish and fowl, without any bread. In this year an epidemical distemper is said to have swept away most of the Greenland merchants and seamen, since which event, the correspondence with that country was much interrupted, and at last entirely broken off, by reason of wars, revolutions, &c. in the Danish affairs at home. It is indeed the most singular instance, perhaps, in all history, of a colony's being, in that manner entirely lost, after many centuries of a fixed settlement, though but seven days sail from Iceland, still subject to the Danes, so as none were ever able to discover any traces of it, or where the city of Garde, the cathedral church, and other towns, castles, and churches were situated: even although the Danes were so extremely earnest for such a discovery, as to have obliged some of their Kings, by their coronation oath, to endeavour at the attainment of it. The most probable conjecture, amongst several others, seems to be, that vast heaps or mountains of snow, or else of ice have, in some severe winter, been driven together between Iceland and Greenland, so as totally to choak up that passage, whereby the ancient Danish colony in the latter could never be found to this day; and probably, for want of relief from Denmark, they may have perished in some such severe winter. The Danes call the lost country Old Greenland, and that part of the continent next Davis's Streights they term New Greenland, in which last named country they have, in our days, attempted to settle a colony of their people; but though it lies south of the supposed vanished colony, it is not very probable they will be ever able to bring such an inhospitable coast to any profitable settlement.

The Danish writers say, that when, in the year 1588, a ship was sent out for discovering the lost country, it stopped short, in sight of land, and could go no further; and that its commander accounted for this wonderful circumstance, by conjecturing, as others also have done, that there are immense quantities of magnetical rocks of loadstone lying at the bottom of that sea, which occasioned it.

That the above conjecture concerning the loss of the Danish colony in Greenland, is at least plausible, we are the rather encouraged to believe, since, in the year 1756, we had an article in the public newspapers from Copenhagen to the very same purpose; a huge quantity of ice having been driven from the Greenland coasts on the north west shore of the isle of Iceland, whereby the inhabitants on that side of Iceland were deprived of assistance from Norway, and some hundreds perished for want of food; Iceland growing no corn, and being annually supplied from Norway.

1349 In this year, there was a very considerable addition made to the dominions of France; Humbert, the last Prince of the Delphinat of Vienne, resigning, or selling, as some French authors term it, that fine Principality to King Philip Valois for forty thousand crowns, with this express condition, that the eldest son of France should for ever be called the Delphin, or, as now written, the Dauphin, until he succeeded to the crown; and that Humbert, who became a Dominican friar, should enjoy ten thousand crowns yearly during life. Mezerai makes the purchase of the barony of Montpelier, already mentioned, to have been transacted in this year, though we have, from other authors placed it in the preceding one, as well as that of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne.

The pestilence having, for some time past, made great havock amongst artificers and labouring people, both in London and the country, in consequence of which the survivors refused to serve or work, unless they had excessive wages, it was in this year enacted, in the 23d of Edward III. cap. i. ii. iii. v. "that all able-bodied persons, under sixty years of age, having no visible way of living, shall be bound to serve him that doth require him, or else he committed to gaol, till he find surety to serve. Secondly, and if he leave his service before his time, he shall be imprisoned. Thirdly, and he shall take no more than the old wages; or, fourthly, if he takes more wages, he shall be imprisoned." All which statutes were repealed by the fifth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. iv. as were also the statutes made in the following year 1350, confirming and enforcing these statutes.

1350 Statutes in favour of the English woollen manufacture begin now to be more frequent. In this twenty-fifth year of Edward III. we have one called, "The Statute of Cloths;" by which all manner of woollen cloths were to be measured by the King's aulneger, as before enacted by the statute of 1328, and cloths short of the measure were to be forfeited.

There were many subsequent statutes made relating to the aulneger's office, and for preventing his sealing of bad and illegal cloths; yet that office grew at length into so great abuse, that any one, for a trifle, might have the aulneger's seal affixed to his cloth, without enquiring into the measure or quality of it. This brought the office gradually into disrepute; yet we shall find no less a person than the Duke of Richmond constituted aulneger general, so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. In our days, instead of the aulneger, they have, in every clothing town and parish, proper persons called searchers, appointed by the clothiers themselves, who, for a trifle, examine the dimensions and qualities of the several kinds of cloth, agreeable to the statute of the fifth and sixth year of King Edward VI. cap. vi.

By a statute of this same year, (twenty-fifth of Edward III. cap. ii.) that of the ninth of this King, being in the year 1335, was confirmed, in behalf of foreign merchants; and now, "all persons, as well foreigners as natives, may buy and sell, by wholesale and retail, where, when, and how they please, paying the usual duties and customs, notwithstanding any franchises, grants, or usages, to the contrary, seeing such usages and franchises are to the common prejudice of the King and his people." Had this excellent and well-judged act been suffered to remain in full force, and to operate to this time, the nation would, very probably, have increased much faster in people and wealth: but the monopolizing grants from the crown in subsequent times, which, by long use, came to be considered as legal, though not confirmed by Act of Parliament; and the city of London, and other cities and towns, having also had weight enough to obtain certain laws for curtailing and frustrating the privileges allowed to all by this said Act, and for confining the said privileges solely to the freemen of their corporations, gradually brought things to the monopolizing state in which we see them at present in all our corporation towns; although every person of discernment in this age sees, and laments, an evil not now so easily to be remedied, by reason of the many estates bequeathed to and settled in possession of these monopolizing societies, &c. &c. &c.

Notwithstanding this late appearance of commercial freedom, we find in the statute book an Act of this twenty-fifth year of King Edward III. cap. xxiii, the title whereof is, "The debt of a Lombard unpaid shall be satisfied by his company." But as the Act itself is not printed, from its having become obsolete, we are not certain whether the several companies

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1350 of those Lombards were not then tolerated on that express condition; but if otherwise, it is inexcusable.

It appears from the fifth volume, p. 679, of the *Fœdera*, that the Spaniards, *i. e.* the Castilians, were now very potent in shipping: for King Edward III. therein “ issues his mandates to his bishops and clergy, to put up prayers, make processions, say masses, distribute alms, &c. for the appeasing of God’s anger, in that the Spaniards had not only taken and destroyed many English merchant ships, and much merchandize of wines coming from Bourdeaux, and also of wool, &c. and killed the men, but were now arrived at so high a pitch of pride, that, having drawn together a vast armed fleet on the coast of Flanders, well furnished with soldiers, they threatened no less than the total destruction of the English navy, and boasted, that they would reign masters of the English seas, and even that they would invade our kingdom, and subdue our people.” Mr. Barnes says, that this war with Spain was fomented by French arts. Whereupon, a duty of forty-pence per ton was laid on all wines coming from Gascony, for guarding the seas against the Spaniards. There is also, in this same year, “ a mandate of that King’s to the magistrates and people of Bayonne, reciting the before-named formidable power of Spain on the seas, and the injuries they had done to his subjects, &c. and ordering them to make war on all Spanish ships they shall meet with.”

In consequence of all which, King Edward III. fitted out a fleet of fifty sail of ships, and embarked therein himself, with his son the Prince of Wales, and many of the nobility, and laid wait for the above-named Spanish fleet on their return home from Flanders, consisting of forty-four large carracks, which are described by our historians as so many huge floating castles, when compared to the English ships with King Edward: yet, notwithstanding that great disproportion in size, the English archers proved too hard for the Spanish crossbow men; so that Edward gained a complete victory, took twenty-six of their best ships, laden with rich merchandize, beside those they sunk, and the loss of great numbers of their men. After which, the Court of Spain was glad to make a truce with England for twenty years.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, we find licences granted by King Edward III. to a great number of persons going to Rome, with their attendants, servants, horses, &c. the King thereby allowing them to take with them in gold what was requisite for their reasonable expences. This was jubilee year at Rome; and, as it cannot be doubted but such journies thither drained England, as well as other parts of Christendom, of much money, such limitation was a wise and necessary measure.

In the fifth volume of the *Fœdera*, there are several treaties in this year between King Edward III. and Lewis the young Earl of Flanders, for the confirmation of peace and correspondence between both nations; in which Edward prudently takes care to stipulate for absolute pardon and oblivion, on account of whatever the good towns of Flanders had done in favour of England during his wars with France; but those treaties are short and general only, as was more customary in those days than in later times.

It was about this time, according to Petavius and others, that the Turks, under their Sultan Amurath, first invaded the European Shores of the Constantinopolitan Greek Empire, after having gradually possessed themselves of all the provinces of that empire in Asia. Amurath in a very short time took Gallipoli, Adrianople, and other places, so that the Greek Empire might now indeed be said to be in a very tottering condition; its capital, Constantinople, being almost hemmed in and surrounded between the Turks and Asia, and those who nestled so near it

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1350 it in Europe; yet the miserable remains of that empire is still to hold out another century against all the fury of Mahometism.

• By an Act of Parliament of this twenty-fifth year of King Edward III. cap. iii. appointing the stated wages of several sorts of artificers and labourers, “master carpenters, masons, tilers, “and other coverers of houses, were not to take more than three-pence per day,” *i. e.* nine-pence of our money; and the then price of wheat being six shillings and eight-pence per quarter, *i. e.* twenty shillings of our silver coin per quarter, and being at least twice as cheap as in our days, and other necessaries near that proportion, then the said master mason’s three-pence was more than equal to our twelve-pence per day, “and others but two-pence. Master “masons of free stone four-pence, and other masons three-pence, and their servants one “penny halfpenny per day.”

In Sir James Howell’s *Londinopolis*, p. 102, under this year, the prices of wines, as sold at London, stood thus, viz. Gasconne wines, or Claret, at four-pence per gallon, or one shilling of our money, and Rhenish wines six-pence per gallon of their silver money.

The Venetian, and other writers of this century, speak much of the great trade carried on at this time between Egypt and India for spices and other Indian wares, from which a great part of the revenue of the Mamaluke Soldans of Egypt proceeded. It seems, the Indian wares were then first landed at Aden in Arabia, from thence carried on camels up to the Red Sea, thence over land to the Nile, down which river they were conveyed to Cairo, and so on to Alexandria, from whence the Venetians transported them to Venice; and lastly, the Venetians, in their own shipping, dispersed them all over Europe, as we have already observed.

1351 How much soever King Edward III. might be diverted from his intention of establishing a woollen manufacture in England, by his unlucky favourite project of conquering France, yet he had never entirely lost sight of it; and the foreign weavers being become by this time very numerous in London, Howell, in his *Londinopolis* relates, that, in the year 1351, the King appointed the meetings of the weavers, who had been brought from Flanders, to be in the church yard of St. Laurence Poultny, or Pountney; and that the weavers from Brabant should meet in the church yard of St. Mary, Somerset, both places being in the ward of Candlewick, in which places, probably, they exposed their cloths for sale at stated times; as was afterwards done in Cloth-fair in West Smithfield. Howell adds, that there were then in London, weavers of divers sorts, viz. of drapery, or tapery, and napery, that is of woollen and linen. King Edward was the more earnest in forwarding of cloth weaving at home, on account of the complaints that had been made in Parliament of many hardships put on the English staple at Bruges: yet although, in the same year, the House of Commons petitioned the King to take off the duties on home made cloth, it was refused by the King and Council; probably because he could not spare that duty during the expensive wars in which he was engaged.

“About this time,” according to the old *Grande Chronique de Hollande, Zelande, &c.* “the Jews were banished out of Germany, for having poisoned the wells and springs.” This was a most weak and unaccountable bigotted accusation of the clergy, who made the Emperor and Princes their tools for this purpose. Can any one seriously believe that the Jews would, or indeed could, poison the waters they constantly made use of, and were absolutely necessary to their own wants.

We are still got no further than vol. V. p. 793 of the *Fœdera*, wherein King Edward concludes a treaty of peace and commerce with the republic of Genoa, by which it was stipulated,

“that

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1351 "that all the Genoese merchants, with their ships and merchandize, might freely trade to England;" yet still there is no stipulation for English ships that might resort to Genoa, because, in all probability, no such ships resorted thither.

In the same volume, p. 708, of the *Fœdera*, we learn, that King Edward III. had coined some part of his gold and silver coins of higher value and fineness than a just proportion to those of other nations; whereupon he directs his precept to the sheriffs of the city of London, intimating, "that whereas, by reason of the superior weight and goodness of the English gold and silver coins, merchants and others do export the same, whereby very little is left in the realm: and whereas, he has lately coined new pieces of gold, and also pieces of silver money called groffes, grossos, or groats;" (this piece of money was so called, because none so large or great had been coined till this period, there having been none higher than a penny, which was also called a sterling, coined before,) "of the value of four sterlings or pence, as also half-groats, worth two-pence; which groats and half-groats, as well as the said gold coins, shall be as current as the sterlings or pence, maills or halfpence, and ferlings or farthings," the only silver coins before this time in England. "He therefore commands the said sheriffs to cause proclamations to be made, that none presume to export any gold or silver, neither in plate nor in money, excepting only the last-coined gold and silver coins." It is very probable that the King had been advised to lessen, for the future, the weight, &c. of his coin, so far as not to make it worth while to export it to advantage.

There is also a statute of this same year, which enjoins, "that none shall reap or take any profit by exchanging of gold for silver, or silver for gold, excepting only the King's exchangers," so often already mentioned.

In vol. V. p. 717 and 720 of the *Fœdera*, after many mutual complaints of depredations of both the subjects of England and Castile on each other, there came deputies from the maritime towns of Biscay to London, who signed a truce for twenty years with Edward and his subjects; wherein, beside the mutual freedom of traffic to both nations, the only remarkable article is, "that the fishers of Castile, and of the country of Biscay, might freely and safely fish in the havens of England and Bretagne, or elsewhere, paying the customary duties." Which is the first mention we find in the *Fœdera* of the Spaniards fishing not only on our coasts, but in our havens.

In p. 794 of the same volume, "King Edward III. in consideration of the great service which Berard Lord de Le Bret, a great Gascon Lord, was of to him in his wars in Gascony, agrees to give his eldest daughter, Isabella, in marriage to the said Lord's eldest son, with a portion of four thousand marks sterling, and it was stipulated that Isabella's jointure should be one thousand marks yearly;" yet this Isabella was not, after all, married to this Lord, but to Ingelram de Coucy, Count of Soissons, afterward created Earl of Bedford, whose lands in England, given as that Princess's dowry, were forfeited in the year 1379, as appears by the *Fœdera*, vol. VII. p. 210, to King Richard II. on account of his taking part with France against England: yet there is no record in the *Fœdera* concerning this marriage of Coucy with Isabella. And this is one instance, amongst others that might be produced, of the want of records of important transactions actually completed; whilst, in that otherwise most valuable collection, we find great numbers of records for treaties never completed, and of others of very small importance.

Under this same year, the *Chronicon Preciosum* relates, "that workmen took their wages in wheat, at ten-pence per bushel," or about two shillings and six-pence of our money.

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1351 "Larders," *i. e.* weeders, and hay makers were paid one-penny," or near three-pence of our money per day. "Reapers of corn two-pence and three-pence per day. A master carpenter, "mason, or tiler, three-pence per day; and their servant one-penny halfpenny per day."

The following years 1352 and 1353, being the twenty-seventh of Edward III. the aulneger, by Act of Parliament, had an allowance for measuring, and setting his stamp on all woollen cloths, foreign and home made, of one halfpenny per cloth, and one farthing for every half cloth.

By the same Act likewise, the King had a subsidy granted to him of six-pence per each scarlet cloth, three-pence for an half cloth died in grain, and four-pence for a cloth not grain-ed: "but this subsidy," says the Act, "not to be paid for cloth made for a man's own use, "to cloath himself and his meiny," that is his family.

1352 In this year 1352, vol. V. p. 734, of the *Fœdera*, we have the first mention of any treaty of commerce between England and the then famous and lately potent republic of Pisa; that state having sent envoys to King Edward III. for that purpose; who thereby "grants to the merchants of Pisa free access to England with their ships and merchandize." And soon after, in this year, the Pisans complain, that the people of Sandwich, then a very considerable port, had seized on a ship of Pisa in that haven, which they did probably before this treaty was known; p. 743, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*.

King Edward III. again complains to the republic of Genoa, that their people supplied his enemy, the French King, with galleys, and expresses his hopes that they would prevent it in future. *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 738.

And King Edward, "out of his regard for his kinsman, Alphonfus, King of Portugal, "grants to all the merchants of Portugal and Algarve free access to England with their ships "and merchandize for traffic; the said King Alphonfus having granted the like freedom to "the English merchants in his ports," which treaty was renewed in the following year. *Fœdera*, vol. V. p. 740—756.

We must here again remark, that, in all the English King's grants to the states within the Mediterranean Sea hitherto, there is no such reciprocal stipulation in behalf of English ships or merchants trading to their ports; which plainly shews that England as yet did not trade far, or frequently, within that sea.

1353 In this year, says the fifth volume, p. 763, of the *Fœdera*, "the envoys of the maritime "cities of Portugal," as they are therein called, viz. "Lisbon and Oporto," none other being named, "concluded a formal treaty with King Edward III. for free access and traffic "to England for their ships and merchandize; also the like freedom for the English Bretons and Gascons to traffic to those two "was, in the same year, confirmed by King Alphonfus of Po

In this year, King Edward III. being displeased with the Flemings, because the match between their young Earl and his daughter was broke off, withdrew the staple of wool, and, by Act of Parliament, removed it from their town of Bruges to the following English ones, viz. Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Winchester, Bristol, Lincoln, York, Norwich, Newcastle, and Hull, for England; and to Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Drogheda, for Ireland. It is called, "The Statute of the Staple," (twenty-seventh of Edward III.) and it further enacts, "that all staple wares intended to be exported, shall first be brought to some "of the above-named places only, where the custom shall be paid; and then they shall be exported by merchant strangers only, and not by the King's subjects, who were to take an "oath

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1353 "oath not to hold any staple thereof beyond sea:" but under the year 1360 we shall see part of this act repealed, &c. Yet Calais still remained as a staple.

It was also enacted in this year, cap. v. and vi, that none of the King's judges or ministers shall take cognizance of things belonging to the said staples, which shall be left entirely to the cognizance of the mayor and ministers of those staples, who were distinct and different from the mayor and magistrates of the respective corporations where the staples were established; the former being governed by the law merchant in all their proceedings.

And in vol. V. of the *Fœdera*, p. 762, King Edward III. "grants his protection and liberty of commerce to the merchants of Catalonia, subjects of his kinsman, the King of Arragon, viz. that they may freely resort to England, with their ships and merchandize, and there buy wool, leather, and lead;" but not one word stipulated for English merchants resorting to Catalonia.

Although we industriously avoid the repeating what the historiographers of London generally relate, excepting in a few necessary cases for illustration; yet the following record, in vol. V. p. 774. of the *Fœdera*, will, we hope, be acceptable to all, and especially to the citizens of our illustrious metropolis. It is an ordinance of King Edward III. in this year in Council, "for laying a tax of three-pence on every sack (*serplarum*) of wool, and every three hundred of woofsels; six-pence on every last of leather, four-pence on every fodder (*carra*) of lead, four-pence on every ton of wine; and one halfpenny on every twenty shillings value of all other goods carried either by land or water to the staple of Westminster, in order for repairing the highway leading from the gate of London, called Temple-Bar, to the gate of the Abbey at Westminster, that highway being, by the frequent passing of carts and horses, carrying merchandize and provisions to the said staple, become so deep and miry, and the pavement so broken and worn, as to be very dangerous both to men and carriages. And as the proprietors of houses near and leading to that staple have, by means of the said staple, greatly raised their rents, the way before those houses should, at their charge, be paved; and that part of the said way, where no houses are, should be paved anew out of the said duties; and the remainder of the said duties should be applied towards the erecting a bridge near the Royal Palace of Westminster, for the conveniency of the said staple;" but whether it was intended to be built across the Thames, or to serve only as a landing place near the staple, such as that at present at New Palace Yard, called Westminster Bridge, long before the present beautiful stone bridge was erected, does not appear by this record.

From this record we learn, I. That the gate still called Temple-bar, as a western boundary of the city of London, is of great antiquity as a gate: and we may here remark, that, as Holborn-bar is also of great antiquity, and is another western boundary of the city, there was equal reason for erecting a gate, or other eminent boundary, there, and also at all the other bars; at least it would greatly add to the grandeur and ornament of the city.

II. That all the highway or road between Temple-bar and Westminster, now the fine street called the Strand, was not then built on, but was what may be called a mere country road, separating the city of London from the village of Westminster, having, however, many nobleman's houses and gardens adjoining to it, which have since given names to the streets there erected; but whether the village of Charing, lying partly in the way to Westminster, was still in being, or how and when it came to decay, we cannot determine with any degree of precision; we are, however, certain there was once such a village, which had a cross in it, in the very

1350 very spot where the street still bears its name, which cross was not removed till about the middle of the seventeenth century.

III. That the erecting of the staple for wool, &c. at Westminster, occasioned so great a resort to that royal village, that it encreased, on that account, to a considerable town, it having had before no other dependence but the royal residence during a part of the year, and the very large adjacent abbey; to which, indeed, may be added its vicinity to the city of London.

Some remains of the place where this staple is kept, and particularly an old stone gate fronting the Thames, were in being till the year 1741, when they were pulled down to make room for the abutment of the new bridge over the Thames; and the place, till that year, retained the ancient name of the Wool-Staple, as appears also by the first act of Parliament for erecting that bridge.

IV. Although the suburb west of Temple-bar was not all built up at this time, yet it is probable that even prior to this period, that part which may be called the extension of the ancient city westward, from its proper wall and principal gate, named Ludgate, all the way to Temple-bar, was built upon, and well inhabited, as lying nearest to the King's-court, Parliament-house, and Courts of Justice. Fleet-street is particularly named in the procession for the coronation of King Richard II. in the year 1377.

It does not appear that the present pomerium, or bounds of this noble city beyond its ancient gates and walls, commonly called its liberties, was ever set out or ascertained by any express law, although those wards, and parts of wards, beyond the walls, do at present compose a very considerable part of the whole. They rather seem to have been taken in gradually, although the historiographers of the city have not been able to fix the precise times when these additions were made to it.

About this time, the republic of Genoa, in consequence of its many and violent civil and intestine broils, yielded the sovereignty of their state to John Visconti, Duke of Milan.

The conduct of those factious people, in calling in some foreign prince to be the head or protector of their republic, became, from this time, more frequent, especially when at any time they could not agree on one of their old nobles or citizens to be their head or Doge.—This very singular method of government could not fail to debilitate that state, and was one cause of the gradual declension of their former great maritime strength, which, towards the close of this century, began to be more perceptible.

The establishment of a woollen manufacture in England did, without doubt, at first diminish the King's customs; because all the wool of the home-made cloth was used to be exported, on which a considerable custom was paid; as did also the cloth brought back in return from the Netherlands. In consideration whereof, a subsidy was, in this twenty-seventh year of King Edward III. laid on all cloths made in England, of fourpence per cloth, beside the subsidy on grain colours, and the Assize's fee of one halfpenny per cloth.

We are not able to determine with precision the antiquity of taking the exact contents of vessels of wine, brandy, ale, oil, vinegar, &c. by stereometry, or gauging. The first statute concerning it in England, was in this year, being the twenty-seventh of King Edward III. cap. 8 whereby it was enacted, "That all wines, both red and white, imported for sale, should be well and lawfully gauged by the King's gaugers, or their deputies; and if any person shall obstruct or hinder his own wines from being gauged, he shall forfeit his said wines, and be further prosecuted as the King shall think fit;" which seems to imply that this art was but lately introduced. That we may not again recur to this point, we shall here further

remark,

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1353 remark, that by the act of the fourth year of King Richard II. cap. 1. gauging was extended to vinegar, oil, honey, &c. yet by the fourteenth of that King, cap. 8. Rhenish wines were excepted. Lastly, by the thirty-first of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 8. brewers are prohibited from selling any beer or ale in casks, till those casks shall first be legally gauged, and the contents of each cask marked thereon by the cooper's company. This ingenious mathematical art has, since that time, been very greatly improved in England, more especially since the first legal establishment of the duty of excise, in the year 1660.

1354 In this year, being the twenty-eighth year of King Edward III. we have, from a record in the Exchequer, published in almost all the histories of England, the general balance of the commerce of England for that year, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
1. Exported from England to all foreign parts, to the value of	294,184	17	2
2. Imported during the said year	38,970	3	6
3. The balance gained by England this year is	255,214	13	8
			3
4. Which balance, multiplied by three, gives the sum in modern money	765,644	1	0

This was a very great balance in favour of England, more especially as it arose almost wholly from our own rough materials of wool, wool-fels, leather, lead, and tin, as we then had no exportable manufactures of our own, excepting some coarse woollen cloth, which was but a late manufacture, and some worsteds; but we were still obliged to take the greatest part of our fine woollen and linen cloth from the Netherlands.

Upon this noble balance in our favour, Sir William Temple, in his account of the United Netherlands, chap. 6. rightly observes, "That there must have entered into England, during this year, either in coin or bullion, or else, which is the same thing, there must have grown a debt to the nation of just so much as that balance amounted to."

But this general account will be further very much illustrated by the following particular one, of both our exports and imports for the same year, viz.

E X P O R T S.		£.	s.	d.
1. Thirty-one thousand six hundred and fifty-one sacks and a half of wool, at six pounds per sack; and three thousand and thirty-six hundred-weight, and sixty-five fells, each hundred-weight being six-score, at forty shillings per hundred-weight, with the customs, &c. thereon, amounted to		277,606	2	9
2. Leather, with its custom		96	2	6
3. Four thousand seven hundred and seventy-four coarse cloths and a half, at forty shillings per cloth; and eight thousand and sixty-one and a half pieces of worsted, at sixteen shillings and eightpence per piece		16,266	18	4
4. Custom thereon		215	13	7
Total exports, as before, with the duties thereon		294,184	17	2

IMPORTS.

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I M P O R T S.

£. s. d.

1. One thousand eight hundred and thirty-one fine cloths, at six pounds per cloth, which, with the customs, comes to	-	-	-	11,083	12	0
2. Three hundred and ninety-seven hundred-weight and three-quarters of wax, at forty shillings per hundred-weight, which, with the customs, comes to	-	-	-	815	7	5
3. One thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine tons and a half of wine,* at forty shillings per ton, which, with the customs, comes to	-	-	-	3841	19	0
4. Linen cloth, mercery, grocery, and all other wares whatever	-	-	-	22,943	6	10
5. On which the custom was	-	-	-	285	18	3
Total imports, as before	-	-	-	38,970	3	6

"Thus, when England had but a very small foreign commerce," continues Sir William Temple, "we were rich in proportion to our neighbours, by selling so much more than we bought, even though we maintained such mighty wars in France, and carried our victorious arms into the heart of Spain."

In this account the imports are not one seventh part of the exports; than which nothing can better testify the moderation and sobriety of that age, compared with our modern luxurious times; whether we consider the small quantity of the wines alone, though possessed of the best wine province of France, or the other articles of linen, grocery, mercery, &c.

1. The whole customs, both outward and inward, amounted to	-	-	-	82,426	18	10
viz.	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. The custom of all the imported goods was only	-	-	-	580	6	8
3. The customs on exports was	-	-	-	81,846	12	2

The custom of the wool and fells alone amounted to eighty-one thousand six hundred and twenty-four pounds one shilling and one penny. This, it is true, was the reverse of modern policy, which, in all the countries of Europe, very rightly makes the customs easy on home commodities exported, and lays the burden on foreign commodities imported: but, in those times, the custom on wool was the chief revenue of the crown of England, beside the King's demesne lands. This custom alone came to about four hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and thirty-four pounds fourteen shillings and twopence of our money, and their money would still have gone five times as far then, as the like nominal sum, to be raised and laid out in our time.

What Sir William Temple says further on this subject, is extremely to our present purpose, and ought seriously to be attended to by us at this time: speaking of the trade and riches, and, at the same time, of the frugality and parsimony of the Hollanders, "It will thence appear, that some of our maxims are not so certain as they are current in our common politics: as that example and encouragement of excess and luxury, if employed in the consumption of native commodities, is of advantage to trade. It may be so to that which impoverishes, but not to that which enriches a country. It is indeed, less prejudicial, if it lies in native, than if in foreign wares; but the humour of luxury and expence cannot stop at certain bounds; what begins in native, will proceed in foreign commodities: and though the example arises among idle persons, yet the imitation will run into all degrees, even of those men by whose industry the nation subsists. And besides, the more of our own we spend, the less we shall have to send abroad; and so it will come to pass, that while we drive a vast trade, yet by buying

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1354 “ buying much more than we sell, we shall come to be poor.” (*Patrem familias vendacem esse, non emacem, oportet.*) Some have carried the value of our wool so high, as to have equalled half the value of our lands in the time of King Edward I. but, by the increase of our flock of people, and of our commerce, it was natural for the yearly value of our lands, in after times, to exceed the yearly value of our wool.

We shall here note what our great and judicious antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton, remarks, viz. “ That the subsidy of wools, and other contributions, to this great Prince, (King Edward III.) were granted for his wars; and hence,” says he, “ tonnage and poundage had its origin; and that they proceeded of good-will, and not of duty; and therefore, in the thirteenth year of Henry IV. and first of Henry V. they were granted so, in express words;” precedents of which nature are very common in the Rolls. He had just before said, “ that hence also,” that is, for the defence of the state, “ grew the scutage granted to King Henry II. John, Henry III. and to King Edward I. divers fifteenths and tenths, for his wars against the Scots and Welsh.”—Cottoni Posthuma, p. 172.

And thus our ancestors, the representatives of the nation, frequently asserted their undoubted and sole right of giving supplies to the crown, either, first, for the defence of the realm; or, secondly, which was in general pernicious to the nation, for wars on the continent; thirdly, for what they then called the support of religion and the church, such as the expulsion of the Jew, and the suppression of Wickliff’s heresy, as it was then named, and was given both by clergy and laity: fourthly, for support of the laws and the liberties of the nation, such as that for confirmation of *Magna Charta*, in several different reigns, and also for the execution of the laws against the King’s purveyors: or, lastly, for the general redress of the people’s grievances, as particularly in the eleventh year of King Edward III. they granted him a ninth, “ provided he would perform their petitions, or else they held themselves not bound to pay it.” These points we have briefly thrown together, that other matters may not be elsewhere interrupted by them: for, as the freedom and liberty of the people have, in all countries and ages, had so great an influence on commerce, points relating thereto, must be considered as having a demand on our very particular attention. •

It is more than barely probable, that iron-stone has been dug, and iron made and manufactured in England at all times; but, without the least doubt, ever since the Romans possessed it, who worked the iron-works in the forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, and in other parts; where their forges and tools, together with great heaps of the iron-stone, cinders, &c. relating to those works, and therewith also quantities of Roman coins have been dug up of later times. Yet we do not recollect any statute made concerning that metal till this same year, in the twenty-eighth of Edward III. cap. 5. which “ prohibits all iron made in England, and also “ all iron imported, from being carried out of the realm, on pain of forfeiting double the value “ exported;” iron being, at this time, enhanced in price by such as had the possession of it.

In the fifth volume, p. 778 of the *Fœdera*, we have a precept of King Edward III. “ directing the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem,” on whose military order the estates of the Knights Templars were mostly bestowed, when that order was dissolved, “ to repair the bridge “ of the New Temple,” that is, the water-stairs and adjoining causeway, that place being the great water-passage between the city and suburbs of London, and the village or town of Westminster. “ From which bridge,” says the King, “ so many great persons, and others, go by “ water to Westminster, to our parliaments and councils.”

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It is almost unnecessary to remark in this place what is so generally known, viz. That the bulk of the nobility and gentry in those times, had their town habitations within the city and liberties of London, properly so called, or at least near its respective bars, as partly appears by the names of several streets within, and others very near the city, where formerly stood the palaces of many great lords and bishops, though they have mostly long since, and others more lately, removed further westward: such as Devonshire-square, Baynard's-castle, Winechester-street, Bridgewater-square, Dorset-gardens, Hatton-garden, Bangor-court, in Shoe-lane; Chichester-rents, in Chancery-lane; London-house, and Shaftsbury-house, in Aldersgate-street; Lincoln's inn, and many other places.

The old college of the Templars, usually called the Old Temple, stood, as we have elsewhere remarked, just by Holborn-bar, and was deserted by those knights, before their fall, for the sake of the better situation of the New Temple, lying partly within, and partly without Temple-bar. So many, and almost surprizing, are the changes which London, and all other great cities of Europe, have undergone in various periods of time. Who, for instance, that knows the present state of that street of the city of London named Barbican, could well imagine, that a prince of the blood-royal, and son to an Elector of the German empire, (Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland) should have, but little more than one hundred years ago, in the reign of Charles II. inhabited that now mean and dirty street, and that the Earl of Bridgewater lived on the opposite side of it, till his house was burned down in 1683; the Earl of Shaftsbury, &c. also then lived in Aldersgate-street; and the Dukes of Newcastle and Albemarle, the Earl of Ailesbury, Lord Berkeley, &c. in Clerkenwell?

The money, or coin of England and Scotland, had remained the very same in weight, fineness, name, and stamp, from the reign of King Alexander I. of Scotland, who married Sibilla, daughter of King William the Conqueror, down to this year 1354, when we first find any discrimination made between the English sterling money and Scottish money, which was occasioned by the distresses and confusions of the Scots, after the death of their King, Alexander III. who now began to coin either baser, or else lighter money than that of England, though still keeping to the ancient denominations of English coin. For, in the fifth volume, p. 789, of the *Fœdera*, under this year, the ransom agreed to be paid to King Edward III. by King David Bruce II. of Scotland, for being delivered from his long captivity in England, is called ninety thousand marks sterling. And for an ample confirmation of the truth of this new distinction between the value of the money of the two nations, we have, in the very next year, in the same volume, p. 813, King Edward the Third's precept to the sheriff of Northumberland, viz.

“ The King to the Sheriff of Northumberland.” (In substance.)

“ The ancient money of Scotland was, till these times, of the same weight and alloy as our sterling money of England; and for that reason it did ever pass current in England: but there being new money now coined in Scotland, in name and form like the old coin, but of less weight, and of baser alloy, which now passes current in England: And whereas, the longer suffering of the said money to go current in England, will manifestly tend to the great deception and loss of us and our people, and the destruction of our said English money; we hereby enjoin you to make proclamation, &c. that none of that new money of Scotland be taken in payment, otherwise than as bullion, to be recoined in our mint: but the old Scottish money shall continue to be current in England, as before.”

Ruddiman,

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1354 Ruddiman, in his learned preface to Anderson's *Thesaurus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae*, which we have already quoted, observes, "that the Scots fell into that fatal mistake, on account of their constant wars with England, and the captivity of their said King, whose ransom made them coin their pound into twenty-nine shillings and fourpence; and the Scottish ounce of silver, which, in the time of David I. contained but twenty pence, and in King Robert Bruce's time, twenty-one pence, was, in the reign of King Robert III. in the year 1393, coined into thirty-two pence." And thus gradually the Scots went on lessening the value, but still keeping up the denomination of their money, till, at length, we shall see it sunk to one twelfth part of the value of the money of England of the same denomination; and so it remained till the two kingdoms were consolidated in the year 1707.

In this same year, an act of the English Parliament, cap. 20. prohibited the making of any goldsmith's work, either in gold or silver, under legal alloy, viz. gold of a certain touch, and silver of the sterling alloy; both which were to be properly marked or stamped, after being assayed by the goldsmiths company. This shews the antiquity of the present method of assaying both plate and bullion.

1355 The Genoese were still so potent in shipping, that having, in the year 1355, assisted Calo-john, the Greek Emperor, against Cantacuzene, they, on that account, obtained of him the isles of Lesbos and Mitylene. In the same year they, with fifteen gallies, commanded by Philip Doria, gave chase to the piratical corsairs of Barbary, who very much disturbed the Mediterranean sea, and drove them into the port of Tripoli in Barbary, which they likewise assaulted and took, and returned home with a great booty. This is the first account we have met with of the Tripolines becoming corsairs. It is probable that Tripoli was not then so well fortified as at present, otherwise those fifteen gallies, though well and fully manned, &c. could hardly have taken it.

If Voltaire, in his *General History of Europe*, from Charlemagne to the Emperor Charles V. is to be depended on, the city of Paris must have been, in this year, the largest city in Europe, Constantinople only excepted. For, speaking of the confusion occasioned by the battle of Poitiers, when the Black Prince, Edward of England, made such a slaughter of the French army, and took John the French King prisoner, with one of his sons, and also many of the prime nobility, &c. he asserts, that "Paris, at that time, was become so formidable a city, as to contain fifty thousand men able to bear arms." So that even allowing for the servants of noblemen and gentlemen, always numerous in capital cities, Paris must then have probably contained at least two hundred thousand souls; which probably was at least twice as many as London then contained. See a confirmation of the greatness of Paris by Botero, under the year 1520. Thus has Paris, in the space of little more than four hundred years, increased to the magnitude of thrice and a quarter of its then bulk, or to about seven hundred and fifty thousand souls; whereas London has, in the same course of time, increased to near a tenfold degree in the number of its inhabitants, which are now supposed to be upwards of nine hundred thousand.

1356 Germany may now be said to have put on a new and happier appearance under the Emperor Charles IV. when the celebrated act or constitution known by the name of the Golden Bull, was first promulgated at Nuremberg, in a general diet of the empire, consisting of princes and prelates, and of deputies from the imperial or free cities; which deputies, it is said, were on this great occasion admitted to vote, for the first time, in the imperial diet. By this famous bull, in some measure resembling the English *Magna Charta*, the number of the Electors of

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the Emperors was solemnly fixed and confirmed to seven; and various other important regulations were thereby also made, so that a more settled and permanent form of the constitution of the Germanic empire was established, which remains at this day.

1357 We have related under the year 1234, how King Henry III. of England, confirmed his father King John's charter of licence to the people of Newcastle upon Tyne, only to dig coals and stones in the Castle-moor there, without its walls. But King Edward III. in the thirty-first year of his reign, in the year 1357, went much further in favour of that town, by absolutely granting to the burgeses (so they are therein styled) of that town, the Castle-moor and Castle-field in propriety, for the purposes of their digging of coals, stone, and slate, for their own use.

Yet it does not however as yet appear, that they exported much coal beyond-sea: although they probably might have some trade with coal to London; round about which city, as already observed, there were many forests, woods, and coppices, which had hitherto chiefly supplied it with wood-fuel, most of which are long since grubbed up, and turned into either pasture or arable.

The vast expence of King Edward III. in his war against France, put him on many expedients for supplying himself with money; and probably the following act of his thirty-first year was one of them. He had passed an act called the Statute of the Staple, in the year 1352, which established the number of staple towns and ports in England and Ireland, from whence alone wools, &c. should be exported, and that too by merchant-strangers alone, exclusive of his own subjects. This probably was to try whether he could increase the revenue farther that way, than in the old method of directly sending the wool to the ports of Flanders and Brabant. By the above-named act of this thirty-first year, leave is granted to denizens, as well as aliens, to export wool, wool-fels, and leather, for six years to come; paying the custom of fifty shillings for each sack of wool, and the same for three hundred wool-fels, and five pounds for each last of leather: the sack of wool to contain twenty-six stone, each stone fourteen pounds weight, according to the weight of the standard of the Exchequer; that is, three hundred and sixty-four pound-weight, as by the said statute-staple; which is also confirmed by an act in the thirty-fourth of his reign, in the year 1360; and never to be more or less than the said weight of three hundred and sixty-four pounds. Above one hundred thousand sacks of wool were now annually exported from England: for not only the woollen manufacture of the Netherlands, now at its greatest height, was entirely supplied therewith, but also, in a great degree, those of Venice, Florence, and Genoa.

In the said thirty-first year of King Edward III. that act was made which was called the Statute of Herrings, for prohibiting the people of Great Yarmouth from going out to sea to meet the herring-fishers coming to Yarmouth fair, by which practice they forestalled the said market for fish; so that, with other sinister practices at that fair, the herrings were made dearer to the King and his people. It was therefore now enacted, "That herrings should be brought freely and unfold, into the haven of Yarmouth, where the fair was kept; and that none shall buy any herrings to hang in their houses by covin, nor in other manner, at a higher price than forty shillings per last, containing ten thousand herrings. Neither shall any pyker (a vessel or small ship then so called) practise the buying of fresh herrings in the haven of Yarmouth, betwixt Michaelmas and the feast of St. Martin. The hundred of herrings shall be accounted six-score, and the last, ten thousand. The Barons of the Cinque Ports shall govern the fair of Yarmouth, according to the composition made between them

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1357 “ them and the people of Yarmouth, confirmed by the King’s grandfather.—These ordinances in the right of buying and selling of herrings, shall be holden in all the towns of England where herrings are taken and fearch’d.”

By this and several other statutes of this reign, it appears that the fair for herrings in Yarmouth Haven was a very great one, which drew thither ships and vessels from London and many other parts. Yet it does not clearly appear from any words in those statutes, &c. that at this time there were any pickled or salted herrings wet in barrels; for the fresh herrings above-mentioned, seem only opposed to herrings salted to be made into red herrings.

By the said statutes it likewise appears, that there was then a vast fishery on the Norfolk coast in general, as well for cod, ling, &c. as for herrings: and that the ports of Norfolk, such as Blakeney, Clay, Cromer, &c. had at this time many ships, doggers, and other fishing vessels, and were very thriving towns. But when the Dutch entered with so much spirit and commercial zeal into the fishery, those towns fell into such decay, that we shall hereafter find money several times granted by Parliament for their relief.

In the same act of the thirty-first of Edward III. cap. ii. there is a clause, “ that no man may buy nets, hooks, nor other instruments for the fishery in the county of Norfolk, excepting owners, masters, and mariners of ships using the fishery, upon pain of imprisonment, &c.” Which probably was designed for the better keeping the art and mystery of the fishery from being communicated to other nations.

In these times, as we have partly remarked under the year 1335, there seems to have been a considerable commerce between Venice and the Netherlands. In the sixth volume, p. 11, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. in this year, grants, at the request of John Duke, or Doge of Venice, a safe conduct for five Venetian gallies, laden with merchandize bound to Flanders; and in the two following years, for six gallies each year. These passes, as they are now usually termed, were on account of the wars in which England was then engaged with France.

There are many treaties in the fifth and sixth volumes of the *Fœdera*, concerning the restoring of King David Bruce, or David II. of Scotland, to his liberty, whose Queen Joanna was sister to King Edward III. He had now been eleven years a prisoner in England: and in p. 46 of vol. vi. we find it effected in this year 1357, after his ransom, formerly agreed in the year 1354, to be ninety thousand marks, was raised to one hundred thousand marks, (again for a reason already assigned named *sterling*, and still equal to two hundred and fifty thousand marks of modern money) to be paid in ten yearly payments of ten thousand marks. By this last agreement, King Edward III. bound a number of the nobility of Scotland, and also three aldermen, burghers, or *merchants*, of each of the three following towns, viz. Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen, and two from each of the towns of Dundee, Innerkeithing, Carail, Cowper, St. Andrews, *Sterling*, Montrose, Linlithgow, Haddington, Dunbarton, Rutherglen, Lanerk, Dumfries, and Peebles, under their hands and seals, and the seals of those corporations, to make good the said payments. For which also certain great men, therein named by Edward, were to remain as hostages. The fine modern city of Glasgow, which has since exceeded all the Scottish towns in commerce, and all but Edinburgh in point of magnitude, not being herein named, makes it probable that it was not then considerable enough to be made one of those cautionary towns. In the same volume, under the year 1360, we find the Scots had paid up the first three payments, amounting to thirty thousand marks: and although Dr. Drake, in his *Historia Anglo-Scotica*, (who had not the *Fœdera*

to.

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1357 to set him right) says, that it does not appear in history how this ransom was paid; yet in a treaty between those two Kings, after David's arrival in Scotland, (as in the *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 468, 493, 550, and 774) he, by the advice of the States, agreed to pay Edward one hundred thousand pounds sterling in the year 1365, in sundry payments, on condition of renewing the truce for twenty-five years. Which debt, by gradual payments, was, in the year 1377, reduced to twenty thousand marks. For King Robert II. (Stuart) who had married Margery Bruce, half sister to the said David II. succeeding him in 1370, continued those payments punctually, as appears in vol. vii. p. 152, of the *Fœdera*, under the year 1377: and lastly, in vol. vii. p. 417, there is a full discharge for the whole.

Mr. Barnes, in his History of King Edward III. quotes from Knighton, That King David II. of Scotland came in the year 1358, to visit King Edward, and desired of him, "That the merchants of Scotland might freely traffick in England, as the English merchants should also do in Scotland, as one nation and people,—and that their money might be current with ours, and ours with theirs;—which was granted."

1358 Beside the incorporated Company of the Merchants of the Staple of England, which managed the business of the exportation of what was at this time the staple merchandize of the kingdom in the various methods already recited, there started up a society of merchants styled, now and long after, The Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket; from which society proceeded the Company or Fellowship of the Merchants-Adventurers of England, whose Secretary, Wheeler, in his vindication of this new company, published in 1601, says, That in the year 1358, they received ample privileges from Louis Count of Flanders, for fixing their house or staple for English woollen cloth at Bruges, whereby, says Wheeler, a great concourse of merchants were drawn to that city from all parts of Europe. Yet from the more authentic and undoubted authority of the *Fœdera*, we have seen that, as far back as the year 1341, King Edward III. fixed the staple for wool, leather, and tin, at the said city of Bruges, which, it may be reasonably supposed, brought much commerce and wealth into Flanders, whilst it remained there.

And as the woollen manufacture of England was increased very much by this time, the society of Merchants of St. Thomas Becket, who meddled not with the unmanufactured staple wares of wool, &c. now began to send thither English made cloth, which after this time was exported in great quantities; so that they were therefore greatly instrumental in the enriching of Bruges. As our wool became more and more employed or worked up at home into cloth, this new society grew daily into more credit, until, at length, engrossing all the cloth, &c. into their own management, the first and most ancient corporation of Staplers fell or dwindled to what we see it at this day, a mere nothing.

1359 King Edward the Third's conditions for the release of John the French King, and for a peace with that kingdom, being rejected by the States of France, as being too hard to be complied with, Edward prepared an army of one hundred thousand men to invade France, which he transported from Sandwich to Calais with a fleet of eleven hundred sail of ships. Yet the
1360 next year the famous treaty of Bretigny, near Chartres, was concluded between the two nations, which for a time put an end to the war; and King John of France was released by King Edward at Calais.

Beside the many fine provinces and cities in France, which by this treaty, as appeared in vol. vi. p. 178 to 196, of the *Fœdera*, were yielded by King John to Edward, he agreed to to pay him for the ransom of his person, three millions of gold crowns, worth three shillings

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1360 lings and four pence sterling each, or, as the treaty expresses it, two of which were equal to an English noble, (*i. e.* six shillings and eight pence). So that this ransom was almost equal to five hundred thousand pounds sterling of the money of that period; which having still very near thrice the quantity of silver that our modern pound contains, was nearly equal to one million and an half of our present sterling money. A vast sum indeed for those times, had it been duly paid. Of these three millions of crowns, the first payment was to be six hundred thousand crowns; which sum, Voltaire in his General History of Europe, says, “that France, “exhausted as it then was, could not furnish; so that they were obliged to recall the Jews, “and to sell them the privileges of living and trading in France. The King himself was reduced to the necessity of paying for the necessaries of his household in leather money, in the “middle of which there was a little nail of silver.” Authors are not agreed concerning the true motive of King John’s returning again to England; though Grimston’s translation of Mathieu’s History of King Louis XI. (the original of which we have never met with) and some other authors, say, that not being able to raise that payment, he came back, highly to his honour, to surrender himself again to Edward. Be this as it may, Mathieu gives, on this occasion, some instances of the scarcity of money in France about this time, from the small portions and dowries of the sons and daughters of that crown: such as, that “Isabella of “France, married to the King of England with a dowry of but one thousand eight hundred “pounds sterling: and Charles Count de Valois had but the value of one thousand pounds “sterling yearly rent for his portion. Gold was at this time very scarce in France, nor had “they plenty of it afterwards but by their traffick with Italy; which country had, by its great “commerce, in a manner stored up all the gold of Europe, so that while the Kings of France “could give at most but about six thousand pounds sterling of portion with their daughters, a “Duke of Milan (*Visconti*) gave two hundred thousand crowns” (gold florins it should be, as will be soon shewn) “with his daughter to Lionel Duke of Clarence, son to Edward III. “King of England.” Such, in those days, was the vast difference between Italy enjoying an extensive commerce, and supplying the rest of Europe with the richest manufactures and the produce of the East, and France, naturally an excellent and plentiful country, but which had then neither commerce nor manufactures. And such will ever be the case, in a greater or less degree, in the comparison between all countries whatever, as we have already observed.

By this treaty of Bretigny, the King of France, for himself and successors, agreed to abandon Scotland, and not to aid that kingdom, nor to make any alliance with it in future against the kingdom of England. On the other hand, King Edward III. for himself, his son and successors, agreed to depart from all alliances they had with the Flemings, and to give them no aid for the future, nor make any alliance with them hereafter against France. Which mutual stipulations do not seem to have ever been intended to be kept by either party.

For the more effectually securing the payment of his vast ransom, King John, by a separate deed, confirmed the eighteenth article of the treaty of Bretigny; which obliged him, within three months after his departure from Calais, to send thither as hostages four burghers of Paris, and two from each of the following towns, *viz.* St. Omer, Arras, Amiens, Beauvais, Lille, Douay, Tournay, Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, Chartres, Thoulouse, Lyons, Orleans, Compiègne, Rouen, Caen, Tours, and Bourges; to be the most sufficient persons in those respective towns; over and above several princes of the blood, and many great lords of France, who likewise remained as hostages for this end in England. Notwithstanding all which,

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1360 six hundred thousand crowns of King John's ransom remained unpaid when King Henry V. came to the crown of England.—*Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 287.

* In this same year, though prior to the signing the treaty of Bretigny, King Edward hired soldiers for one month, for the defence of his coasts, an invasion being apprehended from the Dauphin, whilst his father remained prisoner in England, the daily pay of which soldiers was, according to the information of the *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 170.

	£.	s.	d.
For a man-at-arms, who usually had two or three men armed on foot by his side	0	2	0
For an armed man	0	0	6
For an archer,	0	0	4

Very large pay, considering the money was still above two and an half times the weight of ours at this day, and would probably go about five times as far as in our days; but then it was but for one month.

In vol. vi. p. 172, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. being informed, that there were mines of gold and silver to be found in several parts of Ireland, grants a "commission to James le Botteler, Earl of Ormond, his Justiciary of that country, to the Archbishop of Dublin, and to Thomas de Baddeby, Treasurer of Ireland, to search for and dig the said supposed mines for his benefit."

But as we hear no more of these supposed riches afterwards, we may presume that this was a false information.

In this same year, an act of the thirty-fifth of King Edward III. called the Ordinance of Herrings, directs, That instead of the restraints hitherto laid on fishers and buyers of herrings at the fairs of Yarmouth, it was ordained, "That in lieu of confining the sale of herrings daily to the time between sun-rising and sun-set, and the power assumed by the hosts of the town of Yarmouth, who lodged the fishers for herrings, of directing the sale of them, whereby the prices were greatly raised above the former prices; all persons whatever were now to be at liberty to buy herrings openly at Yarmouth fair, but not privily. None shall bid upon another till he has done: and herrings may be sold by fishers at any time or hour."

We have seen under the years 1280, 1295, and 1348, that the Vandalic Hans-towns, *i. e.* those situated on the north shores of Germany on the Baltic sea, were become very potent in shipping, so as to make successful opposition to the crowns of Norway and Denmark, when imposing unreasonable tolls, customs, and other hardships on them; not being afraid to wage even a formal naval war against so powerful a prince as Waldemar III. King of Denmark, of which the most authentic historians of the northern crowns give particular accounts. Those Vandalic cities had a fœderal union in relation to the mutual defence of their commerce long before this time. Nevertheless, from what the great Pensionary De Wirt writes on this subject, in his book of the Interest of Holland, part. i. chap. xi. one would suspect they had not been before so closely united until this year 1360. His words are, "And seeing by the wars about the year 1360, between Denmark and Sweden, the eastern cities on the Baltic shores suffered great losses by sea, and, amongst others, were plundered by the pirates belonging to the famous city of Wisbuy, sixty-six of their cities covenanted together to scour the seas from such piracies, and to secure their goods. And thus became and continued, in the eastern trade the only traffickers and carriers by sea; by that means beating all other nations out of the ocean, till after the year 1400, that the art of salting and curing of herrings was found

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1360 “ found out in Flanders, and that thereby the fisheries in these Netherlands were added to our manufactures; which proved of more importance than the trade and navigation of the East-
“ erlings.”

Here we must take the liberty to make a few brief remarks. First, With all due deference to the great author we have just quoted, it is plain that there was between those cities an union of counsels and arms, at least eighty years prior to this time, for the defence of their commerce. Secondly, That although he says the salting, as well as curing of herrings was not found out till after the year 1400, he can only mean or intend the curing of that fish in the manner now still used: for we need not remind our readers of what our chronological alphabet will readily shew them under the words Herrings, Yarmouth, Rugen, Schonen, &c. that there were, long before this time, fairs held on the coasts of those parts for the sale of herrings on board their shipping, to which many ships resorted, for the purchase of herrings, from distant nations; wherefore, as we have already observed, they must have had the knowledge of salting that fish, though probably not so well for keeping any length of time, and in different climates, as by the present manner of curing them.

Lastly, whilst this foederal union was strictly preserved, the Hanseatics were in a manner aequal sovereigns of those northern seas, as well without as within the Baltic; and their ships being very large, they became the general carriers for a great part of Europe, and their huge vessels were moreover often hired by princes in their wars.

We meet with nothing hitherto in this century, nor indeed since our King Alfred's time, that has the appearance of a spirit of maritime discovery of new countries: only, under this year, Hakluyt mentions one Nicholas de Linna, a friar of Oxford, who it seems was a great astronomer, and was said to have made several voyages to the most northerly islands of the world; the draughts of which he presented to King Edward III. But he has not said that those draughts are now in being. And this is all that we know of those voyages, which possibly might be as far as the Shetland Isles, or perhaps to Iceland and the coasts of Norway, on account of his astronomical observations.

1361 Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, lib. iv. relates, “ That King Waldemar III. of Denmark, did, in the year 1361, attack the city of Wisbuy in the isle of Gothland, then an
“ emporium very famous throughout Europe, and having taken it, he carried off a vast
“ booty.” This, adds Meursius, so enraged the Hans-towns, that they seized on the Danish ships and merchandize every where, declared war against Denmark, and having made an alliance with Haquin King of Norway, the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the Earl of Holstein, who commanded the fleet, all but the squadron of Lubeck, over which that city placed a commander of their own appointment, they, in the ensuing year 1362, attack Copenhagen, taking its castle and destroying the town; but they miscarried in their attempt on Helsingburg, being obliged to raise the siege. Whereupon Waldemar sent his son Christopher with a fleet, which defeated the Lubeck squadron, taking six of their ships, burning others of them, and obliging the remainder to fly to their own port of Travemund. Although, by Pensionary De Witt's account, the people of Wisbuy had, so lately as the preceding year, pirated upon the Hans-towns, yet they might have soon after have arranged their differences, so as now to have made a common cause of the hostilities of Denmark against those commercial cities.

In the same year, there is a letter in the fourth volume, p. 312, of the *Fredera*, from King Edward III. of England, to Magnus King of Norway, in behalf of some English merchants of Yarmouth, Norwich, St. Edmund's Bury, Colechester, &c. who had sent out a ship laden

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1361 with English woollen cloths and other merchandize to the value of two thousand marks, bound to Schonen, but that ship stopping at an harbour in Norway, and upon a storm arising, they carried their goods on shore for safety, when that King's officers had seized on the whole cargo for his use. Edward desires Magnus to order restitution, with damages.

Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum* (from the *Monasticon*) relates, that wheat sold so cheap as two shillings the quarter, or three pence per bushel, although but two years before. *i. e.* in 1359, it was so dear as one pound six shillings and eight pence per quarter. Two hens also were sold for one penny, and a hog for one shilling and six pence. Had this cheapness continued, money being still near thrice the silver of ours at this day, and all things cheap in proportion, then the ordinary rate of living would have been eight or nine times as cheap as in our days, which, however, was not to be expected.

1362 One of the great complaints of the subjects of England in various reigns, and particularly in the reign of King Edward III. was against the arbitrary proceedings of the Purveyors of Provisions, &c. for the King's household, journeys, &c. who frequently used great violence not only by seizing of provisions, corn, forage, &c. wherever they could find them, and to whomsoever they belonged, and often, perhaps, whether intended to be sold or not, but also took them at their own prices, seizing also frequently on the people's carts, waggons, and horses, to be forcibly employed in carrying the Court's provisions and baggage. It appears also, that at this time, the lords and other great men of the King's court assumed the liberty of oppressing the people in the same manner. Whereupon an act of Parliament passed in the thirty-sixth of King Edward III. 1362, cap. ii. in substance as follows, *viz.*

"For that grievous complaint hath been made of Purveyors of Victuals for the houses of the King, Queen, and their eldest Son, and of other lords and ladies of the realm, the King, of his own will, and without motion of the great Men or Commons, hath ordained, That from henceforth no man of the realm shall have any taking, but himself and the Queen. And moreover, that on such purveyances, henceforth for the King and Queen, ready payment shall be made in hand, and at the current market prices. And that the heinous name of Purveyor be changed, and named Buyer. But if the Buyer cannot well agree with the seller, then the takings" (*i. e.* by force) "that shall be made for the said two houses" (*i. e.* of the King and Queen) "shall be made by view, testimony, and appraisement of the lords of the manor, or their bailiffs, constables, and four good men of every town, containing the quantity of their takings, and the price, &c. And that the takings be made in a convenient and easy manner, without duress, compulsion, menace, or other villany, and where greatest plenty is, and in a meet time: and that no more be taken than shall be needful in the season for the said two houses.—And that no man shall be bound to obey to," (*i. e.* be under the controul of) "the Buyers of other lords against their agreement and will, nor to the buyers of the said two royal houses, unless they pay in hand.—And that the takings of corn and malt for the King and Queen, be duly measured and stricked, and not by heap: and that ready payment be made for the carriages." This was a mere dooccur for the occasion of the moment.

By another act, cap. iii. of this same year, it was ordained, "That no Buyers nor Takers of carriages shall take any gift for sparing to be made, nor shall charge nor grieve any man for ill-will."

Three more acts of Parliament were made in this same year for restraining Purveyors from using the subjects ill: but what we have already recited, is more than sufficient to show how

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1362 how precarious the liberty and property of the middling and lower people were in those times, and especially from those purveyances, by which the little commerce they had was greatly disturbed; for the purveyances extended equally to foreign merchandize imported, such as wines, &c. taken at the King's price.

The rate at which a single man, a clergyman, might live decently at this time, is to be seen by an act of Parliament of this thirty-sixth year of King Edward III. chap. viii. "Whereby a penalty was to be imposed by the bishops upon priests taking more wages than is assigned. And that no man shall give to a parish priest for his wages above five marks, or three pounds six shillings and eight pence," (equal to eight pounds one shilling and eight pence of modern money) "or else his board and one pound six shillings and eight pence." Thus we see that a priest might at this time board for two pounds, or between five and six pounds of our money per annum; and the other one pound six shillings and eight pence, was thought by the legislature sufficient for all his other expences, as cloaths, &c. Now their silver coins being two and a half times the weight of ours, this three pounds six shillings and eight pence was equal to eight pounds one shilling and eight pence of our money; and the clergy being then all single men, we may suppose he could not live decently for less than forty pounds yearly; so that living, or, in other words, wheat and other things necessary and convenient, were at least, at this time four times as cheap as in our days, both clergy and laity living more abstemiously and plainly in those times than at present, as will partly appear by a sumptuary law of the following year.

The value of money was so far sunk in the second year of King Henry V. that this allowance to parish priests was raised to six pounds for their board, apparel, and other necessities; and for chaplains only four pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. But this statute was totally repealed by the twenty-first of James I.

At this time we find our staple towns much frequented by foreign merchants from the Netherlands, Germany, and the Hans-towns, as also from Lombardy; and as a proof hereof, we have an act of Parliament of this same year, (thirty-sixth Edward III. cap. vii.) concerning questions arising between buyers and sellers of wool, respecting its goodness, packing, &c. in the said English staple towns. In each of which towns it is directed, that six fit persons be chosen as judges, viz. four aliens, whereof two shall be of Germany, and two of Lombardy, and two of England. And in all cases where merchant-strangers had any complaints, they were to name two of their own number, who were to sit with the mayor and two constables of each of the respective staple towns: who, by another act of this same year, were appointed to be annually elected by the body of merchants, as well foreigners as English. —And although, as has been elsewhere observed, the mayor of each staple was a distinct officer or magistrate from the mayor, bailiff, or other chief magistrate of the respective towns wherein such staples were erected, the latter were, however, obliged to give needful assistance to the former, who were hereby made a distinct corporation or body politic, within another corporation, with a common seal, &c. and were to sit and hold courts of law-merchant for determining all mercantile affairs, and for punishing and amercing offenders. Neither were the judges itinciant, nor the ordinary civil magistrates of the said staple towns, to intermeddle or have cognizance in the said staples in mercantile affairs, disputes, &c. which were entire, left to the mayor and other ministers now established in the said staple towns, who had a distinct prison for such matters in each town. To all which, being long since out of use and forgotten, we shall now only add, that there are in the statute book no fewer than twenty-

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1362 eight chapters or heads comprehended under the famous Statute of the Staple, already mentioned under the year 1353, relating to that new institution, and for the convenience of foreign merchants residing in or frequenting those staple towns.

By a statute of the following year, being the thirty-seventh of King Edward III. cap. vii. the above-mentioned points are confirmed. Lastly, from the whole, we may see the reason why the corporation or society of Merchants of the Staple are not named in the late statutes, viz. because the King and Parliament had confined the exportation of staple wares solely to merchants-strangers or aliens, whereby the business of that society was suspended until denizens as well as aliens were again permitted to export staple wares, in the year 1357. The any foreign traders resorting to and living at these English staple towns, might probably introduce therein, at least in some of them, a disposition to foreign commerce amongst the inhabitants, which afterwards helped to forward it as a national object.

A statute of the thirty-sixth Edward III. cap. xv. was made for obliging all law pleadings in the several courts of judicature, to be for the future in the English tongue, and to be enrolled in the Latin tongue; "because" as this statute sets forth, "it had been often represented to the King by the Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and all the commonalty, that great mischief have happened to divers of the realm, for that the laws, customs, and statutes be pleaded and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the realm, the people having no knowledge or understanding of what is said for or against them by their pleaders; —yet the former terms and forms of law shall be continued." Mr. Selden, in his *Jani Anglorum facies altera*, cap. iii. observes, "That even the rudiments of grammar were delivered to boys in French, and not in English, till this time." Their priests addresses to Heaven, in the name of the people, were likewise in an unknown language, and so continued for almost two centuries later.

1363 The following act of Parliament of the thirty-seventh of King Edward III. would be thought a very unreasonable one in our days, viz. "That merchants shall deal or use but in one kind or sort of merchandize only." The preamble in the French record assigns the grounds of this law, viz. "That those merchants called *grossiers*" i. e. wholesale dealers, "had, by convention and by orders made amongst themselves in their fraternities or guilds, engrossed all sorts of wares, whereby they suddenly raise their prices, and that they laid up other merchandize till they became dear; &c.—Wherefore every merchant hereafter shall choose which kind of wares or merchandize he will deal in, and shall deal in no other, &c." Here it is plain that the word merchant, in those times, meant no more than a shopkeeper or warehousman. This likewise directs the master, artificers and handicraftsmen to use but one trade or mystery, which they should choose and adhere to, under a penalty. Yet women artificers, viz. makers of laces, points, fringes, and many other things of wool, linen, and silk, were hereby still indulged in their former latitude.

The first part of this law, so unreasonably enacted, was therefore totally repealed in the following year. But that relating to handicraftsmen was not repealed till the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth.

By cap. vii. goldsmiths work of silver was enacted to be of good sterling standard. "Every Master shall have his own proper mark; and when the King's surveyors shall have made their assay, and set the King's mark on the work, then the workman shall set his mark on it likewise."

At

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At this time, the increasing wealth had brought on an increasing luxury amongst all ranks of people in England, which occasioned as many as eight sumptuary laws in one session of Parliament.

In cap. vii. the preamble sets forth, "the extravagant and excessive apparel of several sorts of people beyond their estate and degree, to the destruction and impoverishment of all the land." Wherefore it was enacted, "That men-servants of lords, as also of tradesmen and artizans, shall be content with one meal of fish or flesh every day, and the other meals daily shall be of milk, cheese, butter, and the like. And the cloth they wear shall not exceed the price of two marks for the whole piece: neither shall they use any ornaments of gold, silver, silk, or embroidery, nor their wives and daughters any veils above the value of twelve pence."

Cap. ix. "Artizans and yeomen shall not wear cloth above the value of forty shillings the whole piece," (our finest cloth was then worth about six pounds per piece) "nor the ornaments before named. Nor their women any veils of silk: but only those of thread made in England."

Cap. x. "Gentlemen under the degree of Knights, not having one hundred pounds yearly in land, shall wear no cloth above four and a half marks the whole piece. Neither shall they nor their females use cloth of gold, silver, or embroidery, &c. But Esquires having two hundred pounds or upwards of yearly rent, may wear cloth of five marks the whole piece or cloth, and they and their females may also wear stuff of silk, silver, ribbons, girdles, or furs."

Cap. xi. "Merchants, citizens, burghers, and artificers or tradesmen, as well of London as elsewhere, who have goods and chattels of the clear value of five hundred pounds, and their females, may wear as is allowed to gentlemen and esquires of one hundred pounds per annum. And merchants, citizens, and burgesses, worth above one thousand pounds in goods and chattels, may, and their females, wear the same as gentlemen of two hundred pounds per annum."

Cap. xii. "Knights of two hundred marks yearly, may wear cloth of six marks the cloth, but no higher; but not cloth of gold, nor furred with ermine, &c. But all knights and ladies having above four hundred marks yearly, up to one thousand pounds per annum, may wear as they please, ermine excepted; and they may use ornaments of pearls and precious stone, for their heads only."

Cap. xiii. "Clerks having degrees in cathedrals, colleges, &c. may wear as knights and esquires of the same income."

Cap. xiv. "Plowmen, carters, shepherds, and such like, not having forty shillings value in goods or chattels, shall wear no sort of cloth but blanket and russet lawn of twelve pence and shall wear girdles or belts; and they shall only eat and drink suitable to their station. And whoever uses other apparel than is prescribed by the above laws, shall forfeit the same."

Cap. xv. "Clothiers shall make suitable quantities of cloth of all the before named price and mercers and shopkeepers in towns and cities shall keep due sortments thereof, so that these laws may be duly observed."

To a curious enquirer into customs and fashions of old times, these sumptuary laws may be agreeable to read, as not being in all, or most of the printed statute book. By the last chapter or head also we may see, that by this time there was plenty of woollen cloth of various price.

prices and fineness made in England. Lastly, we may further remark, that although in all wealthy countries luxury will ever be growing up, yet it is not for the general benefit of commerce to impose, as in the above named laws, an absolute prohibition of every degree of it. Yet some may think it to be just, and for the benefit of the public, that such as step so far out of their proper ranks as to eat, drink, and wear what no way becomes their station, should be taxed accordingly, could it be done without involving in the regulation, those who have a just title to such indulgence. This, however, is a point which should be very maturely weighed before it be executed; and in mercantile countries, if not every where else, restraints will ever be found hurtful, and in some measure impracticable, where true freedom is firmly established.

In p. 426 of the sixth volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, we find a treaty on foot between King Edward III. and King David II. of Scotland, for procuring the states of Scotland to consent, that in case of David's decease without issue, the crown of Scotland should devolve on Edward III. and his issue. Each nation still preserving their distinct laws, customs, &c. which, however, proved abortive, very probably through the intrigues of France. Happy had it been for both parts of Britain had it then been perfected. How much innocent blood of both nations would have been spared?

“ That blood which thou and thy great grandfire shed,
 “ And all that since these sister nations bled,
 “ Had been unspilt, had happy Edward known,
 “ That all the blood he spilt had been his own.”

DENHAM'S *Cooper's Hill*.

“ And how much more improved, populous, and enriched would Scotland, and the bordering counties of England, have been, long before the present period, had that succession taken place in the English royal line.

In an Act of Parliament of the thirty-seventh of King Edward III. cap. iii. fowls or poultry are then described to be very dear. That act therefore limits their prices as follows; their money being still two and a half times the weight of ours. A young capon not to exceed three pence, or seven pence halfpenny of our money. An old one four pence. A pullet, one penny. A hen, two pence. A goose, four pence. “ And in places where these kinds of poultry are now cheaper, they shall, because of this act, be raised higher.” This would be deemed a very singular clause indeed, in our days.

The Hans Towns, according to Angelus a Werdenhagen, their historiographer, vol. ii. part vi. p. 2, on their entering into confederacies with the neighbouring Princes, were so prudent as frequently to stipulate a pledge to be put into their hands for their greater security. “ Thus, in their alliances made, in the years 1363 and 1368, with the Duke of Mecklenburg and the Earl of Holstein, it was stipulated, that for the security or indemnification of the Hanseatic cities, the said two Princes should put certain castles into their hands.” But this was at a period when this famous mercantile confederacy was in its zenith of power and glory.

So powerful were the Vandalic Hans Towns at this time, that Werdenhagen, vol. ii. p. 486, giving an account of a war between Denmark and them, relates, that the Danish fleet received a total overthrow in or near the haven or road of Wismar, where their whole fleet was destroyed.

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1364 destroyed, and their Admiral made prisoner by the Hanseatic fleet, usually stationed at that once famous haven and city.

In the sixth volume, p. 439 of the *Fœdera*, we find that the salary or "daily pay of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was but a mark, or thirteen shillings and four pence per day; even though he was no less than King Edward III's son Lionel Duke of Clarence; who held that government several years, the native Irish being then in rebellion against England." Yet, it is reasonable to suppose, that there were then, as well as since, large emoluments belonging to that high office, beside the settled salary or pay.

1365 In the same sixth volume, p. 464, we find an honourable and just determination of King Edward III. in this year, by and according to the sea laws relating to wrecks. A ship of Aberdeen in Scotland, belonging to the Bishop of that city, laden with merchandize, was driven by storm from her anchors in the road of Aberdeen, as far as Great Yarmouth, where the people of that town seized on the ship and goods as a wreck, although there were two men left alive and on board. Upon the Scottish Ambassador's reclaiming this ship and cargo, King Edward directed, that if there was any living creature found in the said ship, the vessel, and all its cargo, should be delivered to the owners at Aberdeen. "This," says the King, "being agreeable to the laws and customs of our kingdom."

The city of Hamburg, which was, at this time, a place of great consideration, obtained of the Emperor Charles IV. the privilege of holding an annual fair for three weeks at Whitsuntide, which fair continues to the present time, and is, we imagine, the same now usually called Hamburg Summer Fair, by our traders.

We must acknowledge our obligations to Dr. Brady's useful *Treatise of Cities and Burghs*, on many accounts. Nothing is more remarkable concerning the great growth and increase of burghs in almost all the counties of England, than his instance of the Sheriff of Lancashire's return of Members for that county to Parliament, in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth years of Edward III. 1365 and 1366; wherein, after giving the names of the two Knights for that shire, he adds, (*non sunt aliqui civitates seu burgi intra comitatum, de quibus, &c.*)—i. e. "There are not any cities nor burghs within this county from which any citizens or burghesses can, or were wont to come, by reason of their inability, low condition, or poverty." And the same words are in the return of the fiftieth and last year of this King, in the year 1373. "Neither," says the author, "do we meet with returns for any towns in Lancashire from this time, down to King Edward IVth's reign, for one hundred and twenty-four years, and how much longer cannot be known. The towns of Lancaster and Preston had been represented sundry times before, in the reigns of King Edward Ist, IId, and IIIId. But were found so poor that they could not send two substantial and discreet persons, to represent them;" for burghs were in those days always represented by some of their own proper townsmen, and not, as is so common in our days, by mere strangers, "neither could they pay the wages of such, if they could have been found amongst them." Yet see the happy and almost amazing alteration made by commerce and manufactures in this county, which at present justly boasts of Liverpool, the third, if not the second, town of all England for commerce, and its great number of noble mercantile shipping, and very great riches; of Manchester, also one of the most considerable of the whole kingdom for its excellent and numerous manufactures; of Lancaster, its county town, of late years become considerable also in foreign commerce and shipping, though in the days of our ancestors described to be inhabited merely

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1365 by farmers. Besides some other good towns; all of which were formerly, and in this same century, mere villages.

• Our historians in general are at this time full of the valour and successes of our people in foreign parts. "From what part of the world," says Echard, "did not the English now bring testimonials of their valour and renown? Can it be paralleled in any one succeeding reign so justly as in the present? Such of them, for instance, as had warred under the King of Cyprus, and had been at the taking of Alexandria in Egypt, returned with great riches in cloths of gold, velvets, and precious stones."

1366 In those times, when the Kings of England were in want of money for their wars, &c. it was very usual for them to direct the Sheriffs of the several counties, who were then also the collectors of the crown revenue, to make proclamation throughout their respective districts, that all who held lands of the crown to the yearly value of forty pounds or upwards, should come and receive the Order of Knighthood. Whereupon the Sheriffs transmitted to Court, lists of the names of all so qualified. The King's end was answered, whether those landholders accepted or refused to be knighted; for in the former case, there was money coming to the King for conferring that honour; and in the latter, a mulct was to be paid if any refused to be knighted. In vol. VI. p. 494 of the *Fœdera*, under this year, we find one of those general summonses for knighthood by King Edward III.

In the same volume, p. 496, we find the first million of crowns to have been already paid to King Edward III. for the ransom of King John of France. Edward directs and empowers his son the Prince of Wales to receive sixty thousand crowns, as the first payment on the second million of crowns. And in the following year, 1367, p. 562, there is an acquittance for one hundred thousand crowns of the second million; and another the same year, p. 579, for ninety-two thousand more of the same second million of crowns.

Upon the petition of the town of Torrington, to be eased of the great trouble and expence of sending two burgesses to Parliament, being so greatly to their damage, we find also in the sixth volume, p. 502 of the *Fœdera*, that King Edward III. directs his letter to the bailiffs and good men (*probis hominibus*) of Torrington in Devonshire, which he styles Cheping, (*i. e.* Market,) Torrington, wherby, "he excuses them from the burden," for so it was then reckoned, when the burgh paid four shillings per day to each of their representatives, "of sending two representatives to Parliament, as they had never been obliged so to do till the twenty-fourth year of his reign, when," says the King, "the Sheriff of Devonshire maliciously summoned them to send two Members to Parliament." Which Dr. Brady nevertheless says they had done thirty-two times before.

The purity and excellence of a nation's coin, is undoubtedly one of its greatest honours. This seems to have been the glory of the then famous and opulent republic of Florence, whose gold coins, named florins, seem at this time to have excelled those of all other states. There are several instances of treaties made between princes and states in Europe, wherein it is expressly stipulated, that the money contracted to be paid shall be in the gold florins of Florence. We have one instance thereof under this year in vol. VI. p. 512 to 533, of the *Fœdera*, in a treaty between Peter King of Castile, and the Prince of Wales as Duke of Guienne, for paying the prince large sums of money, beside the lands he had yielded to him, for his assistance against Henry his competitor. The money of all which sums was to be paid in gold florins of Florence.

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1366 The English beginning to refuse the taking of Scottish silver coins by sale, which, though of the same figure and denomination with theirs, began to be found somewhat lighter; the Scottish Parliament, in the year 1366, according to Drummond's History, enacted, that their silver money should be equal in goodness to that of England. But we shall soon see how imperfectly they adhered to this resolution.

1367 In the sixth volume, p. 567 of the *Fœdera*, we have an account of our famous poet Jeffery Chaucer's first gratuity or pension from King Edward III. in this year. "It is a grant of twenty marks yearly during life to him, whom he styles his servant, (*valettes r/ffor*) for the good services which he has done us, and is to do hereafter."

The dutchy of Milan seems, about this time, to have been in its meridian glory; as almost all the rich manufactures with which Europe was then supplied came from Italy, and as silk, velvet, gold and silver tissue, and many other manufactures more particularly and greatly abounded in Milan,—vast riches continually flowed into that dutchy, which was then indeed, of a much larger extent than it is at present. It was this consideration that induced King Edward III. of England, to enter into a convention, in the year 1367, as appears by Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 547, with John Galeas Visconti Duke of Milan, for the marriage of his daughter with Lionel Duke of Clarence, Edward's second son: by which the Duke of Milan stipulated to give his daughter a portion in land of twenty-four thousand florins of Florence per annum, and also fifty thousand gold florins of Florence in money: or if Edward should chuse ready money for the whole, then he would make her portion two hundred thousand gold florins of Florence; which coin was at this time better than one third of a pound sterling. So that this portion amounted to about or near two hundred thousand pounds of our modern English or sterling money.

What we have just related of the great riches of Milan, may be also said of Genoa. For Pope Urban V. passing, in this year, through this city on his return from Avignon to Rome, at the public entry of his Holiness, above one thousand of its citizens clothed in long robes of black silk, are said to have ranged themselves on each side the streets through which he was to pass. Yet in those times silk garments were far indeed from being so common as in our days, being then worn by none but such as were of great wealth.

By the *Chronicon Preciosum*, we find under this same year, that the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench had a salary of no more than his former one, or sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence per annum; and the ordinary Justices of that Bench and of the Common Pleas, had only forty pounds each per annum. But from thence we can form no adequate opinion of their whole profits, as we are not able to form an adequate judgment of the perquisites of their office.

1368 We have already in part related the quarrels between the crown of Denmark and the Hans Towns: and in this year, that confederacy being in alliance with Albert King of Sweden, King Waldemar III. of Denmark was attacked by them on the coast of Schonen with a great fleet, which took several towns belonging to that monarch: who being, also, at the same time attacked by the Holsteiners and neighbouring Jutlanders, he found it his interest to make peace with the Hans Towns, by granting them new and great privileges all over Denmark. Waldemar thereby also established new rules for the tax or toll of herrings taken on the coast of Schonen; as well as for the toll of ships passing the famous strait called the Sound, which is the second time that we find any mention made of that toll. See the year 1348. Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, lib. iv. relates, that King Waldemar granted certain

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1368 immunities to the people of Amsterdam, in relation to their commerce in Schonen and its neighbourhood: which shews that Amsterdam, even then, was not so inconsiderable a place as some modern authors allege.

The castle of Kronenburgh was first erected for the better commanding of the above-mentioned Sound, and is situated near the town of Elsinore, as was also Helsingburg, on the opposite shore in Schonen, for the protection of ships from pirates, then numerous in that sea: for this purpose the Kings of Denmark at first laid only a small toll on shipping; but it has since, at different times, been so far augmented as to be deemed one of the best jewels of that crown, although it has occasioned many disputes between Denmark and the other trading states of Europe, before it could be established on its present footing.

In vol. vi. p. 590 of the *Fœdera*, “ King Edward III. grants licence and protection for “ three clockmakers, from Delft in Holland, to come and practise their occupation in Eng- “ land.” This is the first mention we find of clocks made in England. The invention, however, of clocks, with wheels, springs, &c. is ascribed to Pacificus, Archdeacon of Verona, who lived in the ninth century. Others ascribe their invention to Boethius, about the year 510. Dr. Derham is, however, of opinion that they are much more ancient, reckoning Archimedes’s sphere and that of Posidonius to have been machines of this kind; which last opinion seems to have the appearance of probability. Pancirollus thinks that clocks succeeded the invention of bells: the exact time of which is far from being certainly known; so inaccurate are the historians of the middle ages in recording of inventions, however important they may have been. An unknown person of Nuremberg is said to have first revived this invention about seven hundred years ago.

1369 The latter part of the reign of King Edward III. of England, proved very unfortunate, after so extraordinary a train of amazing successes in almost every thing he undertook, excepting the entire conquest of France and Scotland. King Charles of France, who, as well as his father King John, had signed the famous treaty of Bretigny, was determined to break it. The many fair provinces of France thereby yielded to Edward, he could not patiently brook; and he had only paid one million two hundred and fifty-two thousand crowns of the three millions for his father’s ransom. In short, Charles, on various pretences, declared war against England, and published an edict, by which he declares all the English provinces of France to be confiscated and re-annexed to his own crown. In this war Edward lost all that had been yielded to him by the said treaty, excepting only the town of Calais. And, after all these losses, he found himself obliged to make a truce with the French King, which continued to the end of his life, in the year 1377: but the death of his incomparable son, the Prince of Wales, in 1376, was to him and the nation a loss in many respects more to be lamented than all his other disasters.

The war between Waldemar III. King of Denmark, and the Hans Towns, was, in this year, so fierce, that, according to the *Chronica Slavica*, they actually drove him out of his kingdom, and forely vanquished the Danish nation; having taken the castle of Copenhagen, with many other castles, and made prisoners of many of the nobility. We have, under the year 1361, related Copenhagen castle to have been destroyed by the Hanseatics; but this does not clearly seem to be one and the same expedition.

In vol. vi. p. 618 of the *Fœdera*, we have a letter of King Edward III. to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, wherein he tells them, “ that he is informed the people of that city were “ daily offering injuries and insults to the merchants and others of Flanders and Lombardy “ living

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1369 “ living in and resorting to London; although the said foreigners came thither under his protection and the faith of his proclamation, for the public good and the advantage of the kingdom. As therefore they have an undoubted claim to be protected from all manner of wrongs, he commands the said Mayor and Sheriffs to make proclamation in their city and suburbs, that none of what degree soever, do presume to offer any sort of injury either to the persons or goods of the said foreigners, under the severest penalties.”

This violent distaste of the London populace against all foreigners, how useful soever they may have been to our nation, has been often lamented by the more judicious and considerate part of our people.

In this same year we have an authentic confirmation of the staple of wool, &c. at Calais being, by Act of Parliament, totally suppressed: and for the future the staple thereof was confirmed to be totally confined to the following English ports: Newcastle, Hull, Bolton, Yarmouth, Queenborough, Westminster, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol. The wool, &c. was first to be weighed and sealed, and the custom paid, and then it was carried from such places as were no sea ports to the proper ports, as from Westminster to London, from Winchester to Southampton, &c. Several other good regulations were at this time made for the well ordering of our staple towns, of which we have elsewhere taken notice. Yet we cannot help lamenting the want of accuracy in our old historians whenever they treat of commerce, which indeed is very seldom;—its true nature and importance not being as yet fully understood.

Philip Duke of Burgundy now marrying Margaret the heiress of Flanders, became, by that marriage, possessed of all the provinces of the Netherlands, which drew very great consequences after it. On that account King Edward III. of England quarrelled with the Flemings, and seized on their shipping at sea. Yet, three years after, the good towns of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, make their peace with Edward, upon their engaging or entering into a neutrality, so as not to aid France against England.

In this same year, two sons of King Edward III. of England, viz. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Edmund Earl of Cambridge, were married to two daughters of Peter King of Castile, surnamed the Cruel. This put John of Gaunt, in the year 1375, upon entering his claim to the crown of Castile, in right of his wife Constantia, which brought on a war between England and Castile, the latter joining with France, to the very great detriment of England. Whereupon he afterwards went with an army into Spain, to maintain his claim against the bastard Henry; but without success. At length, however, he married his two daughters from that match, the one to the Infant of Castile, and the other to the King of Portugal.

1370 King Edward III's Queen Philippa, of Hainault, dying in this year, we find, in vol. vi. p. 648 of the *Fœdera*, that this King settled yearly pensions for the life of nine of her women servants therein named;—to three of them, ten marks, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence each, and to the other six, five pounds and five marks each. Which pensions are good proofs of what a single woman could in those times live on in a decent way; their money being still two and a half times the weight of ours, and going at least five times as far.

But to one particular servant of that Queen, who was maid of her bedchamber, Edward, for well known reasons, exerted his royal bounty: her name being Alice Peers, or rather Pereres, and by vol. vii. p. 28 of the *Fœdera*, under the year 1373, he grants to her (whom

he calls "*Domicella Cameræ Philippæ nuper Reginae*,") "all that Queen's jewels, goods, and chattels for ever."

The war between England and France being rekindled, in 1369, King Edward III. makes a declaration in the year following, for the freedom of commerce in his dominions to the merchants and mariners of the state of Venice resorting thither with their ships and merchandize, so long as they should remain perfectly neuter in respect to that war. *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 653.

In this year, it appears in p. 670 of the same volume, that a similar convention of neutrality was agreed on between King Edward and the republic of Genoa. Yet, (p. 673 and 675) in the same year, that state is made to complain to the King of his people having taken two laden Genoese ships homeward bound, and killed several of their men.

Werdenhagen, the historian of the Hanseatic League, fixes on this year as the period when that mercantile confederacy was in its zenith of power and glory. He also exhibits a catalogue of the Hans Towns, and of those cities and towns which were then deemed members, or rather allies, of the Hanseatic Confederacy. Authors have often made their whole number to be seventy-two, although it was generally fluctuating, being sometimes fewer and sometimes more in number. That author gives, in his second volume, pars iv. cap. xxvi. p. 89, the following catalogue of sixty-four of them, to which he annexes the annual quota of each city and town to the public stock or expence; they being such as in the *Maticula* are said to have been the direct, usual, and ordinary contributors for the common support of this famous Confederacy; the like whereof never was before, nor, in all probability, will ever be hereafter, viz.

				<i>Imperial Dollars.</i>	
Lubeca,	-	-	-	100	<i>i. e. Lubeck.</i>
Colonia,	-	-	-	100	<i>Cologne.</i>
Brema,	-	-	-	60	<i>Bremen.</i>
Hamburgum,	-	-	-	80	<i>Hamburg.</i>
Rostochium,	-	-	-	50	<i>Rosstock, in Mecklenburg dutchy:</i>
Stralsunda,	-	-	-	50	<i>Stralsund, in Pomerania.</i>
Wismaria,	-	-	-	25	<i>Wismar, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg.</i>
Magdeburgum,	-	-	-	40	<i>Magdeburg.</i>
Brunsviga,	-	-	-	50	<i>Brunswick.</i>
Dantiscum,	-	-	-	80	<i>Dantzick.</i>
Lunenburgum,	-	-	-	60	<i>Lunenburg.</i>
Stetinum,	-	-	-	40	<i>Stetin, the capital of Pomerania.</i>
Gryphifwalda,	-	-	-	25	<i>Grypsfwald, in Pomerania.</i>
Hildeshemium,	-	-	-	30	<i>Hildesheim.</i>
Goslaria,	-	-	-	30	<i>Goslar, in the dutchy of Brunswick.</i>
Gottinga,	-	-	-	30	<i>Gottingen, in ditto.</i>
Eimbecca,	-	-	-	10	<i>Eimbeck, in the same.</i>
Hanovera,	-	-	-	25	<i>Hanover.</i>
Hamela,	-	-	-	20	<i>Hamelin, in the dutchy of Brunswick.</i>
Colberga,	-	-	-	25	<i>Coleberg, in Pomerania.</i>
Stargarda,	-	-	-	25	<i>Stargard, in Pomerania.</i>
Anclamum,	-	-	-	18	<i>Anclam, in ditto.</i>

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Stada,	-	-	-	20	<i>Staden, in the dutchy of Bremen.</i>
Boxtehuda,	-	-	-	20	<i>Boxtebude, in the same dutchy.</i>
Golnowia,	-	-	-	8	<i>Golnaw, in the dutchy of Pomerania.</i>
Thoruna,	-	-	-	20	<i>Thorne, in Polish Prussia.</i>
Elbinga,	-	-	-	20	<i>Elbing, in Polish Prussia.</i>
Koningberg,	-	-	-	60	<i>Koningberg, the capital of Brandenburg Prussia.</i>
Braunfberga,	-	-	-	20	<i>Braunfberg, in Polish Prussia.</i>
Riga,	-	-	-	50	<i>Capital of Livonia.</i>
Revalia,	-	-	-	50	<i>Revel, in Livonia.</i>
Dorpatum,	-	-	-	20	<i>Dorpt, in Livonia.</i>
Parnovia,	-	-	-	20	<i>Parnaw, or Pernaw, in Livonia.</i>
Culmenum,	-	-	-	10	<i>Culm, in Polish Prussia.</i>
Neomagium,	-	-	-	35	<i>Nimeguen, in Guelderland.</i>
Davantria,	-	-	-	50	<i>Daventer, in Overijssel.</i>
Campenum,	-	-	-	40	<i>Campen, in the same.</i>
Schwolla,	-	-	-	23	<i>Swoll, in the same.</i>
Zutphania,	-	-	-	30	<i>Zutphen, in Guelderland.</i>
Arnhemia,	-	-	-	30	<i>Arnhem, in ditto.</i>
Bommelia,	-	-	-	10	<i>Bommel, in ditto.</i>
Thiela,	-	-	-	10	<i>Tiel, in ditto.</i>
Hardervicum,	-	-	-	30	<i>Harderwick, in ditto.</i>
Duisburgum,	-	-	-	20	<i>Duisburg, in the dutchy of Cleves.</i>
Stavera,	-	-	-	35	<i>Stavern, in Friseland.</i>
Groninga,	-	-	-	35	<i>Groningen, ditto, since a distinct province.</i>
Bolswerda,	-	-	-	30	<i>Bolswerd, in Friseland.</i>
Ruremunda,	-	-	-	25	<i>Ruremonde, in Guelderland.</i>
Venloa,	-	-	-	20	<i>Venlo, in the same.</i>
Emericum,	-	-	-	30	<i>Emmerick, in the dutchy of Cleves.</i>
Osnabruga,	-	-	-	30	<i>Osnaburg, in Westphalia.</i>
Sufatum,	-	-	-	35	<i>Soest, in Westphalia.</i>
Tremonia,	-	-	-	30	<i>Dortmunde, in the same.</i>
Monasterium,	-	-	-	40	<i>Munster, in Westphalia.</i>
Vesalia,	-	-	-	30	<i>Wesel, in the dutchy of Cleves.</i>
Minda,	-	-	-	30	<i>Minden, in Westphalia.</i>
Paderborna,	-	-	-	20	<i>Paderborn, in Westphalia.</i>
Hervorda,	-	-	-	15	<i>Hervorden, in the same.</i>
Lemgovia,	-	-	-	15	<i>Lemgow, in Westphalia.</i>
Lippeftadium,	-	-	-	10	<i>Lipstadt, in Westphalia.</i>
Unna,	-	-	-	20	<i>Unna, in Westphalia.</i>
Hamma,	-	-	-	25	<i>Hamm, in Westphalia.</i>
Warbergum,	-	-	-	15	<i>Warberg, ditto.</i>
Bilefeldia,	-	-	-	10	<i>Bielefeld, ditto.</i>

In all sixty-four cities and towns, whose annual contributions were two thousand and sixty-nine dollars for the common and ordinary expence of this confederacy; such as the salaries of necessary officers, charge of their general meetings, &c.

1370 Most of these sixty-four towns have long since deserted the Hanseatic League, some about the year 1512, and some afterwards.

We are at a loss to determine the true modern names of some of the old Latin names of towns in the Matricula; such as Arnemunda, or Ornemunda, which some take to be Armuyden, and others Ruremonde. So much is the writing of many Latin words or names confounded by time, and the same may be said of some other names in the Matricula, which are therefore better omitted.

Besides these sixty-four towns, which were properly the only constituent parts of the Hanseatic Confederacy, their historiographer gives us a further catalogue of forty-four more towns and cities which were properly allies of this confederacy; though being exempted from annual contributions, he doubts whether they were in all respects to be esteemed Hans Towns, or that they enjoyed all the privileges belonging to the four great comptoirs of the Hans Confederacy, which were Bruges, London, Novogrod, and Bergen. Their names are as follows, viz.

Dort—Amsterdam—Enkhuysen—Utrecht—Zirikzee—Briel—Middelburg—Wieringen, N. N.—Hindlopen—Stendal—Halberstadt—Aschersleben—Erfurd—Noorthausen—Ulystca, *i. e.* Lisbon—Stockholm—Melvin, in Prussia, now utterly decayed, (*et alia Borussia et Livonia Civitates*)—Landsparg—Dinant—Maestrecht—Hasselt—Mulhausen, in Alsace—Helmstadt—Northeim—Hall, in Saxony—Berlin—Brandenburg—Rugenwald—Scribst—Soltqueldt, or Soltwedel in Brandenburg—Frankfort, on the Oder—Vratislavia, *i. e.* Breslaw—Harlingen—Duderstede—Berga, *i. e.* Bergen in Norway—Wissbuy—Lisle—Elburg—Inowynk, in Prussia—Embsen—Kiel—Daniburg—Armuyden—Neostargard.

☞ All these have long been separated from any connexion with the Hans Towns.

The Hanseatic League grew at length so considerable, that most of the chief trading cities of Europe joined in their confederacy, or were in alliance with them. Such as Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bruges, Ostend, and Dunkirk, in the Netherlands; Calais, Rouen, St. Maloes, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Marseilles, in France; Seville, Cadiz, and Barcelona, in Spain; Lisbon, in Portugal; Leghorn, Naples, and Messina, in Italy and Sicily; and London, in England. But these were properly only a sort of allies in commerce, merely for the mutual safety and freedom of commerce and navigation; so that the identical number of seventy-two Hans Towns, as proper members of, and contributors to that confederacy, though mentioned by all former historians, is too many by eight, as far as we can discover.

As it is generally agreed, that this Hanseatic League was become very potent about this time, we may here properly enough describe the subdivision of that unparalleled, most singular, and ever memorable confederacy into districts or quarters. Thuanus, lib. 51. observes, that they were at first divided into only three classes; and the Prussian cities joining them, with Dantzick at their head, in this fourteenth century, they made the fourth quarter or district.

I. The Vandelic quarter comprehending all the cities on the Baltic Shore of Germany, (so named from the old name of Vandalia, given to that part of Germany) extending from the city of Lubeck, which was not only the head, or chief of this quarter, but of the whole confederacy, to the east end of Pomerania; and also Hamburg, Lunenberg, &c.

II. Cologne was at the head of the second quarter, or the quarter of the Rhine; which comprehended Wesel, Duysburg, Emerick, &c. in the dutchy of Cleves; also Munster, Paderborn, Osnabrug, Dortmund, &c. in Westphalia; Erfurd, in Thuringia. Soest, Herwoerd, &c.

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1370 It also comprehended Nimeguen, Zutphen, Ruremonde, in Guelderland; and Campen, Deventer, Swoll, &c. in Overysfel; and Groningen, &c. in Friesland.

III. Brunswick was at the head of the third quarter, which comprehended many cities in Saxony and Westphalia; as Magdeburg, anciently the metropolis of all Germany, Bremen, Goslar, Minden, Hildesheim, &c.

The two last-mentioned quarters, the old writers called Extra Vandalick, or Ultra Ethnic quarters; the last name in particular, was given because the countries in which they are situated, were altogether Christian before the commencement of the Hans Confederacy, which was not absolutely the case of the first and fourth quarters.

IV. Lastly, Dantzick was the head of the fourth quarter, which contained many rich and potent cities; such as Marienburg, Culm, Elbing, Thorne, Brunsberg, and Koningtberg, in Prussia; and Riga, Dorpt, Revel, &c. in Livonia.

The disposition or rank of these four classes, or quarters, is conjectured to have arisen from the order of time in which the several cities entered into the general league, not material to be minutely enquired into at this distance of time.

All business occurring in each respective quarter, which was not of great and immediate importance, was usually left to be determined at the general assemblies of the whole Confederacy, annually held at the head city of that quarter where the records of the quarter were deposited. But if the matter happened to be of great consequence to their commerce, freedom, &c. in such case, it was to be laid before the triennial meeting of the whole representatives of the Hanseatic Confederacy, usually held at Lubeck, where the journals, archives, and records of the whole Confederacy or Union were kept, and where they have remained to this present day.

The Confederacy, when in its zenith of glory and vigour, was in such great esteem, more especially amongst the northern princes and states, that they frequently submitted their controversies to its decision.

The Hans League had moreover four principal houses in different parts of Europe, which they called in Latin *Contorii*, i. e. Comptoirs, or vulgarly Cantores, or general Compting-houses. Their first and oldest was at Bruges in Flanders, once a most celebrated emporium, afterwards transferred to Antwerp; in which last city there was, and is even to this day, a magnificent old house, resembling a college, belonging to the merchants of the Hans-towns, with shops and warehouses round it, described to be like the German house at Venice. Next, in point of time, they fixed at London in England; where they likewise had a stately and spacious college, called in Latin *Guildhalda Teutonicorum*, and commonly named the Steel-yard, in Thames-street, of which more is said elsewhere. They were next settled at Great Novogrod, in Russia, anciently a famous commercial city and republic, tributary to Russia, where they had their comptoir. Their fourth general comptoir was at Bergen, in Norway, where they had a great and ancient traffic. Yet, notwithstanding this general classing of them, from the tenor of their history it should seem, that Bergen, and their Norway trade, was the first and oldest of the four, as the Vandalic towns certainly traded thither before they resorted to Bruges, or even perhaps to London: and yet Werdenhagen, in this catalogue has, through his usual inadvertency, omitted the name of that city.

The Hans Confederacy, in the height of its power and commerce, gave laws, in commercial concerns, to the whole northern world, and they were often but too apt to make an unjust use of their power, for the ruining of any trade not confederated with them, by making an
arbitrary

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1370 arbitrary order at their general assemblies, that none of their cities should traffick or correspond with such city : by which arbitrary measures they frightened and compelled many cities to join in their confederacy, as Werdenhagen himself confesses, vol. II. pars iv. p. 301. Such violent proceedings could not fail to stir up many princes to be their enemies, who were therefore continually thwarting their commercial interests, and towards the declension of this confederacy, we find even some German princes inveighing bitterly against them as monopolizers, engrossers, &c. of all commerce.

Beside the above list of towns in the Hans League, we find, in this same year 1370, some few other towns, not yet named, in a grant of privileges made by King Waldemar III. of Denmark, as Hasfelt, Breda, &c. “and all other cities and merchants,” says that King’s grant, “which, in the former wars and differences, were united against Denmark.”—Werdenhagen, vol. I. pars iii. cap. 14. But these last-mentioned towns were of the class of the second list, which contained cities that were only in alliance with the sixty-four proper Hans-towns in the first list.

And thus much we judged fit to be thrown together under this year, for the giving the reader at once a clearer view of that Confederacy, although every point now mentioned did not exactly correspond with this identical year.

Werdenhagen, in vol. I. pars iii. cap. 4. relates, that in this year, after the long and unsuccessful war, already mentioned, which King Waldemar of Denmark had waged with the Vandalic Hans-towns, that Prince was obliged, on the conclusion of peace with them, to have, as a pledge in their hands, (or rather to confirm what he had done in 1348, if Werdenhagen is to be relied on) the fine province of Schonen for a number of years, by way of recompence for the damages they had sustained by the Danes : which province was afterwards restored, in the year 1387, to that King’s famous daughter, Queen Margaret, by some historians filed the northern Semiramis.

1371 The pirates of the isle of Malta, and of Mazaria in Sicily, now grievously infesting the neighbouring seas of Italy, the Genoese sent out ten of their galleys, and totally destroyed those disturbers of the commerce of the Mediterranean.

In vol. vi. p. 679 to 682, of the *Fœdera*, a new convention was made by King Edward III. in this year with Genoa ; and Edward thereupon strictly enjoins all his subjects not to molest, in any respect, the Genoese ships in their trade to England, provided they remain neuter in regard to his war with France and Castile.

In this same year Edward made a similar treaty with Flanders, concerning which there are several commissions to be found in the sixth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 687, &c.

In this year also, being the forty-fifth of Edward III. according to Sir Robert Cotton’s *Posthuma*, that King first laid on the tonnage and poundage duty, for the guard of the seas. But it does not appear that this was done by act of Parliament.

There seems to have been, at this time, some considerable maritime commerce in Portugal : for, in vol. vi. p. 703-4, of the *Fœdera*, we find four or five Portuguese ships arrested and detained in the ports of Dartmouth and Falmouth, (possibly for favouring the Castilians, then at war with England) which were again released by King Edward III. upon satisfaction given ; and free commerce was restored between the two nations.

According to Mezerai, “the maritime cities of Flanders, being filled with merchants, had no other interest to regard at this time but trade : wherefore, neither considering that of their Earl, nor of the King,” Charles V. of France, “they made a league with the English
“ for

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1371 “ for securing their commerce, which appeared more advantageous on that side than from the “ French.” This shews the almost independent freedom which the Flemish cities then enjoyed; for Mezerai, as well as other writers allow, that their Earl was entirely in the French interest, and was also, in those times, a vassal of the crown of France.

We have, in this year, a signal instance of the want of accuracy and skill in political arithmetic, as well in the ministers of state, as of the Parliament of England, in a point wherein they differed so widely from matter of fact, that one cannot avoid being in some degree surprized at it. It is in an act of Parliament, passed in the forty-fifth year of King Edward III. granting that King a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds, to be levied at the rate of one pound two shillings and fourpence on every parish in the kingdom: but at a Parliament, or great Council, held the same year at Winchester, the King’s Chancellor declared to the Lords and Commons there assembled, “ That their grant of twenty-two shillings and fourpence on “ every parish, would not amount to the sum given; for that by the returns into Chancery, “ there were not so many parishes in the realm.” Wherefore, it was now ordained, that instead of one pound two shillings and fourpence, there should be assessed on each parish five pounds sixteen shillings, (excepting the county of Chester and the church-lands) there not being found in England at this time, exclusive of Wales, above eight thousand seven hundred parishes. The clergy likewise granted fifty thousand pounds for one year, for assisting Edward against France and Spain.

1372 In vol. vi. p. 708, of the *Fœdera*, we find that King Edward III. of England had, at this time, concluded a perpetual peace with the republic of Genoa, to whom he agreed to pay two thousand marks, in compensation for his subjects captures of Genoese ships and merchandize, provided always, as formerly agreed, that the Genoese shall not lend their ships nor men to Edward’s enemies, the French and Spaniards, but shall observe a strict neutrality: yet even so late as this treaty, there is not the least stipulation in favour of English ships resorting to Genoa; which shews we had no trade thither.

The English fleet, commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, is now surprized by a superior combined fleet of French and Spaniards on the coast of Poictou, and totally defeated, and their commander made prisoner. In this fight they made use of balistas, and other machines, for throwing of large stones and bars of iron, in order to sink the English ships; and Father Daniel says they had some cannon. The English fleet was going to the relief of Rochelle, besieged by the French, which soon fell into their hands, with all the rest of Poictou. In the English fleet also were twenty thousand marks for the payment of their army, which money became the prize of the enemy.

On the other hand, the Flemings, who in this war had taken an avowed part with France, were worsted at sea by the English, who took twenty-six of their ships, laden with salt and Rochelle wine. In this fight numbers were killed and wounded, the ships being fastened to one another with grappling-irons; so that, says Mr. Barnes, there was no other way left but to conquer or die. There were above four thousand slain, and as many more carried prisoners to England, with Peterfon, the Flemish admiral.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 708, King Edward III. “ directs all the ships in his several ports, “ (east, west, south, and north, says this precept) to be taken up, of the burthen of twenty “ tons and upwards, and to repair to the general rendezvous at Portsmouth and Southampton, “ there to attend him in his expedition against France.” Here we see the slenderness of the transport vessels made use of in those times.

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1372 In this same year, says Mr. Barnes, in his History of King Edward III. no fewer than two hundred merchant ships, which traded for wine, arrived all together at Bourdeaux from England.

There is scarcely any end of treaties between England and Flanders in this sixth volume of the *Fœdera*. In p. 705, however, we find peace was again concluded between Edward III. and the Earl, and the three good towns, so often named, of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, and with the free country; and, as Duke of Brabant, with the towns of Mechlin and Antwerp; many disputes concerning captures, &c. being now adjusted, which had been occasioned by the war between England and France.

In the sixth volume, p. 718, of the *Fœdera*, we find the ships of the town of Kingston upon Hull trading as far up the Baltic as Prussia; King Edward III. allowing one of them to carry four pipes of Rhenish wine thither, provided they bring back from thence bow-slaves in return for the wines.

In p. 753 of the same volume, King Edward III. found means to obtain a squadron of Genoese galleys to be sent to his aid against France, commanded by the Doge of Genoa's brother.

1373 We have shewn, under the year 1354, that the silver coins of Scotland, which had ever been exactly of the same weight, goodness, figure, and denomination with those of England, were then begun to be coined of less value than those of the same denomination in England. And we have, under this year 1373, a further proof of the degeneracy of the Scottish coin, in an act of the English Parliament of the forty-seventh of Edward III. cap. 2. whereby "a Scottish groat is declared to be, or to pass for no more than threepence English." And in the seventh volume, p. 41, of the *Fœdera*, we find, soon after, King Edward the Third's declaration, or proclamation hereof, in the year 1374, directed to the chancellor and chamberlain of Berwick, setting forth, "That the Scots did subtly carry into their country the good silver money of England, and, in their own mints, recoined the same figure and denomination of money, but of less value than the English money, to the great loss and deception of the great men and commonalty of England. Wherefore, the Scottish groat, or fourpence, shall hereafter be current in England for threepence only, and the smaller money in proportion." Groats were then, and long after, the largest silver coin of both kingdoms, being about the size and value of our modern shillings. King Edward adds, "That in case the Scottish money shall hereafter be further diminished in value, they shall be proportionably lowered in their current values in England." But enough has already been said on this point to satisfy every sensible reader.

In the *Vindication of the Genoese Sea Dominion*, by Baptista Burgus, lib. ii. cap. 10. he gives us a fresh instance of the still great maritime power of that republic. It seems the King of Cyprus had some way or other affronted them, and, in order to revenge the same, the Genoese, in the space of forty days, fitted out a powerful fleet, with which they entirely conquered that kingdom, and brought its King away with them prisoner to Genoa; where, after agreeing to pay the charge of the war, and an annual tribute, his kingdom was restored to him. For the charge of the war he paid two million twelve thousand four hundred gold florins, and his annual tribute was to be forty thousand; Famagosta, the richest city of Cyprus, being pledged to Genoa as a security for payment of the first-named sum, which was to be paid in twelve years time. "But," adds the same author, "what wonder is it that this whole republic should perform such exploits, when we find even private citizens waging war with great princes.

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- 1373 "One of these, named Migolus Lercarius, with two well furnished gallies, made war on the Emperor of Trebisond, on the Black Sea, and obliged him to sue for peace; the Genoese holding then the once famous city and port of Caffa on the opposite side of that sea, which was a good station for their ships. Dominicus Cattaneus, another citizen, with eleven gallies, fitted out from Genoa at his own cost, and six more which he procured on his way, made war on the younger Andronicus, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople," who came to the throne in 1327, and reigned fifteen years; "and certain other private citizens of Genoa engaged in similar hostilities against his successor, John Paleologus, with thirty-two gallies, and seized on the isle of Chios, which they long held for their own sole private account."

It is, however, I should suppose, unnecessary to observe in this place, that those Greek Princes, were rather great in name, than in fact, in the times under our consideration.

In vol. vii. p. 40. of the *Fœdera*, Pope Gregory XI. intercedes with King Edward III. of England, in behalf of the society of the Alberti of Florence, two of whose ships, laden with wool and woollen cloth, &c. from Bruges for Pisa, being taken by the English, under the pretext of their being bound for Spain, then at enmity with England. From several similar instances, we find there was a constant mercantile correspondence between the Italian states and Flanders throughout this century.

- 1374 The city of Bristol was at a very early period a place of considerable commerce: we find it, as well as Leicester, &c. often named as a city by historians, long before the more modern distinction between city and town took place in England. Its situation on so fine an opening for trade to the southern parts of Europe, as well as to Ireland, and its easy communication with the neighbouring western counties, and with Wales, by the noble river Severn, and several other rivers, gave it various natural advantages, which many other sea-ports want; and the great industry of its citizens has not a little improved them, so as to have long since justly entitled it to the reputation of being the second city of England for riches, commerce, shipping, and populousness. Even so early as the year 1374, it had so much weight as to obtain from King Edward III. a charter for constituting it a county within itself, it being the forty-seventh year of his reign. The words of that great Prince are well worth repeating, viz. "In consideration of the good services done to us by their shipping, and otherwise, in times past, and of six hundred marks paid to us; and likewise that Gloucester and Ilchester," the three towns of the two counties in which Bristol stands, "where the county assizes, &c. are holden, are distant thirty miles of deep way, dangerous for travellers, especially in winter, whereby they are sometimes obstructed in the management of their navigation and merchandize: wherefore, &c." he makes that city a county within itself.

N. B. Amongst the privileges of cities and towns which are counties within themselves, and which are now pretty numerous in England, one is, to have sheriffs of their own, absolutely independent of the sheriff of the county, who therefore holds no jurisdiction there; their inhabitants not being obliged to sue or to be sued out of their own city or town for any thing done therein. They have also a register-office for the enrollment of deeds, probates of wills, administrations, &c. so that such places are justly esteemed to have the pre-eminence of other cities and towns not possessed of those privileges.

In another charter of this same year from King Edward III. which ascertains the pomerium or bounds of Bristol, we find mention made of the churches of St. Mary Redcliff and St. Philips, and of the religious houses named St. Austin, St. Magdalen, St. James, and St. Bartholomew,

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1374 and as these churches and convents are named purely for being at the extreme limits of that city, there were undoubtedly several others in the interior part of the place. There is also mention made therein of bridges, conduits, gates, and walls, as also of its castle; all which clearly indicate Bristol to have been, at that time, a large and populous commercial city.

As our ancient and famous English poet, Chaucer, who was a man of eminence and learning, flourished at this time, we hope it will be no unacceptable digression, if in all respects it may be deemed such, to give an authentic account of those bounties which King Edward III. Richard II. and King Henry IV. bestowed on him.

In vol. vii. p. 35, of the *Fœdera*, it appears, that King Edward, in this year 1374, "grants to Jeffrey Chaucer, his beloved squire, one pitcher (*unum pycher*) of wine, to be daily delivered to him by the King's butler, during his life, at the port of the city of London." The King, without doubt, well knew how acceptable that liquor has ever been to poets. And, p. 38, in the same year, "the King grants him the office of comptroller of the customs, and of the subsidy of wool and leather, in the port of London; but on this express condition, that he shall write, with his own hand, the registers or entries belonging to his said office of comptroller, and shall constantly act in person in his said office, and not by a deputy or substitute." In vol. viii. p. 51, of the *Fœdera*, "King Richard II. in the year 1398, grants our said poet one ton of wine yearly during life, having before granted him a yearly pension of twenty pounds; both which were confirmed to him by King Henry IV. in 1399." Chaucer was born in 1328, and died in the year 1400, being the second year of Henry IV.—At the same time flourished John Gower, a friend and companion of Chaucer, who was a poet, and a man of taste and learning; and these two are generally esteemed the first or earliest reformers of the English tongue.

1375 At this time the condition of labourers, and other common working people of England, was still of a very slavish nature; the lords of manors retaining the same sort of authority over labourers and other servants, as many proprietors of coal-works in the northern parts of this island retain to this day. There is one act of Parliament, for instance, of the thirty-fourth of King Edward III. in 1360, which directs, "That if a labourer or servant shall flee to any city or town, the chief officer thereof shall, upon request, deliver him up to his master." Another, "That if they depart from their service into another county, they shall be burned in the forehead with the letter F." Those poor people having little or no property, lived purely by their manual labour under the landed interest, both lay and ecclesiastical; and as this state was then agreeable to the law of the land, they were obliged to be content with a lot to which they and their fathers were accustomed; until increasing manufactures and commerce afterwards threw so much weight into the scale of the commonalty, as entirely and happily abolished those slavish customs.

The purveyors of the King's court, both in the London markets and on journies, by seizing on provisions, carts, horses, corn, and hay, of butchers, poulterers, farmers, &c. at their own arbitrary prices, was another too visible mark of a slavish condition. Even the great lords, as well as the crown, still had their arbitrary purveyors; although several laws had been enacted against any purveyances whatever, except for the King and Queen, and at reasonable and customary prices; but those laws were, nevertheless, subject to frequent evasions.

In vol. vii. p. 57, of the *Fœdera*, the Duke, or Doge of Venice this year again writes a very respectful letter to King Edward III. requesting his passport for five Venetian galleys coming for Flanders, and for all other of their ships, to be free from molestation, and freely

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to enter the English ports, &c. Which confirms our observation under the preceding year, that the free Italian states carried on a great and constant commerce with Flanders.

1376 In this fiftieth and last year of King Edward III. cap. vii. it was now enacted, "That no subsidy should be paid on our own woollen manufactures till they be fulled, which was to be performed before they should be exported."

And by the eighth and last statute of his reign we learn, that the Irish cloth, called Frize, is of great antiquity; it being thereby enacted, "That no subsidy, nor aulnage duty, should be paid on cloths called frize-ware, which be made in England or in Ireland of Irish wool; because those cloths did not contain the length or breadth ordained by the statute."

The Genoese, in the year 1376, besieging the isle of Tenedos in the Archipelago, then in the hands of the Venetians, the Governor, Zeno, is said to have terribly frightened the Genoese, by discharging some cannon from the ramparts, of which they had lately learned the use, the Genoese not having heard nor seen any before; which, according to De Mailly, vol. i. p. 338, obliged them to raise the siege. These guns, says Machiavel, in his History of Florence, were newly devised by the Germans.

In the petition of the Parliament this year to the King of England, Edward III. amongst other grievances, the Lombard brokers are desired to be suppressed, as great usurers.

To so great a height of power and renown were the Genoese arrived at this time, says Morisotus, that their friendship was earnestly sought after by some nations, and purchased by others; even although they had but lately thrown off the yoke of the Duke of Milan, under whose government they had lived several years.

A bill in Parliament this year, against the usurpations of the Popes, makes them the cause of all the plagues, famine, injuries, and poverty of England. Vide Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, for a full account thereof.

In vol. vii. p. 116, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward III. in consideration of the declining state of his town of Calais, "granted, that the staple of wool, woofsels, leather, lead, tin, and of cloths called worsteds, also of cheese, butter, feathers, honey, (*gaulæ*, N. N.) skins, (*cepi*, N. N.) shall be at Calais, and no where else in or to foreign parts, under forfeiture of all the goods and merchandize carried to any other part beyond sea." This is the second time we meet with the mention of English worsteds exported.

In the seventh volume, p. 149, of the *Fœdera*, we also find the annual allowance which King Edward III. had made this year, on the death of the Black Prince, to his grandson Richard, Prince of Wales, afterward King Richard II, then but ten years of age, was four thousand marks: a very considerable allowance for so young a prince in those times, being near seven thousand pounds of modern money, which four thousand marks would then go as far in expence as twenty thousand in our days.

We shall conclude this great monarch's reign of fifty years, by observing that there were more good laws made in it for the benefit of commerce, than in all the preceding reigns together, from the beginning of the monarchy till now: but that, although a considerable progress was made towards fixing a permanent woollen manufacture in England, yet such inconveniencies were found in the enacting of a total prohibition of the exportation of wool, and of the importation of foreign made woollen cloth, that they were both connived at, even before the first repeal of those prohibitions. Yet we think it absolutely proper to add this further interesting remark, viz. "That as all land conquests on the continent of Europe, ex-

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- 376 cepting certain sea-ports proper for stations and supplies for our shipping, or for inlets for our manufactures and product, are destructive of the wealth, liberty, and independence of Britain; so, had our great Edward employed his extensive talents intirely for the improvement of his own kingdom, and its commerce foreign and domestic, he had left the nation rich, potent, and populous; whereas, on the contrary, he not only drained it of its wealth and people, but often broke in upon its just liberties, and endangered its independence, purely to gratify his ambition: and yet, how lavishly do almost all our historians expatiate in praise of what would have proved the ruin of England, had his great project of an entire conquest of France succeeded. It was, indeed, a real blessing to England, that he, in the end, saw himself stripped of all that he had, with so much expence of blood and treasure, conquered in that country, after a war of forty years.
- 1377 The truce with France expiring just before the death of King Edward III. his grandson and successor, King Richard II. renewed the war, though in a very careless manner. And in vol. vii. p. 176, of the *Fœdera*, we find him, agreeable to the practice of former kings, taking loans of his bishops, abbots, and other clergy, as also of the lay lords, &c. for one year. Wherein also we may observe, that at this time many more of the laity are of the number of lenders than were used to be in former reigns; such as William de Latymer, five hundred marks; John de Cobham, of Kent, one hundred pounds; John de Neville, two hundred marks; Roger Beauchamp and Richard de Stafford, each one hundred marks; and John de Beverley the same, &c. also the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol, five hundred marks; which is the first instance in the *Fœdera*, of a lay community advancing money in the way of loan to the crown, excepting the city of London. And in p. 179, we find King Richard's council directing all landholders to be summoned to come and take the Order of Knighthood, for the same purpose as his grandfather had summoned them. He also pawned his three crowns and his jewels, for the sum of ten thousand pounds; both which, however, he redeemed in the following year.

This King's council was weak enough to comply with the unreasonable and impolitic remonstrances of the Londoners, which had also been, in the preceding year, made to his grandfather King Edward III. but not then complied with by that great prince, viz. "Their grievous clamours against the liberty allowed to foreigners to be housekeepers in that city, or to be brokers; and to buy and sell all manner of wares, by retail as well as by wholesale, both with natives and with one another, to the great enhancing of the prices of merchandise, and the cause of making them" (the foreigners) "remain here more than forty days, which, in times past, they could not do," (horrible crimes truly, in a free trading country) "contrary to the franchises of this city. By which grievances the merchants of London are greatly impoverished, the navy impaired, and the secrets of the land discovered to our enemies by those strangers, and by other stranger spies received into their houses." King Edward was wise enough not to listen to those ignorant and unreasonable complaints: and even King Richard II. in the following year, 1378, being the second of his reign, restored the foreign merchants to their former privileges. Which last named act recites, "That, as well in King Edward the Third's time, as in the present reign, great complaints had been made, for that, in many cities, burghs, and ports of the sea, &c. many damages and outrageous grievances have been done to the King and to all, by the freemen and citizens of those places, who will not suffer merchant-strangers, &c. who bring by sea or land, wines, spices, silks, furs, provisions, &c. profitable for the King and realm, to sell the same to any other

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1377 " than to them of the said cities, towns, &c. whither those goods are brought, whereby they
 " are sold much dearer than if those foreigners were permitted to sell them; nor will permit
 " foreigners to buy wool and other merchandize, &c. Be it therefore enacted, &c."

The affair of Maintenances had made no small disturbance in these times. This point cannot be better explained than by an act of Parliament, cap. vii. of the first year of King Richard II. in substance as follows, viz.

" Whereas, divers people, of small revenue of land rent, or other possessions, do keep a
 " great retinue of people, as well as of squires as others, giving them hats and other liveries,
 " of one suit yearly, taking of them the value, or perhaps double the value, by such covenant
 " and assurance, that they shall maintain each other in all quarrels, be they reasonable or un-
 " reasonable, to the great mischief and oppression of the people.—It was now therefore enact-
 " ed, that former statutes against this abuse be observed; and that hereafter no such liberty be
 " allowed to any one for maintenance of quarrels, nor other confederacies, on pain of impris-
 " onment, and of fines, &c. to the King.—And the Justice of Assize shall diligently enquire
 " of all such as assemble in fraternities, by such liberty to do maintenance." This humour
 of maintenance, (very much resembling the late clanships or vassalage of Scotland) seems
 to have been at its height in this century, but it gradually declined, till the reign of King
 Henry VII. when it was entirely abolished.

1378 It is now under this year that we first find mention of cannon, or fire artillery, in Rymer's
Fœdera, vol. vii. p. 187, viz.

John, Duke of Bretagne, had put his castle of Brest into the hands of King Richard II. un-
 til peace should be settled with France; and in consideration thereof, that Duke was to be put
 in possession of a convenient castle in England, with a yearly land-rent of seven hundred
 marks. Whereupon, in this year, " King Richard II. sent to Brest great quantities of bows
 " and arrows, cross-bows, iron, steel, nails, boards, saltpetre, sulphur, charcoal," (the
 three last probably for making of gunpowder) " saws, axes, pickaxes, and provisions; also
 " two great and two lesser engines called cannons, together with six thousand stone bullets for
 " those cannons," (the only bullets then in use). And here it is worth remarking, " that
 " one hundred and thirty-two pipes of wines, bought this year for the use of the garrison at
 " Brest, cost but two thousand three hundred and seventy-six livres, or eighteen livres per
 " pipe of one hundred and twenty-six gallons," which is not quite three shillings per gallon. Vol.
 vii. p. 194.

In this year 1378, " King Richard II. of England renewed peace and correspondence with
 " the Earl and three good towns of Flanders, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and with the free
 " country," (the style of those times). Vol. vii. p. 190, of the *Fœdera*.

In the seventh volume, p. 202, of the *Fœdera*, it also appears, under this same year, that
 the staple for the port of London had, ever since the year 1375, been removed from West-
 minster; and, in all probability, to the place which still gives a name to an inn of Chancery
 to this day, called Staple-inn, in Holborn. " For King Edward III. having formerly made
 " a grant to the Dean and Canons of the chapel royal of St. Stephen, in his palace of West-
 " minster, (at present the place in which the House of Commons sits) of sixty-six pounds
 " thirteen shillings and four pence, out of the rents of the staple at Westminster; and the
 " houses wherein the staple had been held, remaining for the most part empty ever since the
 " said year 1375, because of the said removal, King Richard now makes provision for the
 " said deficiency, out of his Exchequer, to the said Dean and Canons." The jurisdiction of
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1378 the court of the Mayor and two Constables of the Staple of Westminster, extended from Temple-bar to Tothill-fields; and their proceedings were governed by the law-merchant. The principal matters under their cognizance were the five staple commodities of England, viz. wool and woollens, leather, lead, and tin.

From Sir Robert Cotton's Records of the Tower, p. 157, we have some account of English products and manufactures for exportation at this time, in an act of the first of Richard II. though we find it not in the statute book under that year, viz. "That all merchants, Gascoyne and English, may freely transport unto Gascony and Brest, to the King's friends, all manner of corn and other victuals; and also leather gloves, purses, caps, leather points, shoeing-horns, and such other kinds of small merchandize, but not elsewhere, notwithstanding any ordinance of the staple, on pain of forfeiture."

Whilst the Duke of Lancaster was at Bayonne with the English fleet, a little before this time, one Mercer, a native of Scotland, with a small force of French, Scots, and Spaniards, took several ships in the road of Scarborough: whereupon, Alderman John Philpot, at his own expence, fitted out a great force of ships and men, routed the said Mercer, took all his ships, and retook the English prizes. Moreover, the Kings of Castile gaining more and more ground on the Moorish princes of Spain, particularly on the sea coasts, from whence they became troublesome with their ships to the English maritime commerce, the same Alderman Philpot also fitted out a sufficient sea force, at his own expence, with which he took fifteen Spanish ships richly laden.

By the French record of the statute made in the second year of King Richard, chap. iii. "The merchants of the West are permitted to bring to Southampton, or elsewhere, their carracks, ships, or gallies, laden or unladen, and to buy and lade them with wool, woollens, leather, lead, tin, and other staple wares; so as they pay the usual customs, and give security to carry them to the west, and to no place of the East but to Calais. These merchants of the West are herein specified to be those of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, Arragon, (*et d'autres royaumes et terres et pays vers le West*) "and other kingdoms and countries westward." This way of speaking would seem somewhat strange at this time: but, in those times all the countries within the Baltic Sea were stiled the East country, and the people East-terlings: and the other parts were stiled the West, in contradistinction to them; Calais itself was also reckoned towards the east, chiefly respecting the situation of the port of London.

1379 By the Chronicon Preciosum, taken from Stowe's Survey of London, "Wheat was this year sold for four shillings the quarter, or ten shillings of our money; white wine at six pence, and red wine at four pence per gallon." So that every thing else being proportionably cheap as these rates of wheat and wines, living was then probably, at least, four times as cheap as in our days.

Our marine affairs must have been much neglected in this second year of King Richard II. when the French were permitted to triumph on our shores, by burning Rye, Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth:—they also took possession of the isle of Wight; after which their fleet sailed up the Thames as far as Gravesend, which they also burned, and, having committed these ravages and depredations, they retired.

In the second year of King Richard II. 1379, several authors quote "an ordinance of the King and Parliament," (they call it an act of Parliament, but it is not in the statute book) "by the advice of the merchants of London, and of other merchants towards the north, lay-

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1379 "ing a duty of eight pence per ton for the guard of the seas, to be paid by all foreign vessels, and foreign fishing ships, within the admiralty of the north."

The war between England and France continuing, King Richard II. again adopted the method of loans from his bishops, nobles, gentry, and good towns. Sir William Walworth and Alderman Philpot were his receivers for those loans, in which there were many more lenders than in any former time, and for considerable sums also, as one hundred pounds, and one hundred marks each. And we may further observe, that, excepting the city of London, and the single instance of Bristol two years before, we have not met with any other towns lending the crown money before this time; but whether they did it in their corporate capacity, or otherwise, we cannot determine. The following are all the towns which advanced money to the King at this period.—*Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 210.—*Viz.* of the good men of (*prishi homines de*)

	£.		Marks.
Glocester	40	Cirencester	40
Bedford	20	Cambridge	100
Northampton	40	Retford, in Nottinghamshire	40
Winchester	40	St. Edmund's Bury	50
Brentwood	10	Bristol	1000
Coggeshall	40		
Malden	40		
Hadleigh, in Suffolk	50		
Ipswich	40		
Salisbury	40		

York city is not mentioned in this record, yet it is probable that it contributed largely, as Drake, its historiographer, acquaints us, that about this time, King Richard II. made York city a county within itself, not improbably on this occasion; and, without doubt, many other towns were lenders, though not mentioned in this record.

In volume seventh, p. 220, of the *Fœdera*, we find that in this year, Richard, at the request of his northern ports, and particularly Scarborough, which, in the preceding two years had lost by French captures one thousand pounds, ordained two ships, two barges, and two balingers, to be armed for war by his Admiral north of the Thames, Thomas de Percy, for the guard of that coast against French captors. And, for defraying the expence hereof, the King, by the consent of his Parliament, imposed a duty of six pence per ton on all ships sailing that way, excepting ships going to Flanders and Calais with wool, also six pence per week and per ton on all vessels employed in the herring fishery, (a duty surely much too high, and very impolitic, on that most beneficial fishery) and per every three weeks on all other fishing vessels. Also, six pence per ton each quarter of a year (the first mention hereof in the *Fœdera*) on all ships from Newcastle laden with coals. Lastly, for all ships trading between England Prussia, Norway, or Schonen, or to any other foreign parts through the said Admiralty of the north, for every last of grain, on each voyage, six pence. From this record we may learn, First, Somewhat of England's commerce northward and eastward; Norway and Schonen being, however, now jumbled together with Prussia, in mentioning the corn trade, though it be well known that Norway never had corn sufficient for its own natives; but Prussia ever was, and still is eminent for its vast superabundance of grain, kept chiefly in the matchless granaries at Dantzic, for exportation to all parts, as demands may require. Secondly, We hereby

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1379 see a small mistake of the *Chronicon Preciosum*, to which we are in some respects so much indebted, first published in the year 1707. He says, "That whenever, in old accounts, we meet with coals, we are to understand thereby charcoal, and not sea coal, which has not been in common use," says the good Bishop, "as well as I can guess, one hundred and fifty years; at least, not in London, though I find them in Matthew Paris, under the name of *carbo marinus*, in the time of King Henry III." (See our account of that Prince's charter to Newcastle, under the year 1234, granting the people of that town licence to dig coals in the Castle Moor.) So that it is evident, that in this year 1379, ships coming from Newcastle with sea coal was a customary trade, though perhaps not altogether confined to their being solely brought to London any more than at present: and from considering the many woods and copses near London in those days, most of which are long since grubbed up and gone, it may be presumed that wood supplied a great part of the fuel for that city; and a very great blessing it is to this nation, that necessity put us upon the Newcastle coal trade, which is now so great a nursery of good seamen for the royal navy. It is therefore by no means a matter of surprize, that the Bishop might make some mistake in point of time, more especially as the famous collection of records we are now continually quoting, was not then set forth.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 224, wherein the ransom of the Count de St. Paul, King Richard the Second's prisoner, is fixed at one hundred thousand gold franks, we learn, that two gold franks was equal to an English gold noble; each frank therefore was worth three shillings and four pence sterling: so that the Count's ransom was equal to sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, or to above forty thousand pounds of modern money.

In this same year 1379, the Genoese having defeated the Venetian fleet, taking fifteen of their gallies, with two thousand five hundred prisoners, they imagined, from this great advantage, and the consternation their enemies were in, that they might now attack the hitherto invincible capital of that republic, justly called the maiden city of Venice, which was never yet taken by an enemy. After possessing themselves of some small places in the gulph of Venice, they advanced with their whole force to the entrance of the Lagunas, in which Venice stands, and took some advanced forts; but the Senate, in fifteen days space, built a wall across the Haven, fixed an iron chain there, and successfully played some cannon on their assailants. In fine, after all the Genoese attempts, with twenty thousand men in their vast fleet, and carrying several more posts near the city, with the loss of several thousands of men on both sides; and after the Senate of Venice begun to want both provisions and money, and for supplying of the latter, had created sixty new nobles, at five thousand ducats each, the Venetians employed a successful stratagem, by sinking in the night time, two large vessels filled with stones, at the entrance of the port of Chioggia, where the Genoese gallies lay, by which means, the face of the war was totally changed, the Genoese from besiegers now being become besieged: a fleet of Venetian ships arriving also, at the same time, from the Levant, the Genoese were forced to quit so hazardous an enterprize, after many gallant actions performed by both parties. This fatal miscarriage is, by historians, usually said to have turned the superiority at sea to the side of Venice, after Genoa had, for the most part, held it for near three centuries past. From this time Genoa is thought to have gradually declined, as Venice gradually increased in commerce and naval strength.

In the same year 1379, the Emperor Charles IV. made a visit to Charles V. King of France; when he made a present to the Dauphin of two castles, which the German Emperors had till this

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1379 this time held in the city of Vienne, the capital of Dauphine. These castles were, in all probability given up, because they were not worth keeping, or that they might at any time be easily taken. Be this as it may, Mezerai observes hereupon, “ That, from this time, we do not read that the Emperors concerned themselves any more in the affairs of the kingdom of Ailes, nor the county of Dauphine; which has ever since remained, in complete sovereignty or subjection, to the Kings of France, who indeed, even long before this time, did not acknowledge the Imperial sovereignty there.

The following record, in Sir Robert Cotton’s Abridgment of the Records, p. 172, in the second year of King Richard II. gives us the taste of those times for gaiety and finery of apparel: viz. one of the petitions of the House of Commons to the King and Peers was, “ That no knight nor lady, under forty pounds land by the year, do wear any precious furs, cloth of gold, ribbon of gold or silk, on pain that they lose all that they have.” But the King’s answer was, “ The King will be advised until next Parliament,” which shews, that the King’s council thought this petition unreasonable.

1380 The year 1380 proved fatal to the manufactures and commerce of the famous city of Louvain, occasioned by a great tumult and insurrection of the journeymen weavers of that then most flourishing and populous city, (of which city they had now murdered some of their magistrates) against their sovereign Wenceslaus, Duke of Brabant; who, having besieged the revoltors therein, obliged them to submit to his mercy: whereupon he banished the greatest part of them: many of whom settled in Holland, and also some in England, where they were very kindly treated, and where they contributed to the improvement and increase of its woollen manufacture, as well as the others did to that of Holland. From this time Louvain was never able to recover its former lustre and riches; being at this day famous for no other trade than that of good beer. So difficult is it for any city or nation to recover the affections of that same coy mistress, Commerce, after having once treated her with disregard and violence.

At this distance of time the cargo of a Catalan merchant ship, bound from Genoa to Sluys, the port of Bruges in Flanders, seems worth transcribing, for the sake of the more curious reader. It is in the seventh volume, p. 233, of the *Fœdera*. This ship was driven by a storm into Dunster in Somersetshire in England, where she was made prize, though both ship and cargo were soon restored, upon the remonstrance of the Genoese to King Richard II.—The cargo was as follows:—1. Green ginger. 2. Ginger, made up with lemon juice. 3. Arquinetta. 4. Dried grapes. 5. Brimstone. 6. Woad for dyers. 7. Twenty-two *bale papii ferivabilis*, i. e. twenty-two bales of writing paper. 8. Sugar candy, or perhaps rather white sugar, (*saccharum candidum*). 9. Six bales of empty boxes. 10. Dried prunes. 11. Thirty-eight *bale risarum*, (2; probably rice). 12. Five *bale finimi*, (probably cinnamon). 13. *Una pipa pulveris sylvestri*. 14. Five *bale buffi*. *Quære?*

About this time there is a romantic story of one Nicholas Zeno’s having discovered an island far north, and beyond Iceland, which he named Freeeland, and where he pretended there was a city and a king, &c. If Zeno ever failed that way, possibly he might take the coast of what is called Old Greenland for an island, that coast having, before that time, been planted by Danes or Norwegians, though probably lost again before this time, as we have already duly noticed. This non entity, however, of the large isle of Freeeland was constantly placed, on all the future maps, near to Iceland, until the middle of the seventeenth century, when it began to be known that there was no such isle.

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1380 In vol. vii. p. 255, of the *Fœdera*, we see an order of King Richard II. of England to receive twelve thousand of the twenty-four thousand marks still remaining due from Scotland, in part of King David Bruce's ransom; and this same year, p. 271 of the same volume, we have King Richard the Second's acquittance to King Robert II. of Scotland for the said twelve thousand marks. But by a subsequent record, p. 314, under the year 1381, we find the payment of the remaining twelve thousand marks deferred till the year 1383.

1381 In vol. vii. p. 324, of the *Fœdera*, we have an account of the pay of King Richard the Second's soldiers, &c. in his Gascon wars, per month and day, viz. A man-at-arms, (he was on horseback, usually attended by three or four esquires, as they were called, on foot) fifteen gold franks per month; each frank worth three shillings and four pence sterling, and three shillings and four pence was then worth two and a half times as much as the like sum in our modern money, or eight shillings and four pence. Cross-bow men each eight franks per month; and archers five franks per month, equal to two pounds one shilling and eight pence of our money. Master cannoners twelve franks per month, or five pounds of our money. Mariners, three pence per day. Master carpenters twenty pence, and journeymen sixteen pence per day. These wages and daily pay, if rightly handed down to us, are certainly much higher than in our own times. This record makes the price of peas and beans for the army to be seven shillings sterling per quarter, equal to seventeen shillings and six pence of our money.—This was surely very dear, for that time.

King Richard II. being excessively extravagant in his expences, though he was at this time engaged in an expensive war with France and Scotland, demanded of his Parliament at Northampton one hundred and sixty thousand pounds to pay his debts, occasioned in part by the failing of the subsidy on wool, on account of the confusions in Flanders. The House of Commons requested the Lords to consult apart, for moderating the King's demand. The Lords gave their opinion for four groats per head, by way of poll tax, on all but beggars, and after much debate, the Commons proposed one hundred thousand pounds provided the clergy, who were possessed of one third part of the lands, would raise fifty thousand marks in part thereof, and the laity would pay the other two thirds, or one hundred thousand marks. But the clergy refused to be taxed but in their own convocation, as had ever been the custom. So the Lords and Commons agreed in three groats per head, males and females of the age of fifteen years and upwards; the sufficient people of towns to contribute to the assistance of the insufficient, so as none should be bound to pay more than sixty groats for himself and his wife. The indecent manner of collecting this tax in some places, occasioned the well-known rebellion of Jack Straw and Wat Tiler. Surnames, it is true, were become common before this time, (see the year 1200.) yet these two fellows are undoubtedly surnamed in history from their respective trades alone; Jack Straw having been a thatcher, and Wat Tiler a tiler or flater by trade. They might possibly have had proper surnames, although our historians, by way of derision and contempt, gave them those professional names, by which they have gone ever since. Yet, to shew and confirm the ignorance or carelessness of all our English historians, in relating one part of this insurrection that happened at Norwich, they bellow a surname on one John, a ringleader there, who was a dyer by trade, calling him, John Littster a dyer. Whereas, the word Littster, then signified a dyer; and to litt signifies to dye, in one of the old Saxon or Danish dialects. Even to this present time in Scotland this signification legally holds, where to dye is called to litt, and a dyer is called a littster. It is strange, that

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1381 that so far back as Stowe and Speed, they could not have hit upon this undoubted signification of that word.

Thus also, in Madox's History of the Exchequer, in the third year of King John, we find, cap. xi. p. 278, mention is made of David Tinctor, *i. e.* g. dver of Carlisle, (the record being in Latin) the word Tinctor being used instead of his surname; but had it been written in Saxon, at least in some of its dialects, it would have probably been written Lattler, there being then but very few surnames amongst the middling and lower ranks of people.

According to a promise made by King Richard II. of England, to Ferdinand the First, King of Portugal, the Duke of York now sailed from Plymouth for Lisbon with three thousand soldiers, for the aid of that monarch against the Castilians: and these troops were sumptuously entertained at Lisbon by the Portuguese monarch, by whose assistance he gained a great victory over John King of Castile. But a peace was soon after made between Castile and Portugal, both Kings being become jealous of the English army; and were therefore at the expence of sending them home. They were sent to the aid of Portugal, partly to support John of Gaunt's pretensions to the crown of Castile, in right of his wife Constantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel.

By the French record of the fourth act of Parliament of the fifth year of King Richard II. it was enacted, "That wines were not to be sold dearer than as follows, *viz.* by retail, Gascon, Spanish, and Rhenish wines at six pence per gallon, *i. e.* about fifteen pence of our money, Rochelle wines at four pence, *i. e.* about ten pence of our money, per gallon, and in like proportion for smaller quantities." If wheat had been equally cheap, the rate of living must have been about six times as cheap as in our days.

By an act of Parliament of this fifth year of King Richard II. cap. iii. we have the first legal act of navigation that (as far as appears) was ever made in England; in substance as follows: "That, for increasing the shipping of England, of late much diminished, none of the King's subjects shall hereafter ship any kind of merchandize, either outward or homeward, but only of ships of the King's subjects, on forfeiture of ships and merchandize; in which ships also, the greater part of the crews shall be the King's subjects." By this act it appears, that the then legislature understood the great benefit of having our own ships and mariners employed, instead of foreign ones. Yet, by cap. viii. of the following year, where no English ships were to be had, merchants might export or import in foreign ships.

In this year we find that ~~was~~ what related under the year 1357, from Rymer's Foedera, is now confirmed, *viz.* That monies were not to be sent beyond sea by any other method than by bills of exchange. For although this act, which is the first of its kind we meet with in the statute book directly on this point, does not expressly name it a bill or letter of exchange, it, however, plainly enough implies that method of exchanging, *viz.* "For the great mischief which the realm suffers, and long hath done, because of gold and silver, as well in money, vessels, plate, and jewels, as otherwise by exchanges made in divers manners, is carried out of the realm, so that, in effect, there is none thereof left:—Enacted, That no merchants, nor any others whatever, shall carry or send any gold or silver, in money, bullion, plate, or vessel, neither by exchanges to be made, nor in other manner, excepting only the salaries or wages due to the King's officers at Calais, &c. and such money as to Prelates, Lords, &c. beyond sea, it may be necessary to remit or make payment." (This seems to relate to the King's public Ministers employed at foreign courts.) "But that they shall only make exchanges in England of those payments alone, and that by good and sufficient merchants to

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1381 "be paid beyond sea, after first obtaining special licence of the King, as well for the ex-
 "changers, as the persons that ought to make the payments, and specifying the sums to be
 "exchanged. And the merchant so exchanging shall make oath, that he shall not transport
 "any manner of gold nor silver under colour of that remittance." This act too plainly shews
 how little the trade and nature of exchange by bills was then understood in England; though
 long before this time in familiar use in the free cities of Italy, in the Netherlands, Hamburgh,
 &c. So inconsiderable then were our foreign commercial dealings. And,

The sequel of this same act is a confirmation of this remark, enjoining, "That none of
 "the King's subjects shall depart the realm, excepting Lords and other great men, true and
 "notable merchants, and the King's soldiers, without the King's special licence. - Which
 "licence shall be granted only from the ports of London, Sandwich, Dover, Southampton,
 "Plymouth, Dartmouth, Bristol, Yarmouth, Boston, Hull, Newcastle, and the other ports
 "and passages towards Ireland and the other isles belonging to England, upon forfeiture of
 "all his goods, and also of the ship which shall carry him without such licence." This last
 clause, however, had, without doubt, a particular regard also to the temporary political max-
 ims and measures of that time.

At this time an act of the fifth of King Richard II. cap. ii. did great mischief to the Eng-
 lish woollen manufacture, so happily established by the late King Edward III. particularly in
 Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. This statute granted unlimited liberty both to aliens and deni-
 zens, to export wool and woollens, as well as leather, to any country whatever except France.
 Although this liberty was but for a limited time, and little more than a year, it has been con-
 sidered by all historians, who have mentioned it, as a very impolitic measure; it is, however,
 certain that our Kings had always, both before and since, granted particular licences occasion-
 ally for the exportation of wool, even while our own woollen manufacture was most flourish-
 ing, till at length it was totally prohibited by act of Parliament.

About this time, according to Mezerai, the city of Ghent was extremely rich and populous,
 factious and turbulent. The party favouring the English interest there, was headed by one
 John Lyon, and after him by Philip, the son of James Van Artevill, who, says our said
 French author, being much richer and prouder than his father, though less crafty, took upon
 him so far as even to pretend to all the functions of sovereignty.

1382 The French cruizers making many captures of English ships, by which the merchants were
 great sufferers, an act of Parliament passed in the sixth year of King Richard II. cap. iii.
 whereby the Commons granted that King a subsidy, since named Ship-money, to be entire-
 ly employed for the guarding of the seas. It was two shillings per ton on wines imported,
 and six pence per pound on all merchandize imported or exported, wool and leather ex-
 cepted.

In this year a statute also passed, "granting very ample liberty to all merchant-strangers,
 "from countries in amity with England, to come into the realm, as well within franchise as
 "without," (*i. e.* into all towns corporate, pleading exclusive privileges, as into other parts)
 "there to be conversant to merchandize, and may tarry as long as they please.—The King
 "hereby taking them into his protection, with their goods, merchandize, and families.—
 "Hereby also expressly commanding, that they be treated well, friendly, and merchant-like,
 "in all parts of his realm, and suffered to go and come peaceably, and to return without the
 "obstruction of any whatever." This was well advised in this otherwise unhappy King, for
 as our Kings had, in those times, a considerable part of their revenue arising from the fee-
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1382 farm rents paid by the sea-ports and other towns corporate, they too often found themselves obliged to grant those towns many exclusive privileges, greatly hurtful to the free commerce of the kingdom in general, the better to enable those towns to pay the fee-farm rents, as is rightly observed also by Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, and others.

In vol. vii. p. 341, of the *Fœdera*, we find King Richard II. who was still at war with France, again taking loans of money of his subjects, for the most part, from the laity.

In the same volume, p. 354, there is a letter from Antonio Venerio, Doge of Venice, to King Richard II. “ requesting his protection and a free safe traffic for two Venetian galleys, “ coming to England; with the same kindness to them and to all other Venetian ships,” says the Doge, “ as we do and shall shew towards the Peers and Nobles of England, or any “ other subject of the King resorting to us.”

Had there been any resort whatever of English ships to Venice, the Doge would undoubtedly, on this occasion, have mentioned the circumstance.

From this letter we may also infer, that the English nobility and gentry resorted, even so early as this time, for amusement, to the beautiful city of Venice.

The city of Ghent was this year unsuccessfully besieged by the Earl of Flanders; he being assisted by the citizens of Bruges, then mortal foes to those of Ghent, five thousand of whom, headed by Philip Van Artevill, came before Bruges; from which city their Earl marched out with forty thousand of their burghers, says Mezerai, and eight hundred lances of his own. Yet that multitude were driven back into Bruges by the inferior force of Ghent, which entered the town with the runaways, mastered and sacked that vast city, and killed twelve hundred of its principal burghers, the Earl himself being obliged to retreat in disguise. By this success the people of Ghent brought over all the towns of Flanders to their interest, Oudenarde alone excepted. In this extremity the Earl had recourse to the aid of France, as Artevill, on the other side, craved the assistance of King Richard II. of England; which he neglecting to give in due time, thereby lost, as Mezerai confesses, a noble opportunity of advantage against France and Flanders. King Charles VI. of France attacked Artevill's army with sixty thousand disciplined troops, then besieging Oudenarde, and, totally routed it, Artevill himself, with forty thousand of his army, being slain. By this fatal and shameful negligence of King Richard II. the party which favoured, and had often been extremely beneficial to England, was entirely and irrecoverably crushed.

In the said vol. vii. p. 356, of the *Fœdera*, the Pope's collector of his dues in England, obtained leave of King Richard II. to export, custom free, from the port of Bristol, a great quantity of woollen goods, furs, &c. for garments, beds, and other household furniture; which, as it shews the progress of the English manufactures at this time, and likewise, in some degree, the fashions and usages of the age, is, therefore, we hope, worth reciting, viz.

“ Six pieces of green tapestry, powdered with roses; a present for his Holiness. One great “ green curtain of serge. Two blue bancals (*bancalia*) of tapestry work. Five pair of sheets “ and two blankets. Six pieces of blue bed curtains. One great cultrex (*unam magnam cul-* “ *tricem*) for a bed, and six curtains for a chamber. Five pieces of red curtains, and four for “ ornaments for a chamber. Two great pieces of red serge for adorning a hall, worked with “ the arms of the Pope, the King, and the Church. Two great bancals for the said hall, and “ a small piece of red serge. One piece of red and black cloth of tapestry. Five mantles of “ Irish cloth, one lined with green. Another mantle of mixed cloth, lined with green. One “ russet garment lined with Irish cloth. One green cloth, for telling of money upon. Three
be,

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1382 “ beds with testers, (*cum testis*). A striped blue cloth for a valet. One piece of blue cloth of fifty ells. Sixteen ells of mixed colours, and six ells of blankets. One mantle of mixed colours, lined with beaver, (as I guess *bayro* to be meant to signify) with hood and cope lined. One blue mantle and supertunic, lined with grey. Another garment lined with *calabré*, (N. N.)—with a coat and hood lined with blanket. Another garment without sleeves, lined with beaver; and another with lamb skin. One beaver fur for a furtout. One capellum, and one pair of gloves lined with grey. One pair of beaver gloves. One mixed coloured coat lined with blanket. Two round mantles, one mixed, the other black. One garment of Norfolk cloth lined with black, and another lined with green. One *gipponum* (possibly a petticoat or gown, from the French word *Jupe*) of another form. Four straight coats of blanket. One entire robe lined with *syndoné*, (N. N.)—and one of sanguine coloured, lined also with *syndoné*. One violet hood, lined with scarlet. One piece of blue of ten ells, with towels and other sorts of linen cloth. One tabardum, (N. N.) with supertunic and hood lined with blue *syndoné*. One sanguine coloured hood lined with black. One scarlet double hood, and one of sanguine colour.—Thirty books, great and small, belonging to the said Pope’s collector.”

And p. 357, we find him, the same year, by a like licence, shipping off from the port of Southampton, for his Holiness, without paying any custom, the following particulars, viz.

“ Certain alabaster images of the Holy Trinity—of the Virgin Mary, and of St. Peter and St. Paul: also many pewter vessels, brass candlesticks, basons, and lavatories: also woollen gloves, stockings, and also knives.”

From all which it is evident, that we were, even at this time, greatly advanced towards perfection in various sorts of woollen goods, brass and pewter manufactures, &c.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 359, we have a receipt of King Richard II. to the city of London for his crown and jewels now delivered up, which he had formerly pawned to that city for two thousand pounds. That crown weighed upwards of four pounds weight of gold, (now worth forty-four pounds each pound) and was adorned with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls; as was also a gold-hilted sword, and many other gold trinkets, set with the like precious stones.

In the same volume vii. p. 373, of the *Fœdera*, King Richard II. “ excuses the town of Colchester for five years to come, from sending any burgesses to Parliament, the better to enable them to build a wall of stone and lime round their town, for their defence against any enemies who may hereafter attempt them.”

And, in the same page of the *Fœdera*, King Richard going over to Calais, then threatened to be besieged by King Charles of France, summonses all the ships of his kingdom of twenty tons burden and upwards, to attend him at Sandwich.

We have formerly related about what time the Poles, or rather their Kings, embraced Christianity, which was about the close of the tenth century; yet the bulk of the people remained in Paganism long after. As to Lithuania, we find them entirely Pagan to the close of the fourteenth century, and probably somewhat later. In this year Jagellon, their Duke, was elected King of Poland, on condition of his uniting Lithuania to Poland, and also of his becoming a Christian: yet, at the same time, we find a considerable part of Poland still involved in the darkness of Paganism.

A. D.

1382

“ After the Christians were driven out of Palestine,” says the poet Chaucer, in his Knight’s Prologue, written in 1402, “ The English knights, in his time, were wont to travel into “ Prussia, Lithuania, and other heathen lands, to advance the Christian faith against infidels “ and miscreants,” as he expresses it, “ and to seek honour by feats of arms.” Accordingly, in Hakluyt, vol. i. we find “ Thomas Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of King Edward III. “ and Henry Earl of Derby,” afterwards King Henry IV. “ travelling towards Prussia, near “ the close of this century, to fight, in conjunction with the great Masters and Knights of “ Prussia and Livonia, against the Pagans of Lithuania: and the Lord Derby, with his re- “ tinue, was greatly assisting in the taking of Vilna, its capital, in the year 1390.”

1383

Eight cantons in Switzerland, says Heiss, in his History of the German Empire, having already shaken off the yoke of the house of Austria, and their subjection to the empire,—Leo- pold Duke of Austria, raised, at this time, a considerable army, in order to reduce them again under his government; but he lost both the battle and his own life: which success afterwards encouraged other cantons to a similar revolt.

In vol. vii. p. 377, of the *Fœdera*, King Richard II. fixed the prices of wines, by retail, as follows, viz. Rhenish, Gasconne, and Spanish wines, at sixpence, or fifteen-pence of our silver, per gallon, of each sort, in London and other towns; and when sent for sale into the country, the price not to be raised above one halfpenny per gallon for every fifty miles land-carriage.

In p. 417 of the *Fœdera*, vol. vii. we find a receipt given to King Robert II. of Scotland, for the last twenty-four thousand marks, completing King David Bruce’s ransom of one hun- dred thousand marks; being not only a formal discharge to King Robert, but to all the pre- lates, lords, &c. of Scotland, who had remained in England as hostages for that sum. There is also a discharge for the one hundred thousand pounds which King David, by a subsequent treaty, had obliged himself to pay to King Edward III. though, from the tenour of this re- cord, there is ground to conjecture that only the one hundred thousand marks was now paid, and not one hundred thousand pounds; which last sum was probably liquidated by some other means. Yet by a subsequent record in the same volume, it appears that this sum of twenty- four thousand marks was not then actually paid; neither was it paid in the year 1391, as ap- pears in p. 698 of the same volume.

1384

In those times, the Baltic sea swarmed with pirates; who, it seems, were men of quality, possessing strong castles on those shores, and greatly interrupted the maritime commerce, and the herring-fishery on the coast of Schonen. Whereupon a confederacy was entered into be- tween the Queen of Sweden, the nobility of Denmark, and the Hanseatic League, against those pirates; in which, amongst other points, it was stipulated, that when the confederates should take any castle from those pirates, it should remain in the custody of the Hans- League until they should be reimbursed the expence of this war: and the pirates were accordingly de- stroyed or dispersed. This article shews, that this armament was owing principally to the maritime power of the Hanseatic cities.

The Turks had greatly extended their conquests in the Lesser Asia, under Ottoman, their first Sultan, who laid the foundation of the Turkish empire in the year 1299, and died in 1328. Amurath the First, in 1384, passed the Thracian Bosphorus into Europe, and made consider- able conquests in Bulgaria, and along the river Danube. Bajazet succeeding in 1388, pushed his conquests much further into the now miserable, declining Greek empire, carrying his vic- torious arms into Thessaly, Macedonia, Attica, Mysia, &c. But he was obliged to raise the siege of Constantinople, after laying before it several years; and was himself afterwards van-

1384 quished and made prisoner by the great Tamerlane, or Timur Bek, the Tartar, concerning whose conquests, life, and principles, there have been many improbable and romantic stories handed down to us, and improved by several French authors, who delight to entertain their weaker readers with the marvellous, though at the expence of truth and reason.

1385 In vol. vii. p. 468, of the *Fœdera*, we have the first record of that noble collection in the English language, as it was then generally spoken by the borderers of the two Britannic nations, and is still intelligible at this day; being a treaty between Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, on the part of England, and Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, on the part of Scotland, concerning grievances on the west marches, or borders; but it has nothing immediately relative to commerce in it.

In p. 473 of the same volume, we have the form of a summons of King Richard II. to his bishops and abbots, to send out their quotas of men, arms, and horses, in order to join him at Newcastle, for opposing the intended invasion of the Scots, to second the operations of France against England, for which great preparations were now making, viz.

“*Totum servitium quod nobis debetis habeatis ad nos, cum equis et armis, bepe munitum et paratum.*” *i. e.* They were to send the entire service due to us, with proper arms, horses, &c.

And to the temporal lords and gentlemen thus:

“*Vobis mandamus, in fide et homagio quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungentes, quod ad predictos diem et locum, cum equis et armis, et toto servitio quod nobis debetis, in casu tam arduo, ad nos sitis prompti et parati, ad proficiscendum nobiscum, &c.*” *i. e.* We command you, upon your allegiance to us, that you be ready with your horses and arms, to attend us with your entire service in so arduous a business.

The city of Bruges, in Flanders, seems about this time to have been in the very zenith of glory. The *Annales Flandriae*, under this year, relate, “That so great was the commerce of that city, that there were houses, tribes, and factories constantly residing therein, for the business of commerce, from the following cities, states, and nations, viz. From Lubeck, Hamburg, Cologne, Dantzick, and Bremen (Hans-towns); from England, Scotland, France, Portugal, Castile, Arragon, and Biscay; from the Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, Luccefe, Milanese, and Placentians.”

As neither Denmark, Norway, or Sweden, are herein mentioned as having any houses at Bruges, we may reasonably enough suppose their trade in those times was very small, and that what they had was probably carried on by means of the Hans-towns above-mentioned. In fact, Bruges was then, what Antwerp became afterwards, the absolute center of all the commerce of Christendom.

1386 This year is memorable for the greatest naval preparations that France had ever made till then; King Charles VI. of France had formed the design of an invasion of England, with a land army of one hundred thousand men, to be assembled near Sluys in Flanders. Dr. Brady quotes Froissart, who says, “that since God created the world, there never had been seen so many great ships together.” They amounted to about thirteen hundred of all sorts. Yet this mighty armament met with effectual disappointments, was long detained in the ports of Sluys and Blankenburg by contrary winds, and when got out, was afterwards blown back; so that it became too late to prosecute their enterprize for that year, and King Richard II. was better prepared to receive them in the next.

A. D.

1386

In this ninth year of King Richard II. there was first established a company or guild of linen-weavers in London, consisting of such as had been brought over from the Netherlands by King Edward III. though much molested by the weavers company of London, and which, in the end, never arrived to any considerable degree of success.

In vol. vii. p. 494, of the *Fœdera*, we find King Richard II. had settled a pension of one thousand pounds yearly on Leon, the Christian King of Armenia, who had been driven from his kingdom by the Turks. In former reigns, there had been frequent collections made in England, as well as elsewhere, for supporting those Christian Kings of Armenia against the Turkish power; which, however, at length swallowed them up.

The same year, John Duke of Lancaster, claiming the crown of Castile in right of his wife Constantia, set sail from England with a great number of knights, gentlemen, and soldiers, and a considerable fleet, to support a title he had long assumed; but it proved fruitless, and was the means of draining England of much treasure. (*Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 499, and p. 521.) In this expedition the Portuguese lent ten of their galleys, each carrying two hundred and thirty-four soldiers, and one hundred and eighty rowers, which shews they must have been very large vessels.

A rebellion breaking out in Ireland in this same year, an armament was prepared for quelling the same, which assembled at Bristol.—*Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 506.

In the same year, King Richard II. still apprehensive of the preparations, before-mentioned, by France for an invasion of England, had assembled all the shipping of England, both of the admiralty of the north and of the west, which were of the burthen of sixty tons, and upwards, to make head against the French. Yet, out of the admiralty of the north, he excepted the fishers of Blakeney, Cley, Cromer, and the neighbouring parts; so important was the fishery on the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk esteemed in those times.

It is in this year we first meet with any mercantile treaty and correspondence between England and the republic of the Master and German Knights of the Cross, sovereigns of Prussia. A ship of theirs arriving in England, with two of those knights, and a citizen of Thorn, as ambassadors, for a treaty with King Richard II. which gave rise to a considerable commercial correspondence between England and Prussia.—*Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 525.

In vol. vii. p. 526, of the *Fœdera*, a truce was made between the Lord Nevill, warden of the east-marches of England, and the Earls of Douglas and March, wardens of the east-marches of Scotland; wherein there is an article in the Scottish dialect as follows: "It is accordit, that special assurance fall be on the lee, fra the water of Spee," i. e. the river Spey, in the north of Scotland, "to the water of Tamys," that is, the river Thames, "for all merchandes of both the roiolmes and their godes."

King Richard II. during the alarm caused by the French preparations to invade England, once more raises money by loans from his bishops and abbots, and also from the following cities and towns:—*Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 543.

Probi homines de Bristol, two hundred pounds; York, Lincoln, Norwich, Lynn, and Coventry, each one hundred pounds; Coventry again, eighty-two pounds two shillings; Lincoln again, seventy pounds sixteen shillings; Leicester and Bury St. Edmund's, each sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence; Shrewsbury, sixty-six pounds; Gloucester, fifty-four pounds; Canterbury, Hereford, and Winchester, fifty pounds each; Chichester, Oxford, and Ipswich, forty pounds each; Worcester and Derby, each twenty pounds; Litchfield, thirteen pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence: London, without doubt, largely contributed, though

1386 not found in this record; and probably many other towns also. We hereby again see, that, London always excepted, the city of Bristol takes the lead in all the loans hitherto made to this King.

Under this same year, Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum* gives us John de Raby, Lord Nevill's last will, to shew that in ancient times the great English nobility and gentry had very considerable quantities of gold and silver plate, and other rich moveables.—See also the year 1440.

I. He gives to his son Ralph, two of his best silk beds, six dozen of silver dishes, four dozen of salts, eight pots, four flagons, four dozen of spoons, eight chargers, six basons, one gold cup, and five silver gilt cups.

II. To his son Thomas, twenty-four silver dishes, twelve saucers, two basons, two ewers, one gold cup and cover, one silk bed.

III. To his brother William, twelve silver dishes.

IV. To his sister, a gold cup and cover, and two pair of gold beads.

V. To a daughter, twelve dishes, six saucers, and two cups.

VI. To another, a gold cup, and a silver gilt one, twelve dishes, and twelve saucers.

VII. To another daughter, twelve dishes, six saucers, two cups, two pots, two basons, and two lavatories.

VIII. To another person, two basons and lavatories, one great cup and patten.

IX. To another, one silver great cup and cover.

X. To another, two cups, to the value of twenty-three marks.

XI. To two more, each a gilt cup and cover, and to one of them a lavatory.

XII. To his brother, the Archbishop of York, a garment of red velvet, embroidered with roses.

XIII. To two other persons, each two basons and two ewers, and one gilt cup.

XIV. To another, twenty marks, and a gilt cup.

XV. To two others, each a silver vessel and cover, which the Latin of those times calls *pecia*.

XVI. Amongst his servants he ordered five hundred marks to be distributed.

XVII. To another, a silver gilt cup. To another a silver gilt *pecia* and cover.

Total—Four gold cups and covers, twelve dozen of silver dishes, (as there is no mention of plates, it is probable they were included under the name of dishes) four dozen of salts, four dozen of spoons, twenty-one silver gilt cups, ten pots, sixteen basons, (several of them with lavatories) six ewers, eight chargers, three dozen of saucers, three *pecia*. After directing one thousand marks for marrying his daughter, besides several money legacies of twenty, thirty, and forty pounds, he orders the chariot which conveys his corps, to be covered with russet, escutcheons, &c.

1387 A French fleet, joined by many Flemish and Spanish ships, conveying a vast number of ships laden with Rochelle wine, appearing in sight of the Earl of Arundel, admiral of the English fleet, a sharp engagement ensued; in which the English took above one hundred ships, with many persons of rank, and nineteen thousand tons of wine. After which our admiral relieved the town of Brest, then besieged a second time by the Duke of Bretagne; and between Lady-day and the Midsummer following, he took one hundred and sixty of the enemy's laden ships.

Notwithstanding our frequently meeting, before this time, with the titles of admiralty of the north, and of the west, in England, yet Dr. Godolphin, in his *View of the Admiralty Jurisdiction*, alleges, that it was not till this tenth year of King Richard II. that England had any officer

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1387 officer styled *Admirallus Angliæ*, and this was in the person of the above-named Richard, son of Allan, Earl of Arundel and Surry. It would be to very little purpose in this work minutely to recount all the damages done at different times in this reign to the coasts and shipping of France, as they are to be found in almost all the common histories of England.

1388 By an act of Parliament of the twelfth of Richard II. cap. iv. the rates of servants wages in husbandry were fixed, viz. The bailiff of the farm, thirteen shillings and fourpence, or one pound thirteen shillings and fourpence of our money, and his cloathing once in a year, (his victuals and lodging are of course pre-supposed); the master hind, that is, the first servant, ten shillings; the carter and shepherd, each ten shillings; the ox-herd, cow-herd, and swine-head, each six shillings and eightpence yearly; a woman-servant, six shillings yearly. The very next act of this same year directs, That whoever serves in husbandry till he is twelve years old, shall so continue afterwards, without being bound or put out apprentice to any trade or artifice. And another, cap. iii. of this same year enacts, "That no artificer, labourer, or servant, male or female, nor victualler, shall depart from one hundred to another, without a testimonial under the King's seal on pain of being set in the stocks, and to be obliged to return to his respective hundred, rape, or wapentake, unless he be sent on business by his lord or master." These two laws are sufficient proofs of the slavish condition of the bulk of the common servants of England in those times.

In this same year, the twelfth of Richard II. the staple of English wool, &c. which had been settled for some time at Middleburg in Zealand, was by an act of Parliament removed and settled once more at Calais. We have no where met with the time of the staple's being removed from Calais to Middleburg; but it is plain it was but a little time at the latter place, from it having been fixed so lately at Calais as in the year 1376.

Commercial disputes, towards the close of this century, became very frequent between England and the Great Master of Prussia, some of whose subjects had, in this year, seized on certain effects of the English; whereupon King Richard II. caused reprisals to be made on the Prussian merchants at Lynn. Yet he sent in this same year three persons to Prussia, where they settled all disputes, and re-established mutual commerce between both nations.—Vol. vii. p. 580, of the *Fœdera*.

And, in p. 581 of the same volume, in this year, we find King Richard II. appointing several persons of eminence to treat with the Earl of Flanders, and the three good towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and the free country, for accommodating all disputes and complaints on both sides.

Moreover, in p. 602, of vol. vii. of the *Fœdera*, we meet with the first mention, in that collection, of the merchants of the Hans, as a body or society. It is in a commission from King Richard II. to certain persons, "to treat with the noble and good men of the town of Straelsund, (*Ville de la Sounde*) in Germany, and with the merchants of the Hans in those parts and their deputies, upon certain doubts and discords between us and the said merchants, occasioned by the arresting of certain ships and merchandize, under pretence of reprisals; and, finally, to settle mutual commerce, and the mutual resort of the merchants to both countries. As the Great Masters of the Teutonic Order in Prussia had ever, from the beginning, been the heads and protectors of the Hanseatic League, the seizures herein last-mentioned, may possibly have been of the same kind with those above-mentioned under this year; and that although the name of Prussia is alone introduced in the former case, yet the ships and effects might, and probably did, belong to Straelsund.

About

A. D.

1388

About this time, according to Puffendorf's History of Sweden, their famous Queen Margaret attacked and besieged the eminent and free mercantile city of Wisbuy, in the isle of Gothland; but it was relieved, and the siege raised by the German Knights of the Cross of Prussia and Livonia. Those despotic princes, neighbours to such free, wealthy, and independent mercantile cities, ever did, and ever will, look with a jealous and envious eye on them, for very obvious reasons.

1389

According to Hakluyt's second volume, p. 69, published in 1599, in this year Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV. of England, with an army of English, (others say only a single regiment, which indeed is more likely) joined one of France under the Duke of Bourbon, and, at the request of the Genoese, sailed from Genoa, in order to attack the city of Tunis in Barbary, which by its piracies had much infested the coast of Italy. And although they were not able to take Tunis, they are said, nevertheless, to have received a ransom or compensation, and to have engaged that city not any more to infest the coasts of Italy and France. Some French and Genoese historians say, that such was the zeal of the Christian Princes at that time against the infidel Moors, that the two Kings of England and France, Richard II. and Charles VI. agreed to a three years truce, purely that they might be at leisure to attack the Moors; and that great was the concourse of English and French nobility, &c. then at Genoa for that end; when, in a fleet of three hundred galleys, and one hundred transports, were embarked fourteen thousand French and English, twelve thousand Genoese archers, and eight thousand other soldiers: yet, says the Genoese author, Baptista Burgus, "our annals, as they are accustomed, tell the truth, and reduce the number to twenty great transports, and forty galleys." A very great reduction indeed; and probably the account of the land-forces required a proportionable diminution. The Venetians also, though then at war with Genoa, for a while suspended their anger, and joined in this expedition. The issue of which, in short, according to Burgus, was, that the King of Tunis was compelled to restore all the Christian captives, and to pay ten thousand gold crowns, or, as others say, ducats.

It is well known, that the capital towns of the Netherlands had anciently a very great sway in the government of that country, so that their Princes could not, without their consent, make war, or even lay on new taxes, for the maintenance of military forces. Of this De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, part ii. chap. 3. gives a striking instance in this year; when Duke Albert of Bavaria, Earl of Holland, Zealand, &c. brought these provinces, without the consent of the two towns of Dort and Zierikzee, into a war with England. In that war the English took many Netherland ships coming from Rochelle with wine; at the same time not only releasing all the ships which belonged to Dort and Zierikzee, but actually brought their other prizes to those two ports to be sold, because they had not consented to that war. On this same principle also was founded the treaty long after made between England and the Netherlands, called by the latter by way of eminence *Intercursus Magnus*, in the year 1495. So, in effect, these towns were, even more than at present, a sort of separate republics joined in a federal union. They even had anciently a right, independent of the approbation of their Earls, to entertain military troops in their pay; neither, according to our said authentic author, were their town councils under any oath to their prince; and it was purely from differences which arose amongst themselves, that their princes usurped and acquired the nomination of their magistrates.

1390

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, returned in this year from Spain, "where he had made so great a progress" toward his conquest of Castile, claimed in right of his wife,

†

daughter

A.
1390 daughter of Peter the Cruel, "as obliged John I. King of Castile, to make a treaty with him for his relinquishing his said claim, promising to pay him six hundred thousand livres, and a yearly pension of forty thousand, during the life of him and his duchess" which sum was then equal to ten thousand pounds sterling.

In this year we learn, in part, the antiquity of two sorts or species of the English woollen manufacture, viz. of Kendal coarse cloth, and of the fine plain cloths of the western counties. The Kendal cloth is mentioned in an act of Parliament, cap. 10. of the thirteenth of King Richard II. together with a coarse cloth of Westmoreland, and other parts, named cogg-ware, as not subject to the statute of assize of lengths and breadths. And, cap. 11. the plain cloths of the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Bristol, and Gloucester, are mentioned; to which fine cloths, besides the aulneger's seal, the weavers and fullers were thereby obliged to put their seals also. And the following year, or the fourteenth of Richard II. there is a statute, cap. x. directing that Guildford cloths shall not be sold before they be fulled and dressed. It was probably the vicinity of such places as Guildford to London, where provisions grew too dear for the manufacturers, which obliged them to remove further off, both westward and northward. These, and other acts, testify the great progress of our woollen manufacture at this time.

Yet the author of a Plan of the English Commerce, published in octavo, in the year 1728, was so ignorant of this material part of commercial history, as to affirm, in p. 126, "That King Henry VII. was the first prince who put the English upon the thoughts of manufacturing their own wool."

The Scottish silver coins further degenerating from their original equality with those of the same denomination in England, the English Parliament, in this same year, was obliged, cap. 12. to enact, "That a Scottish groat should pass in England but for two-pence, and a Scottish penny for an English mail," that is, an halfpenny; "and the Scottish mail, or half-penny, should pass but for an English farthing. And that in case the Scottish money shall hereafter be further diminished, its value in England shall be proportionably reduced.—" Commissions, moreover, were hereby directed to make an enquiry throughout the realm, who they were who have sent English money into Scotland, to be there coined into Scottish money, to the prejudice and damage of the King and kingdom."

By a statute of the fourteenth of King Richard II. cap. 1. the staple for English merchandize was again removed from Calais to the several towns in England, as directed by the statute of the staple, in the twenty-seventh year of King Edward III. By this law likewise, all foreign merchants, bringing merchandize into England, were again obliged to buy to the amount of half of the value of their said merchandize in English wool, leather, lead, tin, butter, cheese, cloths, &c. being only a confirmation of part of the act of King Edward III.

Several causes had by this time concurred gradually to eclipse the glory of the once so highly renowned republic of Geneva; particularly, under this year, their historiographer De Mailly, relates, "That from the violent contests between her old and new nobles, and between the nobility and plebeians, her ancient splendour was much decayed, and her maritime commerce almost entirely abandoned; having, moreover, no longer any powerful armies on foot, she was become so feeble and contemptible, that several of her own nobles had now usurped the sovereignty of sundry places in her ancient dominions: such, for instance, as the Grimaldi family did of Monaco, the Interiani of Portoferrero, &c."

By this time the English merchants trading to, and residing in the ports of Prussia, and in others of the Hans-towns, were become so numerous, and their commerce so considerable, "that

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1390 " that King Richard II. at their request, confirmed the election which the community of
 " those merchants had before made, of John Beby's, a merchant of London, to be governor of
 " all the merchants of England in the lands, places, and dominions therein named. Hereby
 " also granting them power to meet annually, and elect a governor to succeed him who was
 " so the preceding year; giving the said respective governor full power, as much as in him,
 " the King lies, either of himself, or deputies, to govern the said merchants, and to do speedy
 " justice to them in all differences, and for rectifying all disputes: also for obtaining redress
 " of all grievances and wrongs which may be done to the said English merchants by any of
 " the merchants and people of the said places and countries, according to the power and pri-
 " vileges granted, or hereafter to be granted, by the Great Master of Prussia." This office of
 governor, very nearly answered to the more modern name of consul, whom we and other na-
 tions appoint to watch over their commercial interests in foreign ports.

Although the King, in this record, mentions no privileges granted to his subjects by the
 Hanseatic Society; yet, as the great master of Prussia was perpetually head and protector, of
 that confederacy, we may suppose the privileges of the English at the Hans-Towns to have
 been tacitly implied herein. Thus our English merchants gradually increased their commerce
 in the ports of the Baltic Sea, and thereby, as it were, insensibly gained much of the ancient
 commerce of the Hans Towns in those parts, who had, for some ages, engrossed it entirely to
 themselves.

By a statute of the fifteenth of Richard II. cap. vi. which may be called a new act of navi-
 gation, " all English merchants were bound to freight only in English ships, and not foreign-
 " ers ships; provided the owners of the English ships take reasonable gains for the freight of
 " the same."

The clerk of the market of the King's House had been, by several former laws, directed to
 see that all false weights and measures should be destroyed, and just ones sealed by him alone.
 By a statute likewise of this thirteenth of Richard II. cap. iv. the same was confirmed. Yet
 even by this statute it appears, that this officer had oftentimes exceeded the bounds of justice;
 and therefore he is thereby forbidden to take any extravagant fines, or to ride with above six
 horses; and he was to be fined if he transgressed against the laws. This office had, in those
 times, been a very lucrative employment, but proved often very grievous and vexatious to the
 people. It was used, for a long course of years, to be farmed throughout the kingdom for
 large sums, which were reimbursed to the purchasers by grievous exactions on the people.
 Wherefore by an act of the sixteenth of King Charles I. cap. xix. this officer was in future
 limited to execute his office only within the verge of the court; and every where else the busi-
 ness of regulating weights and measures was committed to the legal magistrates. In the reign
 of his late Majesty King George I. a person who enjoyed that office by patent, attempted
 legally to regain its ancient great prerogatives; but was cast at law.

The Tunisians were so formidable at this time, that they robbed throughout all the Me-
 diterranean Sea. Whereupon, says Thomas, in his History of Italy, printed in 1561, p. 176,
 4to, the Genoese and other states joined in requesting King Charles VI. of France, to make
 an attempt on the King of Tunis. Whereupon that King sent the Duke of Bourbon, who
 brought great forces, as well of France as of the aid sent him from England, and the Genoese
 joined with forty galleys and twenty ships. So that the King of Tunis was compelled to re-
 lease all the Christian slaves, to pay ten thousand ducats, and to promise to rob no more on
 the seas. The Genoese historians give great applause to the English archers, who, at landing,
 obliged

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1390 obliged the Moors to retreat, enabling, by their prowess, the rest of the Christian army to land securely. But this is, most probably, the very same expedition which we have exhibited under the year 1389, though with some little variation.

1391 Under this year, we have a testimony of the rate or expence of living, taken from a record in the seventh volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 695, in the following appointments of King Richard II's confessor, who was the Bishop of St. Asaph, and by his office was obliged "constantly to remain about the King's person for the benefit and health of his soul."

First, "for the maintenance of himself and his assistant, (*socii sui*) and of his men and servants within our palace, and of four horses and one hackney, (*unius hackensi*) three shillings per day, or fifty-four pounds twelve shillings yearly." Here he reckons only three hundred and sixty-four days in the year, but does not express the number of his men and servants.

£. 54 12 0

Secondly, "for the wages of four boys or young men, to look after the said horses, at one penny halfpenny each, per day, or three pence three farthings of our money,"

9 2 6

Thirdly, "for other small necessaries,"

5 16 0

Total 69 10 6

Now although this sum reduced into our money, by valuing their penny at two pence halfpenny of the present times, amounts to one hundred and seventy-three pounds sixteen shillings and three-pence, and supposing that all necessaries were then still at or about five times as cheap as in our days, this confessor, with all his servants and horses, cost the crown as much as would be in our days equal to three hundred and forty-seven pounds twelve shillings and six-pence of our money yearly.

N. B. The very same allowances, and in the self same words, are made use of by King Henry V. to his confessor, in the year 1413.

The statute of the fourteenth of King Richard II. cap. ii confirmed by the eleventh of King Henry IV. cap. viii, directs, "that upon every exchange made by merchants to the court of Rome or elsewhere, they shall be bound in Chancery, within three months after, to buy merchandize of the staple; such as wool, leather, lead, tin, cheese, butter, cloth, &c. to the value thereof. But by the ninth of King Henry V. cap. ix. they were allowed nine months." These sort of laws shew how little they understood the true nature of commerce in those times.

About this time, playing cards were first invented in France, for the diversion of their King, Charles VI. fallen into a melancholy disposition. This invention, in appearance so trifling, has since proved a considerable article of commerce in every country of Europe, though, without doubt, play is too much in use, and has often done much hurt to persons and families amongst the lower as well as the higher classes of people.

By a statute of this fourteenth year of King Richard II. cap. ix. it is enacted, "that merchant-strangers repairing into the realm of England, shall be well, courteously, and right-fully used and governed in the said realm, to the intent that they shall have the greater courage to repair unto the same." This statute but too plainly implies that foreign merchants had been ill-treated in England; of which there were many instances in preceding times.

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We have elsewhere observed, that the free states of Italy were undoubtedly the earliest of any part of the old western empire who commenced the revival of maritime commerce after its overthrow, and were likewise by much the earliest in the improvement of rich manufactures, and in the possession of many other fine materials for commerce, with which they long supplied other nations, and even the courts of Princes with their most superb ornaments. In vol. vii. p. 699, of the *Fœdera*, we have “ a precept of King Richard II. of England, to the collectors of his customs in the port of London, to permit Bartholomew Lombard, a merchant of Lucca, to import, custom free, two crowns of gold, set with precious stones; and for Lewis Daporte, another Lucca merchant, to import a certain chamber,” *i. e.* a chamber’s furniture, “ of cloth of gold and silk, to be sold to the King, or to any others that can buy them.”

This, as well as the crowns, was undoubtedly for the King’s proper use, though expressed as above; he being extremely expensive and profuse in his apparel and household.

In this year, King Richard II. directs a fleet of ships to be fitted out for conducting his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, with a great retinue, to Prussia, in order to treat of certain points with the Great Master of the Teutonic Order. Yet it does not appear that such voyage was actually accomplished, though thus related in the *Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 705.

At this time the humour of suppressing all manner of use or interest for money, then always termed usury, seems to have run high. In Sir Robert Cotton’s *Abridgment of the Records in the Tower*, p. 339, the House of Commons, in this fourteenth year of Richard II. pray the King, “ that against the horrible vice of usury,” then also termed *schefes*, “ practised as well by the clergy as laity, the order made by John Notte, late Mayor of London, may be executed throughout the realm.” We do not recollect that any of the surveys of London have taken notice of this order of that Mayor.

The first mention we meet with of the Orphans Fund of the city of London is in this year, in Knighton’s *Chronicle*; who relates, that a great dearth of provisions happening, the Mayor took two thousand marks out of the Orphans Fund for purchasing of corn from beyond sea for the benefit of the poor; wheat being at sixteen shillings and eight pence the quarter, which would go as far as about five pounds of our money, and to that sum twenty-four aldermen added each twenty pounds for the same charitable purpose.

About this time the famous warrior, Sir Robert Knollys, who, in the reign of King Edward III. had signalized himself very much in the war of Guienne, built, at his own expence, that noble and beautiful stone bridge over the river Medway at Rochester, as it appears at present. Which bridge, compared with that of London across the Thames into Southwark, eminently shews the great improvement made in that kind of architecture between the year 1212, when London Bridge was finished, and the present year 1391.

1392

The city of London fell, at this time, under the displeasure of King Richard II. and his Council, under pretence of certain misdemeanors and transgressions; but the true ground of the royal anger was, that the citizens refused to advance that King loans of money to support his enormous extravagance, in living, &c. He is said to have maintained daily in his palace six thousand persons, in his kitchen alone three hundred, and a proportionable number in his Queen’s apartment: others make his household amount to ten thousand persons; and all authors agree that he kept the most splendid court of any English King since the conquest: even his inferior servants were richly clad; so that the infection of extravagance spread amongst all the people, and in the end brought on this King’s ruin. We see, therefore, in vol. vii. p.

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1392 735 of the *Fœdera*, that Richard suspended the magistrates of London from their offices, and fined them in three thousand marks, and the city in so large a sum as one hundred thousand pounds. Yet, in the same year, he restored the magistrates, and forgave both these mulcts, on condition of the city's paying him ten thousand pounds in lieu of all demands; which sum was actually paid by the city, as appears by that King's acquittance in the same seventh volume, p. 739. The city also presented that King at this time with two golden crowns; (the same probably which had been imported from Lucca in the preceding year) and in return for these costly presents, &c. Richard, to gratify the city in their constant ill-judged aversion to merchant-strangers, repealed their chief privileges, depriving them of the liberty of selling any kind of merchandize excepting provisions; which, however, they were only to sell by wholesale, but not by retail, and only to English subjects.

In this year, according to most authors, the Jews were banished out of the German empire; being accused, as in other Christian countries, of many enormous crimes. Although it is justly suspected that their crimes were much exaggerated, if not totally forged, by the fury of the clergy against them in that country as well as elsewhere.

1393 The silver coins of England being at this time much melted down and otherwise diminished, and the Scottish coins still further degenerating, the English Parliament, in this seventeenth year of King Richard II. confirmed, by an act, cap. i. a former law of the ninth of Edward III. not only against melting down the silver pence, halfpence, and farthings, by goldsmiths and others for making of plate, &c. and also of the new groats and half groats, but enacted further, "That no gold nor silver coins of Scotland, nor of other lands beyond sea, shall hereafter run in any manner of payment within the realm of England, but shall be brought to the mint, there to be molten into the coin of England. And that no man shall send any English money into Scotland to change the same for Scottish money, upon pain of forfeiture, imprisonment, fine, &c." And this is the first time that a total prohibition was enacted of the Scottish coins circulating in England.

It seems as if there was some ground for the loud complaints made by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, concerning the grievances and injuries which all his merchants of Prussia, &c. then suffered in England, "contrary," says the said Grand Master, in his letter to King Richard II. "to the privileges and immunities granted to them, with the rest of the merchants of Germany, by his royal predecessors; and therefore requesting a speedy redress thereof, as the English merchants of Prussia enjoyed all possible freedom in their commerce, agreeable to stipulations," *Fœdera*, vol. vii. p. 743.

It is to be feared, that those hardships proceeded from the aversion which our trading corporations, and the sea ports also, too generally, but most unadvisedly testified, against foreigners trading to or residing with them. What those grievances were, does not now, however, particularly appear by this record.

In the seventh volume, p. 744, of the *Fœdera*, it also appears, "That King Richard II. of England, did this year lend to the famous Margaret Queen of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the use of three large ships of war, belonging to the port of Lynn in Norfolk, for supporting and assisting her against the repeated insults of her enemies; she obliging herself to make satisfaction to the proprietors of the said ships for the use of them."

Thus those northern nations which were formerly so terrible, and who, within the compass of the four last centuries had overawed, ravaged, and at length absolutely conquered England with their numerous fleets, are now already necessitated to have recourse to English shipping

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1393 for their own safety. The enemies Queen Margaret here means were the Hans-towns, at this time very potent at sea.

• In the very next page of volume vii. we find King Richard II. granting a licence to John Duke of Bretagne, to export the following merchandize custom free, viz.

“ One cloth and fifteen ells of scarlet—Nine cloths of divers colours—One piece of canvas for a woollack, (*pro serplario*)—Fifteen ells of blanket, and fifteen ells of black,” blanket here and in other places, in those times, probably means only a coarser kind of undressed white cloth—“ Sixteen saddles—Ten cloth sacks—Two pair of coffres, (*coffrarum*)—Three butts of Malmesey wine—Two bows, and three dozen of arrows—Two pair of trapps, (*de trappis*)—Nine pair of bottles, (*botellorum*)—One hundred and thirty-two pounds of sugar, (*de zucurio*)—Fifty grelings, and fifty lings, three barrels of white herrings,” this is another proof, besides those of 1310 and 1338, of salted white herrings being known and in use before Buckelem’s supposed invention of pickling them, “ and four of red herrings—One hundred and fifty stock-fish—Twelve brass-kettles, and twelve brass chafing-dishes—Six patels of gold-leaf—Two lebeks—Fourteen bayles—Two stands for candlesticks—One bed of white and green, with curtains, &c.—And one alabaster image of St. Michael.”

These things, though but trifling in themselves, nevertheless serve, in some degree, to shew the state of commerce and manufactures in those times.

About this time, King Richard II. finished the rebuilding of the present great and noble hall at his palace of Westminster, which had been first built in the year 1097, by King William Rufus; by which stately edifice some judgment may be formed of the taste of this age in architecture, as well as of Richard’s great magnificence.

In this year, a private adventurer from the coast of Biscay, landed on one of the Canary isles, and first fully discovered them all. Whereupon Henry King of Castile, reserving to himself, and his successors, the superiority of those isles, bestowed them on one John de Bethancourt, a Frenchman, who made some improvements on them, and had for a while the splendid title of King thereof bestowed on him. He was succeeded by one Menault, another Frenchman, who sold his right to one Ferdinand Perez of Seville, whose posterity held those islands till the reign of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, when they reverted to the crown of Spain.

After several regulations made by sundry laws in this and the preceding reign, in relation to the breadths, lengths, &c. of English-made woollen cloths, and for ascertaining the aulneger’s duty, an act passed in this same year, being the fourteenth year of King Richard II. cap. 2. “ Granting leave for every one to make and sell cloths, and kerseys of such lengths and breadths as they shall think fit, paying only the aulnage subsidy, and other duties. But none shall put cloths to sale before they be measured and scaled by the King’s aulneger; and none shall put any deceitful mixture in the kerseys.”

In cap. 3. it was enacted, “ That bolts of single worsted might be exported any where, on paying the usual customs, but without paying the duties of Calais. But no double worsteds, nor half double, nor worsteds-ray, nor motley, shall be carried out.” This act plainly shews we were now become very considerable in the exportation of our woollen manufacture.

1394 In this year, the Jews in Spain being accused of notorious frauds and extortions, by which they grievously abused the people, we find in Campbell’s History of the Balearic Islands, p. 234-5, that they were put to the sword all over the continent of Spain, and their habitations plundered; and an equally rigorous severity was practised, in the same year, on the Jews of the island of Majorca.

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In this year, according to Werdenhagen's second volume, p. 366, of his *Traſtatus de Rebuspublicis Hanſeaticis*, the great herring-fiſhery on the coaſt of Schonen, which had hitherto been ſo much frequented by the Hanſeatics, &c. was totally interrupted by the boldneſs of the pirates, who at this time grievouſly infeſted the Baltic ſhores.

In the ſeventh volume, p. 788, of the *Fœdera*, we find the herrings had, in this year, reſorted in great quantities to the Britiſh eaſtern ſhores: for King Richard II. iſſued his proclamation, importing, “ That whereas the preceding had been a very bad year for the her-
“ ring-fiſhing of many countries, ſo that foreigners, for their own private gain, reſorted with
“ their ſhips, caſks, ſalt, and other implements, to the port of Whitby in Yorkſhire, where
“ they bought up, ſalted, and barrelled ſome of the herrings, and of others they made red-
“ herrings; carrying them all home to their own countries, to the great damage of the Engliſh
“ people, and particularly of the ſaid town of Whitby: the King therefore directs the bai-
“ liſs of the liberty of St. Hilda's church at Whitby, to prevent all foreigners who do not
“ conſtantly reſide there, from buying up of herrings.”

Although there be no other port or place named in this record but Whitby, it is however reaſonable to preſume, that this proclamation was either then intended to be general, or was afterwards made ſo, and it ſeems at beſt but a ſhort-ſighted regulation, if tending to put foreigners on ſupplying themſelves elſewhere; and a ſign that there was either a ſcarcity of provisions then in England, or elſe, perhaps, and which is more laudable, that no herrings ſhould be exported but in Engliſh ſhipping.

Although we have at ſeveral former periods treated of the maritime ſervice which the Cinque Ports owed to the crown of England by their various charters of privileges, yet in the ſeventh volume, p. 784, of the *Fœdera*, we have another authentic, as well as a more diſtinct and particular view of their ſervice to the crown, than any we have met with elſewhere. It is a mandate from King Richard II. in the year 1394, to John Beauchamp, (*De Bello Campa*) Conſtable of Dover Caſtle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, ſignifying, “ That
“ whereas our Barons of the Cinque Ports owe us the following annual ſervice when required,
“ viz. That the ſaid ports and their members ſhall, upon forty days notice, fit out and ſup-
“ ply us with fifteen well-armed ſhips, each having a maſter and twenty men, which ſhall, at
“ their coſts, ſail to the place we ſhall appoint, and ſhall remain there fifteen days at their
“ own coſts; which time being elapſed, the ſaid ſhips and men ſhall be at our proper charges
“ and pay, ſo long as we ſhall have need of them, viz.

1. “ The maſter of each ſhip ſhall have fixpence, or fifteen-pence of our money, per day.

2. “ The conſtable, the like wages, who probably was director in an engagement.

3. “ Each of the other men, threepence, or ſevenpence halfpenny of our money, per day.

“ As by the tenour of the charters of liberties granted by our predeceſſors, and which we
“ have confirmed to them.

“ And as we have ordained a great naval armament for our preſent voyage to Ireland,” there being then a rebellion of the natives of Ireland, “ we therefore direct the ſaid Cinque
“ Port ſhips to attend us at Briſtol.”

Yet, in p. 789, we find the general rendezvous of the King's fleet was to be at Milford-haven.

We again find the identical form of an order, in the year 1396, upon this King's going for France: in which neither the burthen or tonnage of the Cinque Port ſhips is ſpecified, but with reſpect to the ſhips from the other ports of England, they were all to be ſhips of eighty

tons,

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1394 tons, and upwards. And in none of the summonses or mandates to the Cinque Ports, is there any allowance specified for the freight of their ships; from which circumstance it is evident, that the ships were to be supplied to the crown gratis, at least till the expiration of the fifteen days already mentioned.

Once for all, we shall here also observe, that in all such orders or mandates for naval armaments, not only to the Cinque Ports, but to all the other ports of the kingdom of England, the King's commands were to be absolutely obeyed, under pain of imprisonment and fine, and even to be deemed guilty of rebellion.

1395 King Richard II. in vol. vij. p. 804, of the *Fœdera*, now sending his ambassadors to demand Isabella, the eldest daughter of Charles the Sixth of France, in marriage, "Instructs them "to demand for her portion two millions of franks," or livres; which at their then value of three shillings and fourpence sterling each, was three hundred and thirty three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling, "but they "were peremptorily to insist on one million and a half of franks," or two hundred and fifty "thousand pounds sterling, "and he instructs them to offer ten thousand marks yearly in "land for her dowry." The King making a demand of such large sums, though not obtained, tends to prove, that it was even then thought reasonable and practicable for France to give him: and this shews the great increase of money in Europe in about the space of one century past. "Yet, at length," as it appears in p. 873, "in the following year, 1396, the said "Princess's portion was fixed at eight hundred thousand franks," being one hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling, "three hundred thousand to be paid down, and ten thousand yearly of the remainder.— "And King Richard obliged himself to settle twenty thousand nobles English," i. e. ten "thousand marks, "yearly on Isabella:—A truce for twenty-five years being at the same "time concluded between England and France."

As the coins of Scotland had, by this time, been gradually coined considerably less in value, but still keeping up the denominations of English sterling money, we cannot absolutely determine the precise meaning of the words sterling money of Scotland, mentioned in Skene's *Regiam Majestatem*, under the word *sterlingus*. It is a deed of mortgage of Walter Lord Ralston, Viscount of Perth, to Robert Earl of Fife and Menteith, of a barony, "for two hundred marks sterling of Scottish money:" (*pro ducentis markis sterlingorum monete Scotie*) unless it was intended to be the value of two hundred marks English or sterling by weight, to be paid in Scottish money: or else by *sterlingorum*, might only be intended to mean the true and legal money of Scotland.

In this same year the renowned Queen Margaret brought about the famous union of Calmar, or rather the ratification of it, by procuring herself to be recognized sovereign Queen of all the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Yet notwithstanding that apparent formidable union, the commercial society of the Hanseatic League alone proved frequently an overmatch for her; obliging her to deliver into their hands King Albert and his son, whom she had made prisoners; and also to give up into their possession the cities of Stockholm and Calmar: but the cities of Lubeck, Hamburg, Dantzick, Thorne, Elbing, Stralsund, Stetin, and Campen, bound themselves to her in sixty thousand marks of fine silver, that King Albert should, in three years time, resign the whole kingdom of Sweden to her. As a proof of her inferiority, she had, as already related, borrowed three ships of war from our King Richard II. Indeed, the Hans League had, in those days, more and better shipping,

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1395 shipping, and much more money and wealth, than all those three kingdoms together; having, at this period, almost entirely engrossed the whole commerce of the north, as well as much of the fishery: Sweden and Norway, in those times, being said to have had none but copper and iron money; and Denmark owed all her silver money to her correspondence with Lubeck, and other Hans-towns, whose fleets were, at this time, become so formidable, as to strike terror into the neighbouring potentates.

In this same year, according to some authors, the island of Madeira was accidentally discovered by one Macham, an Englishman, driven thither by a storm, which has often been the cause of new discoveries, in a voyage to Spain. He and a woman, whom he had stolen, or brought away with him from England, being left there by the ship; and she dying, he found means to frame a small boat, in which he got to the coast of Africa, and from thence to Spain; and upon his information a number of Castilians and French re-discovered this isle, and settled upon it.

In this eighteenth year of King Richard II. in 1395, the coins of England stood thus:—A pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was coined into forty-five gold nobles, of six shillings and eightpence each, or fifteen pounds value in silver: and a pound weight of silver, of the old sterling, was coined into seventy-five real groats, or twenty-five nominal shillings, or three hundred real pence: so that the penny, half-groat, and groat, were, by this coinage, two times and two-fifths the weight and value of our own modern silver money, and the nominal shilling, in accounting, (there being as yet no silver coin higher than a groat, or fourpence; nor till one hundred and ten years after this time) was worth two times and two-fifths of our modern real shilling, or two shillings and fourpence three-farthings, and one fifth part of a farthing, or near two shillings and fivepence. So that when we read, that at this time, a workman had twopence per day for his wages, he had as much silver in the said twopence as is contained in our fourpence three-farthings and one-fifth of a farthing, or nearly fivepence. And when we read, that the necessaries of life, as corn, flesh-meat, beer, cloathing, &c. were, in this year, to be had (comparing our shilling or penny with theirs) at near one-fifth part of what we pay in our days, it follows, that the said workman's twopence per day, could then go as far as tenpence can do in the times wherein we live.

1396 We have observed, under the year 1390, how much the famous republic of Genoa was fallen from its pristine grandeur, power, and commerce, through the prevalence of faction within her own bowels; so that several of her nobility had usurped the sovereignty of particular parts of her territory. Those divisions still increasing, the republic became so greatly enfeebled, as to be unable to stand on her own independent foundation, and therefore found herself obliged to request the protection of, and, in consequence, was subject to Charles VI. the French King, in 1396, and so remained till the year 1411; when the French, not having the same views as in our days, being destitute of any considerable naval strength, and finding themselves also obliged to keep up a great land-army in Italy, for the keeping of Genoa under their subjection, they could not support the expence of such a design, and therefore abandoned the dominion of the Genoese, who immediately re-assumed their former independence; although they never since have been able to regain their ancient power, naval strength, and commerce.

Although the digging of the copper-mines of Sweden may possibly, and probably, be of greater antiquity than the time we are now considering, yet we have not met with any mention of them before this year 1396, in foreign histories; when Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, lib. 5. printed at Amsterdam, in 1638, observes, "That the northern heroine, Queen Margaret,

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1396 "garet, going into Sweden, in order to secure the succession of all her three northern crowns to her nephew Eric, amongst her other regulations ordained, that all the copper-mines, excepting those belonging to the Bishop of Westerosen, should be restored to the kingdom."

"Queen Margaret, moreover, made at that time many other good regulations for the benefit of commerce, and of merchants and mariners: such as, that no tolls should be exacted but at the customary places; that no ports should be frequented but such as usually were resorted to; and that all possible assistance should be afforded to merchant-strangers, and to mariners, in cases of shipwrecks, &c." And this is the first time we meet with any thing memorable relating to the Swedish commerce, which, in those times, was undoubtedly very inconsiderable; Schonen, one of the finest of its present provinces, being then, and long after, in possession, and deemed a part of the kingdom of Denmark.

1397 The Netherland historians, and our Dr. Heylin, &c. relate, that in this year, William Buckelem, (or Beukelens) of the isle of Biervliet, near Sluys in Flanders, died, to whom all the Netherlanders, as well as the great Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, ascribe the invention of the present method of gilling and pickling of herrings in casks or barrels, says Louis Guicciardini, according to the present method. Of this the Netherlanders were always so fully persuaded, that their countryman, the famous Emperor Charles V. went on purpose to Biervliet, to view the monument erected there to Buckelem's memory. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, in his Memoirs of the Dutch Commerce, if he was the real author of that work, thinks "this invention was about the year 1400, and that the towns of Bruges and Sluys were the principal places whence the Flemings carried on this herring trade with foreigners; Sluys, the proper port of Bruges, having then a fine harbour, capable of receiving five hundred sail of ships, and was then continually crowded with ships from all nations; by which trade, and their great woollen manufacture, the Netherlands began, from this time, to eclipse the glory of the Hans-towns, and Bruges became a place of more wealth and commerce than any place had been before in Europe."

We have thought proper to give this account of the claim of the Netherlanders to this very useful method of pickling of herrings: yet, that the east coasts of England and Scotland, and especially Yarmouth, and the ports of its neighbourhood, were very early in the herring fishing, has been made apparent in the preceding part of this work. Madox also, in his Firma Burgi, cap. xi. sect. i. p. 233, under the year 1125, says, that the town of Dunwich, an ancient fishing port in Suffolk, accounted to the King for its yearly fee farm, viz. one hundred and twenty pounds and one mark, and twenty-four thousand herrings; viz. twelve thousand for the Monks of Eye in Suffolk, and twelve thousand for the Monks of Ely. Even France, in the year 1270, seems to have had a considerable herring fishery, (though probably not on their own coasts) or, at least dealt largely in them, since Mezerai observes, that their King, St. Louis, who died in that year, did, amongst other acts of charity, distribute in every time of Lent, sixty-eight thousand herrings to the monasteries, hospitals, and other poor people. At Yarmouth, we have already seen, that under the years 1306, 1310, 1338, 1357, and 1360, there was a vast concourse of ships from all nations to the herring fair in that harbour; and it appears that those herrings were not only salted and dried for red herrings, but were salted and barrelled up wet, though probably not pickled and gilled in so nice a manner as in our days; and also that laws were made in England for regulating this fair at Yarmouth, long before the invention of Buckelem, already mentioned, who possibly might have learned it from the people

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1397 people of Yarmouth, for aught we certainly know to the contrary, although, perhaps, he might have further improved the art of pickling that species of fish.

The town, castle, and noble port of Breſt had been a conſiderable time in the hands of England; but at length we have, under this year, in the ſeventh volume, p. 852, of the *Fœdera*, a treaty between King Richard II. and his brother in law, John Duke of Bretagne, by which Breſt was delivered up to that Duke, upon his agreeing to pay one hundred and twenty thouſand franks or livres, or twenty thouſand pounds ſterling to King Richard. And here we again ſee that fix French livres was then equal to one pound ſterling.

We may here obſerve, that King Richard II. continued the practice of the three laſt kings, Edward I. II. and III. of allowing penſions to foreign princes and great lords, for retaining them in his intereſt. He, in this year, allowed one thouſand pounds ſterling per annum, to the Duke of Bavaria, the like ſum to the Elector of Cologne, one thouſand marks to the Duke of Gueldres, &c. for being his homagers, as they were then ſpeciouſly called, “ They obliging themſelves to be ready to aid him with ſo many men-at-arms and archers, when required, againſt all potentates whatever,” though uſually with ſome ſpecial exception; as for inſtance, the German princes always excepted their Emperors; and this practice has continued through later times, even to this day, though the ſtile of the treaties of our times be ſomewhat different from the above, and are generally more refined.—*Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 2, &c.

In this ſame year, King Richard II. had recourſe to his former method of taking loans of his nobility, gentry, clergy, and towns, as appears in vol. viii. p. 9, &c. of the *Fœdera*. Of the latter only we ſhall give a liſt, as it may afford us ſome probable idea of their reſpective wealth at that time, viz.

[Thoſe marked thus, (*) are in the record termed *Villa vel Civitas Regis de, i. e.* The king's own demefne town or city of ———].

		£.			Marks.
* The Mayor, Bailiffs, and good Men of Cambridge		100	* Chicheſter	- -	100
* Wincheſter	- -	100	* Southampton	- -	100
The good Men of Ely	- -	40	* Canterbury	- -	100
Hadleigh	- -	40	* Sandwich	- -	100
Ipfwich	- -	40	* The Mayor, Aldermen, and Com- monalty of London		10,000
Grimſby	- -	40	Ludlow	- -	40
Scarborough and } Hull	- -	100	Stamford	- -	100
Shrewſbury	- -	100	Grantham	- -	100
Gloceſter	- -	200	Lymington	- -	50
Cirenceſter	- -	60	Leſkeard	- -	10
[This town had, it ſeems, Bai- liffs then, i. e. <i>Balivi et pro- bi homines.</i>]			Braintree	- -	10
Northampton	- -	100	Leſtwithiel	- -	20
Colcheſter	- -	100	York	- -	200
Harwich	- -	10	Barnſtadle	- -	40
Beverly	- -	45	Beccles	- -	20
			Nottingham	- -	100
			Barton	- -	40
			Leiceſter	- -	100

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		£.	Norwich	-	-	500
Bath	-	20	Lynn	-	-	400
Hereford	-	100	Pontefract	-	-	40
Derby	-	20	Thetford	-	-	40
Salisbury	-	200	Horncastle	-	-	40
Whitby	-	20	* Worcester	-	-	100
Bristol	-	800	Bodmyn	-	-	20
Plymouth	-	20	Litchfield	-	-	20
Maldon	-	40	St. Edmund's Bury	-	-	160
Lowth	-	40	Sudbury	-	-	40
Blakeney and Clay	}	40	Huntingdon	-	-	40
Cromer	-	40	Bedford	-	-	40
Lavenham	-	20	Yarmouth	-	-	100
Dover	-	40	Abingdon	-	-	100
			Oxford	-	-	80
			Burton	-	-	20
			Lincoln	-	-	200

N. B. Next to the city of London, the Bishop of Winchester lent the largest sum, viz. one thousand pounds. Amongst the cities and towns next after London, Bristol still takes the lead; then follow Norwich, Lynn, Gloucester, Salisbury, York, Lincoln, &c. in regular succession. We may here observe the very great alterations in the circumstances of many of these cities and towns since this time; concerning which, every curious reader will be best able to judge of the places within his own particular knowledge. Yet it is far from being certain whether these payments were exactly proportioned to the abilities of the respective cities and towns who were called upon to make them.

The London historiographers acquaint us, that the house, or magazine, named Blackwell-hall, in London, was first purchased in this year, by the Mayor and Commonalty, for a market house for the sale of woollen cloth, as it has remained ever since.

1398 As we are now drawing towards the conclusion of the reign of that unfortunate prince, King Richard II. of England, as well as of the fourteenth century, we shall here compendiously remark, That in this reign, more especially from the year 1388, and in that of his immediate successor, King Henry IV. there occur very many treaties for settling commercial controversies between England and the then trading people of the North, viz. the Hans-towns, and the Master General of the German Knights of the Cross, or St. Mary's Hospital in Prussia; wherein mention is made of many ships being seized on both sides, going to and coming from Prussia, then esteemed a part of Germany; by which it too plainly appears, that Richard II. permitted wrongs to be done to the Prussians residing in England; so that, in this year 1398, the Master General of Prussia, in a formal remonstrance to King Richard II. renounced the treaty made with him ten years before, because, says he, the Prussians were mal-treated in England, whilst the English were well used in Prussia. The principal Hans-towns with which we then traded were, Camper, Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Staden, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Gripsewald, &c. and more immediately under the above-named Master General of Prussia, were Dantzic, Elbing, Marienburg, Thorn, Königsberg, &c. so that the general Hanseatic league having before this time, been greatly strengthened by the accession of the Prussian and Livonian ports, as well as by many inland free cities of Germany, &c. it was become formi-

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1398 formidable even to considerable potentates; having had, in this and the next century, many sharp conflicts with the northern crowns concerning their immunities in commerce, most of the particulars whereof may be seen in Werdenhagen's two folio volumes; though they are now of small moment with respect to our general Commercial History. With all which towns both in this and the succeeding reigns, there was a constant and great correspondence from London, Newcastle, Scarborough, York, Norwich, Lynn, Hull, &c. for English woollen cloths, herrings, &c. long before we traded to any place on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

So potent was the Hans-town of Lunenburg at this time, whose consequence was, according to Werdenhagen, occasioned by its great commerce, though it is now almost lost in obscurity, that, having besieged its Duke in his own castle, he was forced to a composition; and obliged to put three of his castles into the hands of the besiegers, jointly with Lubeck and Hamburg.

The last or latest account we meet with, of the once famous mercantile city of Wisby is Meursius's *Historia Danica*, lib. iv. who tells us, that Eric X. King of Denmark, &c. who had been associated with his aunt, Queen Margaret, attacked the isle of Gothland, before possessed by the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and besieged its capital Wisby, whose garrison made a stout resistance: whereupon, the Emperor Wenceslaus, as Protector of the Teutonic Order, brought about an amicable agreement, by which the Grand Master of that Order was forced to yield that Island to Eric, who, on his part, obliged himself to pay the Grand Master nine thousand gold nobles of England (*novem millia aureorum Anglicorum, quos appellant vulgo nobiles*) for the charges of the war: But Eric's money not being then ready, the Grand Master held Gothland till yielded up by a subsequent treaty; when it was agreed, that the ancient league between Denmark and that Order should be revived, and commerce was to be free to the subjects of both parties.

The above stipulation, &c. shews, that the English gold nobles were then in as great esteem in those northern parts, as the gold florins of Florence were in the more southern parts of Europe, in consequence of our early trade to those northern parts.

1399 In the eighth volume, p. 75, of Rymer's *Fœdera*, under the year 1399, we have King Richard the Second's last will; and as it is not only one of the first records of this kind to be found in the *Fœdera*, but contains also some very remarkable particulars, we shall here abstract a part of it. He directs,

" I. His corps to be clothed in velvet, or white sattin, and interred with a gilded crown and sceptre, and on his finger a ring with a precious stone, of twenty marks value.

" II. He bequeaths to every Catholic, *i. e.* Christian King, a gold cup, of forty-five pounds value.

" III. Six thousand marks to be set apart for the charge of his funeral," which were equal to near fifteen thousand marks of our modern money in weight, and equivalent to the sum of thirty thousand marks, or twenty thousand pounds in contemplation of the rate of living then, being still about five times as cheap as in our days,—and ten thousand marks for rewarding such of his servants as are still not provided for sufficiently."

" IV. To his nephew, the Duke of Surry, ten thousand pounds. To the Duke of Exeter three thousand marks. To the Earl of Wiltshire two thousand marks. To his kinsman, the Duke of Albemarle (Blank) marks. These, and some others, he constitutes his executors, to each of whom, as such, he bequeaths a gold cup of twenty pounds value.

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" For all which legacies, and for certain charities therein named, he declares, he had set apart ninety-one thousand marks, which were lodged in certain hands therein named.

" As for his gold diadem set with gems, and all the crown jewels, he leaves them to his successor in the throne."

In this eighth volume, p. 82, of the *Fœdera*, King Richard II. " directs collections to be made for the relief of Manuel, Emperor of Constantinople, sorely pressed by Bajazet (*Bay-situs*) Prince of the Turks; and in the following year, (p. 174) another collection was " made for the same purpose." Here we ought to observe, that although we have already taken notice of Tamerlane's triumph over Bajazet, yet we cannot exactly answer for the precise times of Tamerlane's conquests: for although Bajazet ascended the Turkish throne in 1388, we cannot ascertain the precise year in which he was made prisoner by Tamerlane, though it must probably have been posterior to this year 1399.

The General History of the Turks, Moguls, and Tartars, published at London in two octavo volumes, in 1730, vol. ii. sect. 2. observes, " That the Tartars began to be made somewhat known to Christendom by the Nestorian Missionaries, who, in the eighth, ninth, and " tenth centuries, extended their conversions very far on the side of Tangut, &c. They gave " the world a great notion of the advantages which would accrue to Christianity by their labours on that mission: wherefore, they magnified the power of the Tartar princes, at whose " courts they had access, largely attributing to them empires, titles, and riches, which, as far " as really appears, existed no where but in their own imaginations."

Some authors pretend, that in King Richard the Second's reign, there was a rich copper mine discovered at Wenlock in Shropshire, without ascertaining the precise year, nor what is become of it since.

In the same volume, p. 95, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that King Henry IV. who had just ascended the throne of England, bestowed the isle of Man, formerly possessed by Sir William Scrope, knight, on Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, with the small isles adjacent, to hold to him and his heirs, of the crown, on condition of carrying a naked sword, which this King first named Lancaster, at all future coronations of the Kings of England: yet this island was soon after forfeited to the crown by the Earl's rebellion against that King.

In this same eighth volume, p. 96, we see also a form of Letters of Marque and Reprisals, granted to a private person, one John de Waghen, of Beverley, by King Henry IV. of England, against Albert, Count Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, and Earl of Holland and Zealand, and against his subjects, as far as eight hundred and fifty-two gold nobles and an half, and twenty-two pence sterling, due to him by a merchant of Leyden, and another of Delft, on their written securities. It seems, the deposed King Richard II. had in vain solicited the Duke for payment thereof: but Henry, by a shorter method directs his Admirals, &c. to seize on all Holland and Zealand ships and merchandize in any English ports, until de Waghen be re-imburfed, with costs and charges.

Complaints being again made by the English merchants against the Master General of Prussia, and the Hans-towns of Lubeck, Wismar, Rystock, Straelsund, Griepswald, and their associates, *i. e.* the other Vandalic Hans-towns, for injuries and losses sustained by the English merchants there: King Henry IV. hereupon issues a declaration, (in the said eighth volume, p. 112, of the *Fœdera*) importing, " That whereas the privileges and freedom of commerce " granted to the German merchants in England, *i. e.* of the Steelyard, London, were on " condition, that the English should enjoy the like in Germany; wherefore the said Master

" Gene-

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1399 " General and the said Hans-towns are thereby summoned, either personally, or by deputies, to answer before this King and his council for the said injuries, and to make due satisfaction for the same."

In this same record it is by King Henry directed, " That the said merchants of the Hans-towns shall not, under pretence of their own privileges in England, shelter the merchants of other foreign parts, whereby the King might suffer in his customs; otherwise, the King in council declares, that, in case of such practices or colourings, he will absolutely revoke and annul their said charter of privileges; which declaration the King directed to be registered in Chancery."

The art of making fine woollen cloths of many kinds being, by this time, come to a great degree of perfection in England, King Henry IV. in this first year of his reign, 1399, prohibited the importation of all foreign cloth: though that prohibition was long after this occasionally dispensed with, according as our princes were more or less favourable to the people of the Netherlands.

1400 In the last year of this century, by an act of Parliament of the second of King Henry IV. cap. vi. the money of Scotland, still growing worse, was put on the same footing with the coins of nations beyond the sea: both being " hereby prohibited to pass in any payments; and, as that act expresses it, to be voided out of England, or else coined into English money, before the end of this year." It seems, that much gold and silver coin of Scotland, and of the Netherlands, had, till this period, passed current in England; and the French record, in the new edition of the Statutes, mentions the great loss and deceit which were occasioned, by longer suffering those coins to pass in payments.

According to the great Pensionary De Witt's Interest of Holland, the breaking in of the passage or inlet into the Texel happened about this time: from which date the trade to the Baltic Sea settled itself mostly at Amsterdam, and another part of it in England. The occasion of Amsterdam's obtaining so great a share of that trade, was its great herring fishery; large quantities of whose fish were taken off by the eastern people, *i. e.* those on the Baltic shores, as well as salt, the great herring fishery in the Baltic beginning to fail about this time. And in return, the traders of Amsterdam brought back their raw materials of iron, timber, hemp, flax, and copper, to be worked up for themselves and others, for ship-building, linen, &c.

The French and Scots, in this year, threatening an invasion of England, we find, in the eighth volume, p. 125, of the *Fœdera*, that King Henry IV. held a grand council, in order effectually to baffle those attempts, and to prepare for all events. Wherein, beside a tenth given by the clergy, and other necessary means used, the following assistance was undertaken, and engaged for, by several persons of quality, *viz.*

" I. For land service.—The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and the Sire de Bergeveny, each to furnish twenty men-at-arms, and twenty archers; the Sire de Mauley six men-at-arms, and twelve archers.

" II. For sea service.—The Earls of Warwick and Stafford, each twenty men-at-arms, and forty archers." Men-at-arms always fought on horseback, each being attended by three or four men armed on foot, and though here mentioned for sea service, could only be intended for land service, either in France or Scotland. " The Earl of Suffolk, and the Sires de Lovell, Berkelé, Powys, St. John, Camoys, and Burnell, each to find, at their own cost, a ship fitted out with twenty men-at-arms, forty archers, and a proper number of mariners.

" The

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1400 “ The Sires de Fitzwater, Darcy, and Seymour, each half a ship, with ten men at arms, and
 “ twenty archers. The Sires de Roos and De Willoughby, jointly to furnish one ship with
 “ twenty men-at-arms, forty archers, and a sufficient number of mariners ; and beside, they
 “ engaged to be ready to serve the King at land.”

Although we have mentioned citizens and burgesſes occasionally ſummoned to the Scotiſh Parliament, ſo early as the year 1300, yet we are of opinion, that it was not till an hundred years later, viz. in this year, that we firſt find mention made of burgesſes permanently ſitting in the Parliament of Scotland, as a ſeparate or diſtinct claſs of representatives of cities, towns, or burghs. Their commerce was but ſmall, and their cities or towns of but little wealth or conſideration in thoſe times ; ſo that the representatives, or commiſſioners, from their reſpective counties or ſhires, were probably till now deemed ſufficient to represent the towns alſo, and to take care of their intereſts, moſt of them being, in all probability, little able to maintain representatives of their own body in Parliament, as is the caſe, even at preſent, with many in England, as well as in Scotland. Neither are we quite certain, whether thoſe citizens and burgesſes were not ſometimes omitted to be ſummoned to the Scotch Parliaments in ſucceeding times.

The penalty for the unlawful giving or wearing of liveries in England, made in the firſt of King Henry IV. cap. vii. was, in this ſecond year of that King, confirmed and reinforced ; by which, no Lord ſhould thereafter give any livery, or ſign of company, to any Knight, Eſquire, or Yeoman, ſaving to the King and Prince of Wales, their giving their honourable liveries to their menial Knights and Eſquires. The giving of liveries by Lords had ſome reſemblance of the late Scotiſh vailalage ; for the retainers of thoſe Lords, as the wearers of thoſe liveries were then called, were ready to fight in all their quarrels, and, on that account, were very naturally conſidered as dangerous by the English Kings of thoſe times, more eſpecially by one of ſo doubtful a title to the crown as that of King Henry IV. and would, perhaps, have been regarded with ſtill greater ſuſpicion in our days.

In this year 1400, the Electors of the German empire depoſed Wenceſlaus their Emperor, chiefly becauſe he had alienated and ſold many regalities and lordſhips of the empire without their conſent, and particularly the rich dutchy of Milan, to John Galeas ; as alſo ſeveral commercial cities of Italy, which were ſiefs of the empire.

About this time, according to Hakluyt, an English ſhip from Newcastle, of two hundred tons burden, on her voyage up the Baltic Sea towards Pruffia, was ſeized on by veſſels belonging to Wiſmar and Roſtock. And King Henry IV. in his treaty of pacification with thoſe Hans-towns, valued that ſhip and its furniture at four hundred pounds ſterling, and the woollen cloth, wines, gold, and ſums of money in that ſhip at two hundred English marks ; ſo that as our coin was, at this time, about two and one-half times as weighty as in theſe days, this ſhip was worth one thouſand pounds of our money ; yet ſurely, her cargo being worth only five hundred of our modern marks, could not be a complete lading for ſuch a veſſel. In thoſe times the Hans-towns were ſo potent, that they preſumed to deem all other nations, navigating the Baltic Sea, to be invaders of their rights.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Succession of PRINCES in this Century.

<i>Emperors of Germany.</i>	<i>Kings of England.</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>	<i>Kings of Castile, or Spain.</i>
RUPERT PA- } 1409	HENRY IV. to 1413	CHARLES VI. to 1422	HENRY III. to 1406
LATINE, to } 1409	— V. to 1422	— VII. to 1461	JOHN II. to 1454
JODOCUS, (fix Months) } 1409	— VI. to 1461	LOUIS XI. to 1483	HENRY IV. to 1474
SIGISMUND, to 1437	EDWARD IV. to 1483	CHARLES VII. to 1498	ISABELLA and FERDINAND } 1500
ALBERT II. to 1439	— V. to 1483	LOUIS XII. to 1500	V. to } 1500
FREDERIC III. (of Austria, to 1492	RICHARD III. to 1485	and beyond.	and beyond.
MAXIMILIAN I. to 1500	HENRY VII. to 1500		
and beyond.	and beyond.	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>	<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>
	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	MARGARET, to 1412	JOHN the Bald, to } 1433
	ROBERT III. to 1406	ERIC VII. to 1439	EDWARD, to 1438
	JAMES I. to 1437	CHRISTOPHER III. to } 1448	ALPHONSO V. to } 1481
	— II. to 1460	CHRISTIAN I. to 1481	JOHN II. to 1495
	— III. to 1488	JOHN, to 1500	EMANUEL I. to 1500
	— IV. to 1500	and beyond.	and beyond.
	and beyond.		

THE CHARACTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

I. The general mercantile Characteristic of this Fifteenth Century is, that almost every important incident in it contributes, more or less, to introduce the succeeding commerce and opulence of Europe, and to forward in a particular manner the prosperity of the British empire; which, towards the conclusion of this century, by marriages, and other concurring circumstances, visibly tends to a consolidation of all its formerly disjointed parts and interests into one united dominion: which, by the blessing of the Almighty was, in succeeding times, brought to maturity.

Yet, with respect to the state of Europe, in point of learning, according to many authors, and particularly to Archbishop Nichollson, in his English Historical Library, and to Baron Holberg, in his Introduction to Universal History, this century was among the most rude and illiterate; yet surely that opinion must be understood only of the former part of it. "Learning," says the latter, "was looked on as a sort of heresy. There were even bishops who did not so much as know their letters; so that, in their subscriptions to synodal acts, the following words are to be found, viz. As I cannot read myself, N. N. hath subscribed for me: or, As my Lord Bishop cannot write himself, at his request I have subscribed."

1400 II. All which, with respect to the ignorance of many, or even by far the most of the clergy, may very probably be true. Nevertheless, there are many visible traces to be discovered of the increase of real knowledge, within the compass of this fifteenth century, in various parts of Europe; such as, the founding of a great number of new Universities, and the addition of new colleges and benefactions to the old ones. The noble art of Printing was not only invented but brought to perfection; and nearly coinciding, in point of time, with the most useful invention of rag paper. The incomparable mathematical science of Algebra is first brought into Europe; which science has also proved extremely useful in calculations relating to certain branches of commerce, and was probably the foundation of the excellent method of merchants-accompts by double entry, commonly called Italian book-keeping.

III. With particular regard to the improvement and increase of commerce, navigation, and manufactures, as well as of agriculture and fisheries, and even of some mercantile and mechanical arts, this century undoubtedly excels any of the preceding ones, since the overthrow of the western empire, as will evidently appear in the sequel; wherein will be seen the further increase of manufactures—The building of larger ships, and the undertaking of remoter voyages, even prior to the actual discovery of either of the Indies—Remote isles and strange coasts discovered and partly planted: till at length, grown bolder from success and experience, a new western world is discovered, although the completion of the most profitable and immense benefits of that great discovery was reserved for the two following centuries.

Immediately following that discovery, which was then considered with wonder and astonishment, a way is found by sea to the remotest regions of the East, some of which were till then little better known, or believed really to exist, than the world in the Moon; yet, from thence, even before the final conclusion of this century, various new and unheard of materials for commerce and manufactures were brought into Europe, and many more since that period.

IV. This century can moreover boast of several other improvements, for regulating and rectifying of coin, and of the interest of money; all which, though not understood in such perfection as in more modern times, were, however, better known than in any former century.

V. Cities and towns also became visibly increased in magnitude, wealth, and populousness, in divers parts of Europe; a sure mark of the increase of the general wealth and commerce of the world. Lands also sensibly increased in value, and Cosmography is begun to be cultivated. Many new inventions also are particularly ascribed to the people of the Netherlands, as the baking of Glass, the fine manufactures of Tapestry, Sayes, Serges, Worstedes, &c. the Painting in Oil Colours, the use of Hops in Malt Liquors (so necessary for ships), Engraving and Etching.

VI. In France, according to Voltaire, in his General History of Europe, if we may entirely rely on so volatile an author, it was not till the time of King Charles VII. who began to reign in 1422, and died in 1462, that servitude was entirely abolished, by the weakening of the power of the great lords; to which, he says, the English quality greatly contributed, by bringing

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bringing with them into France, that sweet blessing, Liberty, the characteristic of their nation.

VII. From England, very near the close of this century, a discovery is made of the whole eastern coast of North America, of which, however, to our shame, our nation did not at all avail itself till above a century later.

VIII. In this century also, it is commonly believed, that the names of at least the eight principal winds, or points of the compass, were first given by those of Bruges in Flanders, as they are known and written, at this day, all over Christendom: due allowance being made for the languages of different countries.

1401 Whilst the republic of Genoa, at the conclusion of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth century, was continually declining in power and commerce, more especially after she had thrown herself under the subjection of France; her sister Venice, on the contrary, was increasing in riches, commerce, and territory; she was possessed of a considerable part of the ancient Greek empire on the east side of the Adriatic Sea, of Peloponnesus also, now named the Morea, and of many Greek islands; so that she even excited the jealousy of the rest of Italy. Her large mercantile vessels cover not only the Mediterranean Sea, but likewise traverse the great Ocean in search of new sources of commerce.

The Kings of Castile and of Portugal continued to attack, and, by degrees, to weaken the Moorish kingdom of Granada; whilst the Kings of Arragon kept a precarious possession of the isles of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.

The German emperors are engaged in perpetual squabbles with the Popes, and begin also to be alarmed, on the side of Hungary, with the nearer approach of the Turks.

As for the other large Christian monarchies, they were as yet far from concerning themselves much about commerce. Even the monarchs of England, and much more those of France, had little concern or struggle, but merely for power and territory; leaving, in general, the cultivation of commerce to the free states of Italy, the Netherlands, and the Hans and Imperial cities.

In religious matters, Egyptian darkness had so long overspread Europe, that although Dr. Wickliff, of Oxford, and his disciples, John Hufs and Jerom of Prague, had thrown a very considerable light upon religious opinions, the truth of which the two latter had sealed at the stake, yet the clergy in general remained ignorant, and consequently violent in their old opinions and ceremonies. In short, what little learning there was in Europe was but barely preserved alive at the Universities of Oxford, Paris, and Bologna.

This seems to have been the real state of the western world at, or about the commencement of the fifteenth century: and, although we have professedly disclaimed any concern with the Greek or Constantinopolitan empire, yet we may here cursorily remark, that the Turks, having mastered the greatest part of Greece, even to the frontiers of Hungary, and thus hemmed in the city of Constantinople, as it were, between the Asiatic and European Turks, that shadow or bare name of an empire could not possibly exist much longer, as will be shewn in the course of this century.

Although the great island of Madagascar be properly out of our province, yet as that isle has, in modern times, been much frequented in the voyages of the Europeans to India, we could

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1401 not altogether pass it over in silence. It was at or about the beginning of this century, that the Arabians from the Red Sea are said to have possessed themselves of this island; yet it by no means appears, from the present state of Madagascar, that their conquest did, in any considerable degree, improve either its soil or inhabitants. The bulk of the natives, who are all negroes, and are by some thought to be about one million five hundred thousand in number, are said to be as lazy, and very near as ignorant, as those on the coast of Guinea. Some are of opinion, that the descendants of their Arabian conquerors remain still of a somewhat lighter complexion than the originally native negroes of that great isle; although, by continual mixture with them, that distinction of complexion becomes constantly less perceptible: they write, indeed, in Arabic characters, and have a kind of smattering of some of the arts and manufactures of the Europeans; but, in other respects, they are mere savages to this day, living in miserable huts, without other commerce amongst them than barter, or the mutually exchanging, with each other, one necessary commodity for another, without having the use of money or coin; the toys, bells, beads, &c. brought thither by the Europeans, serving them instead of money to carry on their own little trade among themselves. They have, indeed, few or no just and adequate notions of commerce, notwithstanding they have good materials for it, as rice, honey, wax, (which two last articles they eat together) beef and mutton, which they eat with the skins or hides; silk, which they do not manufacture; cotton, of which they make certain cloths and carpets, weaving them with sticks on the ground instead of looms; sugar canes, of which they make only a sort of liquor or drink; gums, benzoin, frankincense, coals, iron, steel, (of which two last articles they make certain instruments for war, and for other necessary tools) and saltpetre: yet neither wheat nor vines are said to thrive there, though oats and barley do tolerably well. Sheep, hogs, and black cattle, with wild fowl, are in plenty. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the French attempted to settle a colony on this island, to which they gave the name of l'Isle Dauphine, building a fort of that name near the south west point of the island; but the commerce there not answering the expence of the garrison, &c. they afterwards abandoned it. Neither have the other European nations esteemed Madagascar further worth their while, than merely to refresh or shelter at, in their way to and from India, and sometimes for the purchase of negroes for their American colonies.

In the eighth volume, p. 231, of Rymer's *Fœdera*, we have the annual allowance of King Henry IV's confessor, who, as such, was to be constantly about his person: which allowance was sixty-nine pounds ten shillings and six pence, for himself, assistant, servants, and horses, by the year, being the very same that was allowed by King Richard II. to the Bishop of St. Asaph, in the year 1391, as we have already related. And in vol. ix. p. 72, of the *Fœdera*, there is exactly the same allowance, in 1413, to King Henry Vth's confessor, for himself, servants, &c. as that above mentioned.

In the same eighth volume, p. 172, we see King Henry IVth's further preparations for war, by his mandates to a great number of towns to build and fit out certain vessels for sea service, called barges and balingers, (*bargæ et balingere*). The first seem to have been the largest and most costly, as appears from their being directed to be fitted out by the best towns, as the balingers were by the meanest towns. Inland towns are joined with sea ports, and in many instances, two, three, and four towns are directed jointly to fit out but one barge or one balinger. No one city or town, not even Bristol itself, had above one of these imposed on it, London alone excepted, which was to fit out one of each kind. What the make and burden of

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1401 those two kinds of vessels were, it is not probably very easy to ascertain at this distance of time; only the King, in this record, tells the towns, "That they excelled all other kinds of ships
" in time of war, for the guard of the seas and of merchandize :—*Pro salvo custodio maris, et*
" *mercandisarum vestrarum.*"

In this year 1401, in vol. viii. p. 179, of the *Fœdera*, we see a contract of marriage between Blanche, King Henry IVth's daughter, and Louis, the eldest son of the Emperor Rupert, Henry agreeing that her portion should be forty thousand gold nobles, or thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling; and the Emperor was to settle four thousand of the same nobles, or one thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling, yearly revenue in lands, as her jointure or dowry; and in p. 232 of the same volume, we find that King Henry demands, the same year, an aid of his own immediate landholders, to enable him to raise the said portion: viz. twenty shillings on every Knights-fee, and the same on every twenty pounds per annum on lands held in soccage of the crown.

In vol. viii. p. 193, of the *Fœdera*, the communities of Ostergow and Westergow, in Friesland, conclude with King Henry IV. a treaty of friendship and commerce, and full freedom for the ships of both countries to trade with each other; those communities further requesting King Henry not to permit his Captain or Governor of Calais to assist the Earl of Holland against their country; "seeing," say they, "he openly retains in his pay the public enemies
" of God, and of all good merchants, the pirates called Likedelers."

In this year also, according to Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, and others, "water was
" brought from certain springs in the village of Tyburn, in leaden pipes, to the then prison,
" or watch house rather, called the Tunns in Cornhill, London, whereby that small prison,
" (says Howell) was turned into a water conduit:" For we have shewn, under the years 1237 and 1285, that there was water then brought in leaden pipes to London from the manor of Tyburn; so that what was now brought must have been from some different spring in that manor.

The doctrines, of Wickliff, which had been first broached about the close of King Edward the Third's reign, had spread very much to this time; and though the clergy vehemently opposed them, yet the House of Commons always shewed a great reluctance to persecute any of those good people. But King Henry IV. having but a dubious title, and, for that reason, courting the clergy, who, he knew, had great power to support him, at length gave way to an act of Parliament, for the burning of obstinate heretics, as the Wickliffites or Lollards were then construed to be. Whereupon, William Sawtree, parish priest of St. Osith in London, was most cruelly burned alive, having been the first who had suffered death, in England, on a religious account. "This bloody statute" says Mr. Tindal, Rapin's Translator, in note 4, "stood unrepealed till the year 1677."

As persecution for conscience sake, is ever repugnant to the freedom of commerce, as well as to all just and rational civil Liberty and true Christianity, we could not avoid taking due notice of so great an encroachment on almost all that is worth contending for by mortal men on this side the grave.

1402 In the very beginning of this fifteenth century, says Cardinal Contareno, in his History of Venice, the state of Venice enlarged her territories on the continent, by possessing herself of Vicenza, Feltro, Bassano, Belluno, Verona, and Padua: and, in the year 1402, she became mistress of the Isle of Cyprus.

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1402 In this year, we learn from Lambecius, in his *Rerum Hamburgensium Historia*, lib. ii. p. 88, that his native city of Hamburg had the honour of destroying four terrible arch pirates, or sea robbers, who, by their depredations for many years, had rendered the whole Baltic Sea, and also all the other seas from Norway even to the Streights of Gibraltar, very unsafe to be navigated. They overcame them in two sea fights, and brought one hundred and fifty of them prisoners to that city, beheaded them all, and set their heads on poles along the banks of the Elbe. The same author quotes several northern writers, who testify how famous the city of Hamburg was in former times, for clearing the seas of pirates, who then greatly infested the Danish, Norway, and German coasts.

A statute of this fourth year of King Henry IV. cap. vi. directs a seal of lead to be affixed to all woollen cloths made in London and its suburbs, for preventing frauds in the sale of them. We may observe, that in those times the clothing trade was very much in and near London; but the prices of provisions, labour, &c. increasing with the increase of our commerce, the clothiers, for cheapness, removed first into the counties adjacent to London, as Surrey, (where we find them at Guildford in the year 1391, in a statute of the twenty-sixth of King Richard II.) Kent, Essex, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, &c. They afterwards removed still farther, into the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, and Worcester, and even as far as Yorkshire, &c.

Some English ships having seized on a vessel laden with wine, belonging to Hanseatic merchants, and bound to Prussia, the Hans comptoir at Bruges, filling themselves Aldermen and Jurates of the Community of German Merchants of the Teutonic Hanse of the sacred Roman Empire, residing at Bruges, (vol. viii. p. 269, of the *Fœdera*) made a most respectful application for redress to King Henry IV. It is not now material how their letter was received by that King, but the superscription of it is somewhat remarkable, viz.

“ *Gloriosissimo Principi, serenissimoque Domino, Domino Henrico Regi Angliæ et Franciæ, et Domini Hiberniæ, Domino nobis gratioſo; omnimodo Reverentia Litera presentata.*”—i. e. To the most glorious Prince, and most serene Lord, the Lord Henry, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, our gracious Lord, with the utmost reverence this letter is presented.

The royal author of the *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, relates, that in this year, Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, sold that whole Electorate for four hundred thousand florins, to William Duke of Misnia. He also remarks on this circumstance, “ That this custom of buying and selling territories, which so greatly prevailed in that age, is an evident proof of the barbarity of those times, and of the miserable situation wherein such provinces were, to be thus sold at so cheap a rate.” We may very naturally add another obvious remark, viz. That money must have been at that time very scarce in Germany, even although florins probably then contained a considerably greater quantity of bullion than in succeeding times.

After some years silence in the *Fœdera*, concerning any commercial complaints and grievances between England and Flanders, we find, in vol. viii. p. 273—276, two complaints of the Magistrates of Bruges to the English council, in this year, concerning depredations and damages from the English, done to their ships and persons; whereupon, in the following year, (p. 286) King Henry IV. enjoins a strict observance of the truce between England and Flanders.

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In the same volume, p. 284, of the *Fœdera*, the General Assembly of the Deputies of the Hans-towns, met at Lubeck, complain, though with the most profound respect that words can invent, to King Henry IV. of the Gascons, his subjects, seizing on a ship of Stetin, with her merchandize; the same being still detained by the Mayor, &c. of Bayonne, under pretence of their having contraband goods in that ship. And in p. 287, the city of Lubeck, the same year, complains to this monarch, that one of their herring vessels had been seized by those of Lynn and Blakeney; and p. 296, Hamburgh joins in this complaint. This, we apprehend, is the first time that Hamburgh is directly mentioned in the *Fœdera*.

Concerning the many complaints of this kind, by foreign nations, in this, as well as in former, and also in succeeding reigns, it is almost unnecessary to remark, First, That, as for such of them as our Kings order to be redressed, we may be sure they were well grounded. Secondly, That others, though probably never redressed, might also have an equal foundation, though carried off on high hand, from certain political considerations, not to be defended in justice. Thirdly, Other complaints may have been redressed, though not to be found in this great collection of our records. Lastly, We have but too much reason to suspect, that the complaints of weaker states against the depredations of stronger ones, though seldom redressed, were, in those times, at least, generally well grounded; and, on the other hand, that the complaints and claims of the more powerful states against the weaker ones, had often no better foundation than that of the lion in the fable.

These brief remarks will, we flatter ourselves, in some measure enable the judicious reader himself frequently to supply many explanations, which otherwise might be thought necessary for us to make where such cases occur.

In the same eighth volume, p. 299, of the *Fœdera*, we have an authentic proof that two pence per day was, in this year, sufficient for the maintenance of a single woman in some credit. Elizabeth, daughter of Rabbi Moses, a bishop, (says the record) of the Jews, was converted to Christianity; and, as such, had an usual allowance of one penny per day from the Warden of the House of converted Jews in London, which stood where the Rolls Office now stands in Chancery Lane. King Henry IV. probably in consideration of her being abandoned by her father and friends, grants her, during life, another penny per day out of his Exchequer: we therefore are still to remember that these two pence, nearly containing as much silver as about five of our pence at this day, would go about as far as ten pence in our times; as we have already made it appear under the year 1395.

In the same volume, p. 312, King Henry IV. concludes a treaty of truce, and of mutual liberty of commerce, between him and Henry III. King of Castile. And another the same year, (p. 327) and of the like tenor, with Flanders. A third treaty also, (p. 329) of the same kind, with John the Bastard, King of Portugal, wherein King Henry IV. stipulates to make good all damages done to the ships and goods of the Portuguese by the English. And, the following year, the treaty of peace made between the two nations in the year 1380, was renewed and confirmed. In this volume, p. 336, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry IV. also makes an agreement, dated the 24th of October, with King Charles VI. of France, for the mutual freedom of fishing for herrings and other fish, to both nations; particularly during the herring season of that year, until the 1st of January following, between Gravelines on the French coast, and the isle of Thapet on the English coast; and so on south westward between both shores, as far the mouth of the river Seine on the French coast, and the haven of Southampton on the English coast.

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As early as from the twelfth century, down to the close of the fourteenth, the Hans-towns on the south shores of the Baltic Sea, almost totally engrossed the commerce of the nations on each side of that sea, viz. Poland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the north end of Germany. But about this year, Eric VIII. King of Denmark, being engaged in a desperate war with the Hanseatic League, called in the Zealanders and other Netherland ships to his aid; whose assistance enabled him to humble the Hans-towns; and the people of the Netherlands, from this time, gained ground so fast on the Hanseatics, that within little more than one century, they had actually acquired the ascendant in the trade to the before-mentioned countries within the Baltic, and greatly reduced that of the Hans-towns.

To what we have already remarked, towards the close of the preceding century, of the famous Tamerlane, the Tartarian conqueror, we may here add, that his great fame spreading westward, is said to have induced Henry III. King of Castile, to send an ambassador to him; which compliment Tamerlane returned; on whose return home, the Spanish monarch sent a second, in the year 1403, to Tamerlane: which second Spanish ambassador, in a book printed at Seville, describes the vast magnificence of Timur-bec, or Tamerlane; who, it seems, had greatly enlarged and adorned his capital city of Samarcand, situated on a river running westward into the Caspian Sea. His vast conquests of all Tartary, with part of Russia, of all the lesser Asia, Syria, Persia, and India, even to the banks of the Ganges, and his reducing Egypt to be tributary, (altogether unparalleled since the time of Alexander the Great) must have greatly disturbed the commerce of those parts. In the battle in which Tamerlane vanquished Bajazet, in the preceding year 1402, the French authors say that the former had three hundred thousand horse and five hundred thousand foot; and that Bajazet's army was pretty near equal to it; for which they quote Alhacent. He had projected the conquest of China, and was on his march thither for that end when he died, in the year 1405, at Otrar, or Ottar, in Bocaria, or Bucharica, a kingdom of Great Tartary.

A question being objected or started by many, how it has happened that the great cities mentioned by the biographers of Ghenghis Can and Tamerlane to have been in those times in Grand Tartary, and no where to be found in our days? The French authors answer, that the eastern Tartary nearest to the great wall of China, has been in later times so miserably ravaged by the Chinese, that those cities have been totally destroyed, and nothing is now to be seen but lamentable heaps of ruins; but that Samarcand still exists as a city, though much decayed from its pristine grandeur, and still carries on some commerce with India, Persia, and Russia. This opinion may possibly be a plausible piece of speculation with relation to the countries east of the Caspian Sea; but, with respect to the tribes in the parts north and west of that Sea, they have probably been the same wild kind of people called Hords by the moderns, and Nomades by the ancients; who moved with their cattle from place to place for pasture, carrying all their families, utensils, and provisions, &c. on wheel carriages, having no cities, nor fixed habitations, except those that lie more contiguous to Europe and Persia. So that, upon duly considering the modern state of Tartary, and even its condition for some centuries past, we are apprehensive it will be found extremely difficult clearly to answer the question that has been stated, and that those biographers are by no means to be relied on in their pompous relations.

Wherever luxury increases, there will naturally be an increase of the importation of foreign merchandize. This was, we fear, too much the case in King Henry IVth's unsettled reign in England, by which the general balance of foreign trade seems to have been turned against

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1403 us; *i. e.* all our native product and manufactures annually exported, did not amount to the value of foreign merchandize annually imported; and in that case, let the legislature make what coercive laws they can, the balance due by us to foreigners must infallibly be paid, either in our coin or bullion. This not being well understood by the King and Parliament in this reign, they repeatedly made coercive laws, particularly that of the fourth of Henry IV. cap. xv. and of the fifth, cap. ix. to oblige merchant-strangers, (the principal importers in those days of the most luxurious foreign wares) as well as denizens, “ who bring merchandize into the
 “ realm and sell the same for English money, to lay that money out in English merchandize
 “ to be exported, without carrying out of the realm any gold or silver, either in coin, plate,
 “ or bullion, upon pain of forfeiting the same. And that security be taken of merchant-
 “ strangers, in all the ports of England, that they shall employ all the money they receive for
 “ the wares they import, on the native commodities of the realm. And shall moreover be
 “ obliged to sell and dispose of all the merchandize they (the foreign merchants) shall so im-
 “ port, within the space of three months after landing the same. No merchant-stranger shall
 “ sell any merchandize in England to another merchant-stranger. And that in every city,
 “ town, and port of England where merchant-strangers shall be, sufficient hosts shall be
 “ assigned them, with whom, and no where else, they shall dwell.” It is unnecessary to remark how impolitic this conduct was, in giving so much trouble to, and laying such hardships on foreigners coming to trade with England. They even saw, as it were instantly, the mischief of the clause relating to foreigners being obliged to sell off their merchandize in three months; since the very next year, sixth Henry IV. cap. iv. they repealed it in the words following: “ our Lord the King seeing the said ordinance to be hurtful and prejudicial, as well
 “ for himself and his realm as for the said merchant-strangers, hath ordained, by the advice
 “ and assent aforesaid, that the said merchant-strangers be at their free disposition to sell their
 “ merchandize in the manner they did before the making of the said ordinance; saving always
 “ the franchises and liberties of the city of London.” This last clause was by way of douceur to that city. “ Provided always that the said merchant-strangers shall not carry out of the
 “ realm any merchandize brought within the realm by the merchant-strangers aforesaid.”

These and several other laws, in succeeding reigns, of the same tendency, were, in effect, of no substantial service to the public, being framed at the instigation of our own monopolizing cities and towns. For, first, could the putting foreign merchants upon the necessity of laying out all the money they received for the goods they imported, on English merchandize, make any more of the last to be consumed beyond sea than they had occasion for? Certainly not. And those English wares so exported, would only supply the room of an equal quantity which otherwise there would have been a demand for. Secondly, their laws for preventing the exportation of coin and bullion would have been equally ineffectual, whilst we imported a greater value of foreign merchandize than we exported of English wares. Since it is clear beyond a doubt, that if there be a general balance due by us to foreign nations, and that balance continues for any considerable time to be in our disfavour, it can no other way be satisfied, in the end, but by carrying out money or bullion; and all that such restrictive laws can do, is only to make it more troublesome or difficult to do it; whilst, at the same time, it often occasions very discouraging obstructions to the freedom of commerce. Although, in the introduction to this work, we have fully discussed this point of the general balance of a nation's commerce; yet we could not well avoid, in this place, offering some brief remarks on a point so necessary for all persons to understand.

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By an act of Parliament of the fifth year of King Henry IV. cap. iv. it was enacted, “ that none from henceforth shall use to multiply gold or silver, otherwise he shall incur the pain of felony in this case.” I know not how to explain the intent of this law any way so well as by referring to an act of the first of William and Mary, cap. xxx. which repeals this act.

The Lombard merchants residing in London, were at this time esteemed very rich. And King Henry IV. being often put to difficulties for the raising of money, had frequent recourse to them, as some of his predecessors had also done, to advance money to him; particularly at this time. By Lombard merchants in England, were then always understood those of the four republics of Genoa, Lucca, Florence, and Venice. In vol. viii. p. 358-9, the sum lent by the society of the Genoese this year, was one thousand marks; and by those of Florence, five hundred marks: “ to pay themselves out of the customs which shall from time to time become due by their ships importing merchandize to London, Southampton, and Sandwich; as also out of the duties on wool, leather, cloth, and other merchandize which the said ships shall export from the said three ports into foreign parts.” With respect to the mention here made of cloth exported from England by the Lombards, who made very good cloth themselves in those times, it may be observed that the English cloth was probably carried to some other parts, or else might be cheaper than their own. And in p. 388, we find, in the following year, that the like sums were advanced to that King by the said two societies, on the same security for repayment. Yet in none of those loans do we find mention of the word *interest*, nor of any term denoting usury or interest for money. Yet, without doubt, those Lombards, who, like the Jews, were great dealers in money, were well paid for the use of their money in some way or other.

In Hakluyt’s first volume, p. 160, there is a remonstrance of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, in this year, against English depredations; wherein we find express mention, that the ships of England were then accustomed annually to fish for herrings on the coast of Schonen, which, though now a part of Sweden, belonged, at that time, to Denmark.

We find in vol. viii. p. 360, of the *Fœdera*, the second instance of any English charter or licence granted to companies or societies of English merchants residing in foreign parts. It is from King Henry IVth, again “ to the English merchants residing in Prussia, Schonen, and other parts within the limits of the Hanseatic Confederacy, empowering them to assemble annually, in order to elect out of their number a governor in each respective port or place of their residence, for superintending the English commerce in those parts, and for governing the English merchants and others of that nation residing there, with the same powers, &c. as were granted by King Richard II. in the year 1390.” King Henry, in this record, takes notice, “ that for want of good and sound government, many losses, dissensions, and grievances have happened amongst the English residing in those parts.” This further shews, that the officer called governor, very much resembled, if he was not entirely the same as the modern one of consul, as already observed under a preceding instance of the same nature.

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In the eighth volume, p. 374 to 376, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry IV. appoints plenipotentiaries to treat with the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, as Earl and Countess of Flanders, and with the four Members of Flanders, viz. the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and the free Country, “ for removing the obstructions of mutual commerce between the two nations. Which commerce,” says the King, “ has always been productive of great benefit to Christendom, and by reviving it, the effusion of Christian blood and many injuries, &c. will be prevented.”

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1404 "prevented." This convention, it appears, p. 469 to 478, was not fully concluded till the year 1407, "wherein, beside the general revival of commerce, there was stipulated a free passage for English merchants through the Duke of Burgundy's walled towns, and also for their clergy and pilgrims going to Rome: with mutual liberty for the fishers of both nations, and also of France, for one year, to fish without molestation on the seas: likewise for the merchants of Holland, Zealand, and Italy, and others, usually resorting to the wooll-staple at Calais, thither to go and return in safety for one year certain." Another treaty in this same year 1407, with the four Members of Flanders above-named, stipulates, "the same articles to subsist, notwithstanding any war that might happen between England and France." The mutual liberty of the fishery, was probably agreed to by King Henry IV. in consideration of his obtaining the subsequent one in his favour, of freedom for all nations to resort unmolested to Calais, by which a considerable increase of customs and duties accrued to him. Thus whilst the King of England here styles the French King *Adversarius Franciæ*, i. e. our enemy of France, and the French King styles Henry *Adversarius Angliæ*, they found a way to consult their mutual interests in the business of the fishery and of Calais, through the intermediation of Flanders.

We should also take notice, that in this year 1404, the truce was prolonged between England and Castile, so as both nations were to continue in mutual commerce with each other. *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 347.

And p. 354, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, in this year also, a ten years truce was concluded between Castile and Portugal, in which it was stipulated by the latter that England should be included.

1405 The Earl of Northumberland, to whom King Henry IV. had given the Isle of Man in propriety, having rebelled against that King, he now bestowed it on Sir John Stanley, in whose posterity it has remained ever since, (*Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 420.) That island is at present possessed by the Duke of Athol, who on the decease of the late Earl of Derby succeeded thereto, and also to an English peerage, with the title of Baron Strange, in right of his grandmother, a daughter of the House of Derby, in whose male-issuë they were settled. As there are such loud complaints of that isle's being a receptacle and conveyance for smuggled goods, it should, in good policy, be purchased and annexed to the crown, and be made a part either of the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, or Lancaster.*

In vol. viii. p. 395-6, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry IV. of England appoints envoys, "to treat with Conrade de Juningen, the Master General of the German Knights of the Order of St. Mary in Prussia, and with the Community of the Society of the Merchants of the Hanse, for the ending of all controversies, and the renewing of friendship and commerce."

This treaty, however, it seems, proved fruitless; wherefore a similar commission was renewed in the two succeeding years, and concluded in the last of them, in 1407, wherein also was included King Henry IVth's son-in-law, Eric King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 458, 466, and 492.

* This has been since done, for the reasons here suggested. The crown, in the year 1765, purchased the customs and the isle from the Athol family for seventy thousand pounds. The Duke, however, retains his territorial property in the island, though the form of its government is altered; and the King has now the same rights, powers, and prerogatives as the Duke formerly enjoyed. The inhabitants, also, retain many of their ancient constitutions and customs.

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1405 This year is memorable for the conquest and utter subversion of the once famous republic of Pisa. The French, assisted by the Genoese and Florentines, possessed themselves of its capital city and castle, which, with the other towns and forts, and the open country, was by agreement delivered up to the republic of Florence, the town and port of Leghorn excepted, which was given to the Genoese, who held it till the next century, when, according to a judicious writer, Mr. Lewis Roberts, (in his *Treasure of Traffic*, published in 1641) it was purchased by the Duke of Florence for one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The same author adds, "That it was then but a poor fishing town, its haven capable only of receiving small barks; but the Duke of Florence afterwards added a new town to the old one, and fortified them both. He also made the harbour good, and a free port to all nations as at present, gave immunities to all new settlers there, and built them houses, without paying either rent or taxes for the space of seven years. He likewise made a strong mole for the safety of shipping, a canal of twenty miles in length, for the conveyance of goods to Pisa and thence to Florence up the river Arno. By these and such like means," continues our author, "he has, within thirty years past," *i. e.* since the year 1611, "made Leghorn the greatest port for traffic in all the Mediterranean Sea, to his own great honour, and the exceeding profit of himself and his subjects."

Under the year 1393, we mentioned the discovery of the Canary Isles; yet others say it was not till 1405, and others again not till 1417; which differences of opinion, however, are of very little consequence at present. Spain and Portugal had afterwards a bloody war, concerning their mutual pretensions to the Canary Isles and to Guinea, which terminated in a peace, in the year 1479, between Ferdinand the Catholic, and Alphonso V. of Portugal; the latter thereby renouncing all manner of right to the Canary Isles, and Ferdinand resigning Guinea to Portugal, and so it has remained to the present time. Those famous Canary Isles were known to the Ancients by the name of *Fortunate Insulæ sex*, or the six Fortunate Isles, though there are certainly seven of them. Yet it is said that the two most populous of them remained unsubdued till the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic. Their excellent wines came from a vine transplanted by the Spaniards from the Rhine. Here were also formerly sugar canes, and dying woods, as there are of the latter at this time.

In this year, great guns or cannon are said to have been first used by England, at the siege of Berwick. Yet, as it is said, they were used by the English at the battle of Cressy so early as the year 1346, one would imagine they might have been employed in England before this time.

1406 In the eighth volume, p. 437, of the *Foedera*, we find the guard of the seas again committed to the merchants of England, in this year, by King Henry IV. who acquaints the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, "That it had been agreed in the present Parliament, that the merchants of our kingdom shall have the guard of the seas, from May this year, till Michaelmas of the following year. And for their performing the same, they were allowed three shillings per ton on wines imported, and twelve pence per pound," (*ad valorem*, we guess) "on all other merchandize," though not so plainly expressed in the record, "and also the fourth part of the subsidy on wool and leather; so as the said merchants shall be obliged to maintain certain ships of war on the seas. King Henry, at the same time, wrote to the towns and cities of Newcastle, York, Hull, Boston, Lincoln, Scarborough, Lynn, Norwich, Yarmouth, Ipswich,—to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports,—to Southampton, Bristol, Beverly, Whitby, Hartlepool, Nottingham, Barton, Grimsby, and Grantham," and possibly

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1406 sibly others, though not found in this record, "for their information, concurrence, and assistance in that agreement." And p. 439, "he impowers them to elect out of the number of their merchants two fit persons, to whom he will grant commissions to be his Admirals, during the term of this agreement,—one for the North, and the other for the West." But in this very same year, that King "directs the collectors of his ports to stop payment of their allowances to merchants, until the complaints against them should be heard, for their not sufficiently guarding the seas according to contract, and thereby suffering many damages to be sustained by his subjects."

Although this declaration of the King, and the regulations which accompany it, are said to have been agreed to in Parliament, yet it is not to be found in the statute book; which is the case indeed, in some other instances, in those less accurate times. During the entire reign of King Henry IV. the English were almost always successful at sea against France.

In volume viii. p. 441 of the *Fœdera*, King Henry IV. "grants leave to Philip de Albertis, a Lombard, residing in London, to give a bill of exchange," *literam cambii*, "on his partners in foreign parts, for two thousand five hundred marks sterling, to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, or his attorneys, for the first fruits of the bishopric of Durham; on condition, however," adds the King, "that neither the said gold," received for the bill of exchange, "nor any other gold nor silver, either in bullion or in coin, be transported beyond sea, under colour of this present licence, upon pain of forfeiting all the said money so transported." thus they strove to hedge in the cuckow.

The true nature of bills of exchange was not, it seems, as yet so well understood in those times. For, as already observed, whether these two thousand five hundred marks had been carried out in specie, or remitted as above, it would have been the same thing with respect to the general balance of the nation with foreign parts.

The vast sums of money thus annually carried out of England to Rome, for those and similar ecclesiastical dues, were very sensibly felt by the nation, and often loudly complained of in Parliament. And it is upon this principle, that in Holland, and in the free cities of Italy, if we are not mistaken, there are no restraints on the carrying out of either money or bullion; and yet they abound in both, because they take the only solid or permanent means to keep and increase their money in the end,—by exporting more of their own product and manufacture, and employing more of their own shipping to foreign nations, than they take and use of theirs; the only true means of bringing the general balance in their favour.

Although there was only a very ill-kept truce subsisting at this time between England and France, yet we find, in vol. viii. p. 451, of the *Fœdera*, that King Henry IV. directs his precepts to all his Admirals, &c. signifying, "that for certain reasons, him thereunto moving, he had taken all the fishers of France, Bretagne, and Flanders, under his protection, with their ships, fish, fishing boats, nets, &c. with all which they were hereby permitted freely, to return home in safety, and to go when and whither they pleased." This permission was, it seems, on Henry's prospect not only of a settled peace with France, but likewise of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and a daughter of King Charles VII. of France. There is another record of this year, p. 489, for the very same purpose.

The old writers in defence of the English company of merchants adventurers, relate, that King Henry IV. in this same year, granted to this company a charter to govern themselves by, in their commerce both abroad and at home, by their ancient name of The Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury; their modern name of The Merchants

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1405 Adventurers of England not being given them till the twentieth year of King Henry VIIIth's reign. Yet this charter had the following proviso, viz. "That any man paying the haunce," or freedom fine; "of an old noble," i. e. about eighteen shillings of modern money, "might freely consort and trade with them." Under the year 1358, we have given an account of the rise of this mercantile society, and of their encroaching and gaining ground on the first and most ancient incorporated trading society named Merchants of the Staple of England; yet we do not find there was any royal charter granted to the above-named society of St. Thomas Becket, till this present year; and even this we never saw, but take it on the credit of their advocates, and particularly of their Secretary Wheeler, in his vindication of this company, already quoted.

The celebrated mercantile writer Gerard Malynes, a Fleming, who was settled in England, and in some degree of favour with King James I. in his treatise called, *The Centre of the Circle of Commerce*, p. 86, 8vo. 1623, says, "That this charter from King Henry IV. in the year 1406, which was the first they ever had, gave no exclusive powers, but merely the authority to assemble themselves to choose a governor, and, by way of justice, to rectify their own abuses; and of their privileges, all the merchants and mariners of England and Ireland were to be equally partakers without exception, or any limitation of commodity, &c." So that this was then no other than an open or free trade prudently regulated; and so it continued until they fell into the way of laying taxes on woollen goods, and mulcts and restraints on their own members, till at length they assumed the power of excluding all from trading into their limits, unless they paid down large fines for admission into their fellowship. "So that," continues Malynes, "whatsoever freedom of trade his Majesty's subjects are now barred of, is merely usurped. That when the making of cloth in England was got to some advance, King Henry IV. was willing to encourage every one of his subjects, as well as the company of merchants of the staple, to export the same; and therefore he made the regulations or charter above-named, to such merchants who not being of the staplers society, might yet be willing to transport our cloth, &c. to Flanders, Brabant, Holland, &c." Here we apprehend Malynes had the advantage of Mr. Miffelden, an eminent merchant, who wrote in defence of the merchants adventurers exclusive privileges, in a treatise called, *The Circle of Commerce*, though the latter, in all other respects, even in that very book, had the advantage of Malynes.

We find in the Scottish statute book, a good law, as well observed, concerning the great nuisance of common beggars in Scotland. It is in the first Parliament of King James I. in the year 1406, viz. "All that beg through the country, (Alandwart) shall have a certain token given to them by the Sheriff of each county, under pain, to the beggar, of burning on the cheek and banishment, and a forfeiture of ten shillings by the Sheriff to the King." And by a law of the sixth Parliament of King James IV. "the Sheriffs of counties, and the Provosts and Bailiffs of burghs, were to forfeit one mark for every one found begging, except he be crooked, sick, or weak."

The city of Marseilles, in Provence, was even, in remote ages, a place of great commerce. At this time, we find by a book entitled *l'Histoire de la Ville de Marseilles*, printed in that city, in 1642, "That Louis, Count of Provence, gave very great encouragement to the commerce of this city, permitting them to lend out money at ten per cent. interest, without the imputation of unlawful or extravagant usury. He also freed them from all kinds of taxes and customs in all the ports of Provence, and permitted them to establish commercial con-

“suls

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1406 “sals in all foreign ports. So that Marseilles was at this time in very great prosperity.” This is the first instance we meet with, as yet, of a rate of interest being legally fixed any where in Europe.

It was not till this year, according to their own historians, that the Castilians first began to make use of cannon against the Moors of Spain.

1407 The useful custom of the English merchants residing in foreign parts to elect a governor for their good regulation, began to be very general even in the early part of this century. In volume viii. p. 464, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry IV. “impowers the English merchants residing in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, and in some other foreign parts,” without naming them, “for their better government, to elect governors annually out of their own number, “for regulating their trade, and terminating all differences amongst them; and to “make acts and ordinances for those and such-like good purposes.” These grants and powers seem to have been, in some degree, occasioned by the repeated complaints of outrages committed in those parts by the English, *i. e.* the merchants incorporated the preceding year by the name of the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket, since named Merchant Adventurers of England, to whom the King, this same year, granted a patent for the trade of woollen-cloths into the Netherlands.

In this year, in the same volume, p. 468, King Henry IV. grants a commission for treating with the Society of the Hans-towns, concerning reprisals made on them by the English, and for treating of friendship and commerce between the English and them, either collectively or separately. “And also,” adds this commission, “for explaining and clearing up the privileges and royal grants of us and our predecessors to the said Hans-towns, under whatsoever form of words they may have been granted; and also all other doubtful, ambiguous, “and obscure points.” The English ships, it seems, had made captures of many Prussian and Hanseatic ships, and had even killed some of their people: as, on the other hand, the English loudly complained of many depredations and captures of English ships, and much merchandize, chiefly by those of Wismar and Rostock, on the merchants of Newcastle, York, Hull, London, Lynn, Colchester, Yarmouth, Norwich, &c. to about twelve thousand pounds sterling value, and also the loss of many lives. Some of those depredations on the English are said by *Krantzius*, in his History of Norway, to have been committed by certain desperate soldiers or warriors of Wismar and Rostock, called *Vitalians*, (*Vitaliani*) who performed those things in the name, and perhaps with the connivance, of the Hans-towns; and who, says that author, burnt the town of Norbern, *i. e.* North-Bergen, in Norway, with twenty-one wooden-houses of the English there, valued at four-hundred and forty nobles, being about seven pounds sterling, or eighteen pounds of our money, for each house. To adjust all such disputes, there was a congress held, first in the year 1406, at Dort in Holland, and next, in 1407, at the Hague, between King Henry the Fourth’s ambassadors, and those of the Master-General of the Teutonic Order of Prussia, and of the Hans-towns; some of which towns, viz. Hamburg, Bremen, Straelsund, Lubeck, Griepswald, and Campen, made demands of considerable sums for injuries they had sustained from the English; most of which, however, were greatly reduced. All which demands of the Hanseatics were made and computed in the denomination of nobles; which being a real English gold coin, of the value of one-third of a pound sterling, (only an imaginary one) was probably much current between England and the Hans-towns, in the course of their mutual dealings.

Money

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1407

Money growing still more plenty in Europe, because commerce, though almost insensibly, daily increased; we find King Henry IV. was now able to borrow more considerable sums of the laity than of the clergy, which could not be done in former reigns. For in this year he had the following loans for paying his garrison of Calais, as we find in vol. viii. p. 488, of the *Fœdéra*, viz.

“ Of the Bishop of Durham,	-	-	-	-	100 Marks.
— the Earl of Westmorland,	-	-	-	-	500
— the Lord Roos,	-	-	-	-	250
— the Lord Burnell,	-	-	-	-	250
Of John Norbury,	-	-	-	-	£. 2000
Of John Hende,	-	-	-	-	£. 2000
Of Richard Whittington, late Lord Mayor of London,	-	-	-	-	£. 1000
Of the merchants of the Staple at Calais,	-	-	-	-	£. 4000
And of the Lombard merchants of the Society of Albertini	-	-	-	-	£. 1000

“ All which loans were to be repaid out of the customs of wool and leather.”

This Sir Richard Whittington, of whom certain vulgar, traditional, and improbable stories are told, was, however, so rich as to have rebuilt the gaol of Newgate, the library of the Grey-Friars, part of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in that neighbourhood, and a college of priests, &c. in the street still named College-hill. London must have been very rich even at this time, as appears by the erecting so noble a structure as the present Guildhall, which happily escaped the flames of 1666. There were then also many very wealthy merchants in this city.

Under the year 1345, we have seen, both from the authority of De Mailly and Machiavel, that the very great public debts of Genoa laid, at that time, a foundation for the famous bank of St. George of that city and state, which De Mailly terms the richest bank in Europe.— Though, in that assertion, he is surely mistaken; that of Amsterdam, which is said by some to amount to thirty-six millions sterling, principal or capital, being, in all probability, much the richest of the two.

The bank of Genoa took its rise, as has been partly explained under the year 1345, from the public revenues of that state being mortgaged or pawned to private persons, during their late distresses, for discharging the ancient debts of the republic, as well as for raising the supplies for the current service. “ Thus,” says De Mailly, “ they constituted annual rents, or payments, resembling those on the Town-house of Paris, in the reign of King Louis XIV. which were assigned on different funds.” (and, we apprehend, also much resembling the annuity-stocks at present transferable at the bank of England, and South-Sea Company's houses, being national debts brought into that shape at different times.) “ Eight directors were soon after appointed for receiving those rents, and for paying them to the several creditors. Which establishment received the name of the House of St. George. In proportion as the wants of the republic increased, so did the credit of this house or bank, by having still more lands, rents, and important dominions assigned to it: So that from eight counsellors or directors,” as Machiavel describes it to have had, “ they were afterwards increased to one hundred, who were vested with an absolute authority in their own concerns.” And thus,” continues De Mailly, “ is there seen in the same city two independent sovereignties.” Yet Machiavel thought that this bank would one day be possessed of all the city of Genoa; in consequence of which event, it would surpass Venice in credit.

Under

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1407 Under the year 1302, we have shewn, from the best authority, that the Scottish nation had, at that time, and probably long before, a considerable commerce with the Netherlands. In Maitland's History of the city of Edinburgh, printed in the year 1753, p. 384, it is related, "That John Duke of Brabant did, in 1407, grant his letters patent of new privileges to those of the Scottish nation trading all over his dominions; and that Bruges in Flanders was then, and had been very long before that time, the staple port for Scottish ships and merchandise."

And from Bruges, we shall see hereafter, that it was removed to Campvere, or Vere, in Zealand, where it remains to this day.

1408 In this year, we find the towns of Holland considerable in shipping: for Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, acquaints us, "That the seas being infested by certain East Friesland pirates, those of Amsterdam, and some of the cities of North Holland, with the assistance of the Lubeckers, Hamburgers, and Campeners, suppressed those robbers."

In vol. viii. p. 511, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry IV. for the same reasons as he had ordained similar regulations at the Hans-towns, and in the Netherlands, "grants a power to the English merchants residing in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to elect annual governors from amongst themselves, for the better regulating of their commerce, and the preservation of order and justice amongst them."—This is the first account we have met with in the *Fœdera* of our mercantile dealings with Sweden; for Schonen, though now belonging to Sweden, was then a part of Denmark.

In this year also, in the same volume, p. 530 King Henry IV. concluded "a three years truce with the Duke of Burgundy, as Earl of Flanders," who had been duly authorized for that effect by the French King, his superior Lord, "and with the four members of Flanders, so often mentioned, for reviving the general course of commerce between the two countries of England and Flanders. Upon which commerce," says King Henry, "the sustenance of Flanders is founded, and more especially on that of the drapery. And security was agreed on to be settled for the safe passage of ships on both sides, during the said term, in the narrow part of the Channel between Winchelsea and St. Valery."—This circumstance plainly shews that the Netherland woollen-drapery still depended on England for their great supply of wool.

In p. 541, of the *Fœdera*, "the famous imperial city of Cologne, on the Rhine, was also comprehended or included in the said three years truce."

These truces were, for the mutual benefits of commerce, prolonged from time to time, sometimes for three, five, &c. years; each party still reserving or keeping up their respective pretensions until a favourable conjuncture should offer. For even in these very truces, the French King always calls the English King, *Adversarius Angliæ*, or our Adversary of England; and the latter calls the former, *Adversarius Franciæ*, or our Adversary of France. So necessary, however, did both parties find a mutual mercantile correspondence to be at that time.

And, in the same volume, p. 542, for the mutual benefit of commerce, King Henry IV. of England, concluded a truce of a similar nature with the Duke of Bretagne, "for a mutual free resort to the ports and havens of each respective country."

In the said eighth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 595, King Henry IV. of England, "at the earnest request," says the record, "of Michael Steno, Duke of Venice, grants a licence to all merchants of Venice, with their carracks, gallies and other vessels laden with merchandise, freely to resort to England, and to trade there, and from thence to Flanders, and so
" back

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back to England again; where they may lade their vessels with wool, cloth, and other law-
ful merchandize, paying the usual duties and customs, and so at length return home."

1409 In the Sequel of this eighth volume of Records, and in that of the ninth, we find the same
grant renewed from year to year; and by it we may partly see the course of trade which Venice
had at that time with England and Flanders. And we must still further remark, that in none
of those grants is there as yet to be found any kind of stipulation for the same freedom for
English ships at Venice, which would certainly have been the case, had any English ships
usually resorted thither.

In the eighth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 601-2, "King Henry IV. in recompence of the
damages done by his subjects to those of Prussia and Livonia, gives his obligation to Ulric
Jungingen, Master-General of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, for five thousand three
hundred and eighteen gold nobles and a half, and thirteen pence English, payable at St. Mar-
tin's day following. Provided," says King Henry, "that when this money comes to be
paid to the said Master-General's envoys here, it may freely be sent out of our kingdom by
exchange, *per excambium*, but by no means in money, nor in bullion of gold or silver; ex-
cepting only a reasonable sum for the necessary expence of the said envoys." What we have
observed under the year 1406, on the nature of bills of exchange, is sufficient to explain the
last part of this record, to which, therefore, we refer the reader.

Here is also another obligation of King Henry to the said Master-General for ten thousand
six hundred and thirty seven nobles, and two shillings and twopence, payable in the year 1411.

And, in p. 603, of the aforefaid volume, "King Henry IV. gives a similar obligation to the
proconsuls and consuls of the city of Hamburg for four hundred and sixteen gold nobles,
on account of the same damages done to their people by his English subjects."

All which too plainly shews, that much violence and injustice had sometimes been com-
mitted by our English ships on these different people.

In this eighth volume of the *Fœdera*, so often quoted, p. 610. King Henry IV. issues a
declaration, "That he sets apart the following sums, out of the subsidy on wool and leather,
to be solely appropriated, from this date, till Easter following, entirely for the expence of
his household, and to no other end whatever, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
I. In the port of London	700	8	4
Southampton,	800	0	0
Hull, 1000 marks, or	666	13	4
Boston, ditto, or	666	13	4
Lynn, 200 marks, or	133	6	8
Ipswich, 1000 marks, or	666	13	4
II. And out of the three shillings per ton on wine, and one shilling per pound on other merchandize, viz. In the port of London,	466	5	0
Southampton, 500 marks, or	333	6	8
Bristol, 800 marks, or	533	6	8
Boston,	100	0	0
III. And out of the customs on wools in the port of Hull,	100	0	0
IV. Out of the issues of the hanaper, 1000 marks, or	666	13	4
V. From escheats and sheriffs proffers, 1000 marks, or	666	13	4
Total,	6500	0	0

If

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1409

If this sum paid the entire expence of that King's household for about four months, then the whole year's expence of his household was nineteen thousand five hundred pounds.

In Sir Robert Cotton's Remains, published in the year 1651, there is an essay on the manner and means how the Kings of England have, from time to time, supported and repaired their citates: wherein he says, "That in the twelfth year of King Henry IV. the revenue
" and profits of the kingdom, together with the subsidy of wool, and tenths of the clergy,
" amounted to no more than forty-eight thousand pounds, of which twenty-four thousand
" marks, or sixteen thousand pounds, were allotted for the expence of his house, most of the
" rest for the guard of the sea, and defence of the kingdom, the realm of Ireland, and demi-
" niens in France. In this estimate the profit by wards and marriages was but one thousand
" pounds." This quotation confirms the above quoted record, if it required any such confirmation.

By this record we may also in part discover, which towns were then most considerable either in the wool or the wine trade; and, in part also, how our Kings of old supported the expences of their household, &c. viz. from the rents and profits of their own demesne lands, their free-farm rents, and such certain and hereditary revenue, which were then very considerable, (and continued so, till our Kings gradually lavished them all away) and partly also from the revenue of customs, which we have just mentioned.

There is a subsequent commission in this same volume, p. 613, from King Henry IV. to treat with Ulrich Jungingen, Master-General of Prussia, concerning the grievances alleged to be committed by the English against his people; and also for a league of amity with him. The next year, p. 663, there is another treaty between Henry and the succeeding Master-General, named Henry de Plawn, for the same purpose.

1410

In the same volume, p. 617, of the Exchequer, King Henry IV. now concluded a new treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce, with his nephew John, King of Castile and Leon; which being, like almost all the treaties of those times, couched in general terms, affords no particular matter for our purpose.

In p. 634, of the said volume, King Henry IV. grants to the town of Cambridge a number of small taxes or tolls on provisions, &c. brought into their town either by land or by water, for the space of three years, for enabling them to pave their streets, and to mend the high roads leading thither.

This year, according to Louis Guicciardini's Description and History of the Netherlands, (printed in French at Antwerp, in folio, in the year 1582) is remarkable for the invention of grinding and mixing of painters colours in oil, by one John D'Eick, a Netherland painter of Bruges, "who sent many of his fine paintings into Italy to the great Alphonsus V. King
" of Naples and Arragon, and to the Duke of Urbin, and other Princes, who all set a vast
" value on those pieces. And the great Laurence de Medicis afterwards collected many of
" those exquisite paintings." To Mr. D'Eick succeeded a vast number of great painters, down to our author's time, who made themselves famous over all Europe, and even in Italy itself; of whom, with the places of their birth, their works, &c. he gives a detail.

"In the same age also," continues Guicciardini, "the Netherlanders travelled much into
" Italy, and brought back with them the great improvements they had there acquired in architecture, painting, carving, and engraving on copper. And those Netherlanders, and
" their successors, carried their arts into England, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway,
" Poland, and Muscovy, without naming those who were sent for into France, Spain, and
" VOL. I. 3 G Portugal.

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1410 "Portugal, frequently by the sovereigns of those countries, as well as by the nobility and cities, who appointed them honourable salaries and rewards for their superior skill and genius. So that as they first perfected themselves in Italy, they and their scholars afterwards spread themselves all over the rest of Europe, and taught those fine arts which were in a great measure before confined to Italy."

Guicciardini likewise ascribes to the Netherlands, but without assigning the times when, the invention of the following arts, viz. First, "The baking of those fine colours in glass, which we see in the windows of old churches.—Secondly, the art of making tapestry hangings.—Thirdly, the art of making says, ferges, fustains, ostades, (worsted) and demi-ostades, wollen cloth napped, (*à friser*) and many sorts also of linen cloth, besides a great number of lesser inventions." Some authors assert, that the weavers of these goods at Ypres withdrew themselves to Leyden after the year 1400, and carried the manufactures thither. "But above all," says he, "it is to be particularly observed, that the people of the Netherlands first gave the names to the several winds, or points of the compass, as they are at this day called by all the trading nations in Europe, in the very language of that country."—He also insists that they were the inventors, on this side Italy at least, of watches, clocks, and sun-dials, of which, he says, they made more, especially of the finest watches, in his time, than all the world besides; and also sent great quantities of them to other countries. And he superadds, "That beside their happy genius for new inventions, they have a peculiar grace in completing and perfecting every piece of workmanship and manufacture beyond other nations." A great deal of this was probably true when Guicciardini first wrote, which was in the year 1560; but a course of about two hundred and thirty years has made a very great alteration in Europe, and England has since gained the pre-eminence in the article of watches, and clocks, as well as in the fabric of woollen goods; and in the art of engraving, even over France itself: Scotland and Ireland at present bid fair for the finest linen-draperies. As for the painted glass and tapestry, they are not in such request now as they were in those times. Frised, or napped cloth, we have noted under the year 1376, to have been an Irish manufacture; from which country, possibly, the Netherlands might learn it. But with respect to clocks and watches, the latter being only an improvement of the former, the world is still at a loss for their place or time of invention; though many ascribe it to the noble and imperial city of Nuremberg in Germany: and as we had no clock-makers in England till brought hither by King Edward III. it is probable that the invention of these useful machines could not be of much older date than that time in the western parts of Europe, though they were known at a much earlier period in Italy.

It was about this time that Prince Henry, third son of John I. called the Bastard, King of Portugal, who had been successful in his wars against the Moors of Barbary, began to turn his thoughts to new geographical discoveries along the west coast of Africa southward; a part of the terraqueous globe so long sunk in obscurity, that the cape called Cape Nao, or Cape Non, was then said to be so named, as forbidding any to venture beyond it, being deemed, if not impassable, at least very hazardous. Some ships, however, sent out by him, ventured beyond it, even as far as Cape Bajador, in about twenty four degrees of north latitude; but finding, at the last named cape, a very stormy sea, and not daring, in those days, to venture far from the view of the coasts, or of land, which too plainly shews they generally knew not the proper use of the mariner's compass, they durst attempt no further discoveries. Yet another attempt produced their discovery of the isle of Porto Santo, near the island of Madeira, which last they found

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1410 found in their third attempt; though long before this time discovered, as we have seen, by Macham an Englishman, in the year 1344. And here we will, for a while, leave this enterprising Prince meditating further discoveries southward, whilst we pursue the chronological series of our work.

There surely must have been some considerable commerce in Scotland at this time; for England being then at war with that kingdom, "Sir Robert Umphryville, vice-admiral of England, lay with ten ships of war before the port of Leith," according to Trusſel's Continuation of Daniel's History, "when landing on either side the Frith, where he did much mischief, and plundered the country, he took many prizes, and burned the great galliot of Scotland, with many other ships, and yet brought home fourteen tall ships, laden with corn, and other merchandize; whereby he so far lowered the prices in England, as to have obtained the name of Mend-market."

1411 In the eighth volume, p. 684, of the *Fœdera*, we find King Henry IV. arrests in the port of Boston, certain Hanseatic merchants, until satisfaction should be made for divers injuries, losses, murders, &c. sustained by the English merchants trading to Bergen in Norway, from the Hanseatics residing there. But in the following year that King released them, on their giving two thousand marks security for being forth-coming for the same. This may probably have been for the outrages committed by the Vitalian soldiers of the Hans-towns on the English at Bergen, in 1407, as mentioned under that year.

In the same volume, p. 687, it appears, that the commercial truce made between King Henry IV. and the Duke of Burgundy, as Earl of Flanders, with the licence and authority of the French King, his superior lord, was prolonged for five years to come. "Being desirous," says our King, "of the good continuation of the said commerce, for the common utility of our said kingdom, and of our other dominions."

To this new truce were added certain articles relating to the punishment of land and sea-robbers, and for protecting the fishery and the merchant ships frequenting the ports of both countries; the passage of English pilgrims, &c. through the walled towns of Flanders in their way to Rome; the quiet of the marches of Picardy; and for the ships of England, France, and Flanders, to trade mutually in the ports of the sea between Winchelsea and St. Vallery, and all the ports east and north thereof on both sides.

By De Mailly's History of Genoa, we learn, that at this time the Catalans were potent in shipping, and had cruel wars with the Genoese, many of whose richly laden ships they had taken. In this year, 1411, they even attempted to take from the Genoese the isle of Chios, in the Archipelago, with seven ships of war; but the Genoese and natives not only drove them thence, but pursued them as far as the sea of Alexandria, where they took four of their ships. Barcelona was then, as it is now, the capital of Catalonia; and the country was subject, as was also Majorca, &c. to Martin King of Arragon.

1412 The eighth volume, p. 717, of the *Fœdera*, acquaints us, "That the Genoese having maliciously done great damage to certain merchants of London, who had shipped wool and other merchandize for the Mediterranean, King Henry IV. issues his mandate to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and other ports, to make proclamation, that none of his subjects do presume to suffer to be sent beyond-sea any merchandize, or money by exchange, &c. belonging to the Genoese, until satisfaction be made for those wrongs."

It does not appear that the above-named merchandize was shipped in English bottoms; but most probably in Venetian ships, with which state the Genoese were often at war.

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1412

The town of Bergen, in Norway, being one of the four great comptoirs of the Hans-towns, they at this time carried on a great commerce thither; and in the eighth volume, p. 722, of the *Fœdera*, we have an eminent instance of their power and influence there: King Henry IV. of England complains, "That about five years before, one hundred fishermen of Cromer and Blakerfey, in Norfolk, flying from their enemies into the port of Windford, in Norway, were assaulted by five hundred armed men belonging to the Hanseatics residing at Bergen, who bound the poor Englishmen hand and foot, and threw them into the sea, where they all perished. At certain other times," says the King, "both in our own reign, and in that of King Richard II. those Hanseatics violently seized the English merchants effects at Bergen, and assaulted them in their houses, &c. being, in such violences, winked at by the Danish Court, because of their great commerce thither." It may here, indeed, be observed, that the overbearing and insolent carriage of the Hanseatics, to injure the commerce of other nations trading to any of their comptoirs, or to other ports whose trade they had engrossed, contributed not a little to their own downfall.

In the same volume, p. 727, we find, "that King Henry IV. complains to King John of Portugal, of the ship *Thomas*, of London, being violently seized in the port of Lisbon, being of two hundred tons burden; having, beside the commander, a merchant and a purser (*bussemagister*) belonging to her. Her lading, taken in at Lisbon, was oil, wax, and fundry other wares; and the owner values the freight at six thousand gold crowns." By the word freight, must here, undoubtedly, be meant her whole cargo. It is also to be remarked, that there is no mention of wine as any part of it; Portugal having formerly had much more corn and much fewer vineyards than in modern times, as has been already observed under the year 1325. And as our Kings were still in possession of Guienne, from whence we had long had our wines in great quantities, we find a sufficient reason why we brought none from Lisbon.

In this volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 733, we are also furnished with another complete description of the full or entire naval service due by the Cinque Ports to the crown of England, in a summons of King Henry IV. to them this same year 1412, for his intended voyage to Guienne; being verbatim the same with that under the year 1394.

In this year, King Henry IV. borrows ten thousand marks, or six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, of the Mayor and commonalty of London; for which tallies were struck at the Exchequer, to be repaid the same year out of the tenths and fifteenths of several counties therein named. Other loans at this time to that King, are as follow:

	l.	s.	d.
By the King's son Thomas,	2,271	14	0
— the Duke of York,	1,170	6	0
— the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1000 marks, or	666	13	4
— the Bishop of Lincoln, 800 marks, or	533	6	8
— the City of Norwich, 400 marks, or	266	13	4
— the Abbot and Convent of St. Edmund's Bury,	100	0	0
— the Bishop of Sarum, 500 marks, or	333	6	8
— the Bishop of Worcester, 200 marks, or	133	6	8
— the Master of the Rolls, John Chitern, and William Waltham, jointly, 500 marks, or	333	6	8

Fœdera, vol. viii. p. 748 and 760.

Total, inclusive of London, is 12,475 6 8

These loans were for his expedition to Guienne.

Certain

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1412 Certain French ships having, in the same year, and during the truce between England and France, seized on two English vessels at sea, bound to England with wines, &c. King Henry IV. (*Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 755), “grants the owners letters of marque and reprisals on the bodies and goods of the French, wherever they can find them, either by sea or land, as far as the value of their damage, being five thousand two hundred and fifty marks; excepting, however, such French alone, as shall be either going to or returning from the King’s staple at Calais.” Thus was the port of Calais rendered a free and neutral port for all nations.

1413 *Ibid*, p. 773, we have another instance of letters of reprisal granted to private persons, and at the same time the first instance, in this collection of records, of Englishmen trading to Morocco. “In this year, it seems, a company of London merchants laded several ships with much wool and other merchandize, to the value of twenty-four thousand pounds towards the western parts of Morocco,” *versus partes occidentales per districtos de Marrok*, without naming the port. “But some Genoese ships, emulous of this commerce, made prize of those London ships outward bound, and carried them into Genoa. Whereupon King Henry IV. grants the sufferers reprisals on the ships and merchandize of the Genoese wherever they can find them.”

In this year, Ladislaus IV. King of Poland, otherwise named Jagellon, is said to have brought about the conversion of the province of Samogitia, adjoining to Lithuania, from Paganism to Christianity: so late was this part of the world in embracing the Christian religion. Much later still were some parts of Lithuania in being brought over to Christianity.

In vol. ix. p. 26, of the *Fœdera*, a licence was granted by King Henry V. to the merchants of Venice, in the form of the annual licences of his father Henry IV. viz “for them freely to resort to England with their carracks, gallies, and other vessels, laden with merchandize: there to dispose thereof, and to lade wool, cloth, tin, &c. and to return home therewith.”

And *ibid*. p. 47, King Henry being apprehensive that the “French ships might seize on the English wine ships returning from Gascony, should they come home singly, strictly enjoins his Admiral, that none of those ships go singly for this year’s vintage, but together, in fleets of sufficient number to oppose the French attempts.”

It appears to be almost unnecessary to inform the reader, that neither in those times, nor for very near a century later, were there properly any royal ships of war, now called men of war, of the King’s own property. The naval wars were entirely carried on by merchant ships, partly hired occasionally by the crown, and partly supplied by the Cinque Ports, as we have more than once explained, in recompence for certain privileges and immunities enjoyed by them. Our Kings therefore had the greatest reason to be careful of their merchants ships, and more especially King Henry V. who from his very accession to the throne, was meditating the recovery of the many provinces and cities of France yielded to King Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny, but afterwards wrested from him by the French towards the latter part of his reign.

In the ninth volume, p. 72 to 77, of the *Fœdera*, we have King Henry Vth’s renewal and confirmation of the charter of privileges granted by King Edward I. to foreign merchants, in the year 1303; and also of the charter of privileges granted by him, in 1280, to the German merchants of the Steelyard in London: of which last-named charter, the most remarkable article was, “That neither he, nor his heirs and successors, should lay any new undue custom” (*custumam novam indebitam*) “on their persons, goods, and merchandize: saving, however, to us and our heirs, our ancient prize duties.” On this clause, which was also inserted in

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1413 the charters of former Kings, the Steelyard merchants laid the greatest stress in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when their extravagant privileges were curtailed; notwithstanding the obvious unreasonableness of succeeding Kings being absolutely concluded and bound to abide by such a clause, when their own merchants were obliged to pay higher customs than those of the Steelyard.

1414 King Henry V. being now bent on an invasion of France, the House of Commons, in this year, granted him two tenths and two fifteenths to be levied on the laity, according to the Parliament rolls: which grant, according to Rapin, amounts to three hundred thousand marks; but we know not justly from what authority. The clergy also, to prevent being stripped of all their temporalities, as was intended by the House of Commons, gave up to the King the alien priories or cells, and also taxed themselves largely in convocation, for the sake of having the horrible and hellish law made for cruelly burning, alive, the innocent Lollards or Wickliffites; the chief of whom, Lord Cobham, was hung or suspended by an iron chain round his middle, and burnt alive; which torture he suffered with great resolution and constancy, to the eternal infamy of those times.

In p. 80 to 88, of the ninth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have a pregnant proof of the vast benefits accruing to England by the noble duchy of Bretagne, whilst it remained under its own proper dukes. It is in a ten years truce concluded in this year between King Henry V. of England, and John Duke of Bretagne, wherein, amongst various other articles, it was stipulated, "That no ships or prizes taken from the English by any other potentate, should be permitted to be brought into the ports of Bretagne to be disposed of. And, on the contrary, the prizes taken by the English from their enemies, were hereby to be permitted to enter the ports of Bretagne, there to be disposed of by the captors at pleasure. Also none of that Duke's subjects were to assist the enemies of England, nor to afford them encouragement in any wise, by concealing either their ships or goods, &c."

In p. 130 of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, we find King Henry V. drawing some small benefit to himself from the great sums of money which the blind zeal of those ignorant times occasioned to be annually sent to Rome: he is there seen to "grant to Lewis Johan," whom he styles his servant, "or to his deputies for three years to come, the sole privilege of taking or receiving monies by exchange, of any persons who had occasion to go to Rome, Venice, or any other place where the Pope may reside, &c. or who may send their attornies or messengers thither for transacting their affairs. For which monies so received, he or his deputies were to deliver bills of exchange payable in those parts. And for this privilege, he was to pay to the King two hundred marks yearly. Provided always, that neither he nor his deputies shall, under cover of this grant, export any gold or silver, either in money or bullion; and that none other person but he or his deputies," merchants alone excepted, for the sole purpose of their commerce, "shall make, exchange, or give bills of exchange, during the said term; nor shall send any money by exchange to Bruges, to be afterwards remitted to the said cities of Rome or Venice, under forfeiture of the money." This record shews, that in those times they still remained ignorant of the just operation of remittances by bills of exchange on the general balance of a nation's commerce.

In the ninth volume, p. 160, of the *Fœdera*, we also see King Henry Vth's mandate to the collectors of the customs in the ports of London, Hull, Newcastle, Boston, Sandwich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Chichester, Southampton, Melcomb-Regis, Bristol, Dartmouth, and Plymouth,

not

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1414 not to suffer any gunpowder to be exported, on any pretence whatever, without his special licence. Yet it does not appear that any gunpowder was as yet made in England.

In the same year, volume, and page, Genoese ambassadors came into England, to treat about satisfaction to be given for certain merchandize unjustly taken by the Genoese from some London merchants. And (*ibid.*) King Henry V. now grants a licence to Obert Tontun, a Genoese merchant, then living in London, freely to import into England divers merchandize, to the value of three thousand pounds, and to re-export from England merchandize to the same value, paying the usual customs: "provided," says the King, "that the said Tontun do reside, whilst in London, with our loving subject, William Unet, citizen and woollen-draper of London, and not elsewhere in that city."

Dr. Brady, in his Treatise of Burghs, has supplied us with reasons for believing, that several towns in England, in our days, of some note, were, at this time, so inconsiderable as not to be represented in Parliament. Thus, in the returns from the Sheriffs of the following counties, are omitted, in Somersetshire, three of the present Parliament burghs, viz. Minchhead, Milburn Port, and Hechester, the last-named town being, nevertheless, the place where the county courts are usually held.

In Dorsetshire, Poole and Corfe Castle were omitted in the Sheriff's returns. In Wiltshire, ten of the present Parliament burghs are omitted in the Sheriff's returns for this year, viz. Downton, Hindon, Westbury, Heytisbury, Chippenham, Cricklade, Bedwin, Luggershall, Old Sarum, and Wootton Bassett. Some of these ten places, it is true, are at present inconsiderable; but what is most worthy of notice, and which shews on how narrow and uncertain a basis our constitution and liberties then stood, the citizens and burgesses, at this time sent to Parliament from Wiltshire, were elected by the same persons who elected the knights of that county in Parliament, as exhibited by Dr. Brady in the appendix to his Treatise on Burghs.

In Devonshire, six of the present Parliament Burghs are omitted, viz. Plymouth Okehampton, Honiton, Ashburton, Beerallton, and Tiverton; and the Sheriff concludes his return in the following words: *et non sunt plures civitates sue burgi intra comitatum predictum*, "and there are no more cities nor burghs in the said county." Yet some of those six are at present, after the city of Exeter, the best towns in that county.

The great increase of good towns, in our days, in the three above-mentioned counties, are owing to our greatly increased woollen manufacture, and to the vast augmentation of our foreign commerce and navigation.

We have now a considerable advance in the wages or salaries of parish priests, above what it was in the thirty-sixth year of King Edward III. in 1362, when, by Parliament, cap. viii. it was enacted, "That no man should give to a parish priest, for his wages, above three pounds six shillings and eight pence, or else his board and one pound six shillings and eight pence." Whereas, in this second year of Henry V. cap. ii. it was enacted, "That the yearly wages of chaplains should be four pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, and of parish priests six pounds for their board, apparel, and other necessaries." So that here is an increase in the rate or expence of living of a single clergyman, in the space of fifty-two years, of no less than the proportion of from ten to eighteen of what it was in the year 1362. Which increase in the rate of living was partly owing to the gradually diminishing of the weight and value of our silver coins, since the said year 1362, from about two five-eighths to about two one-fourth, and partly also to the general increase of commerce and of people, and consequently

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1414 consequently of expence, since the first period. An increase of commerce in any nation will naturally bring also an increase of money, and an increase of money will consequently cause an advanced price for all necessaries, or what we call a greater expence of living.

1415 By this time, the Scots had so far debased or lessened the intrinsic value of their silver coins, though they still continued to retain the same denominations with those of England, that the Parliament of England found it necessary to pass an act, cap. i. of the third year of King Henry V. whereby it was made felony to utter any Scottish silver money in payment.

In volume nine, p. 203, of the *Fœdera*, we have the yearly allowance made by King Henry V. for the maintenance of King James I. of Scotland, who had been made prisoner by King Henry IV. and had remained in that situation for several years past.

That hopeful young Prince had been sent by his father, King Robert III. to be educated in France, but, being sea sick on his voyage, was obliged to land at Scarborough, from whence he was, by King Henry IVth's order, brought up prisoner to London, and detained by him, and also since by his son, as a pledge for keeping the Scots in awe; but the circumstance of his imprisonment broke the old King's heart, and Robert Duke of Albany, the uncle of James, governed the kingdom as regent during his nephew's captivity.

The custody of this Prince was committed to Sir John Pelham, Lord Treasurer, to whom was allotted seven hundred pounds yearly, for victuals, cloaths, and all other necessaries, "*in victu et vestitu, et aliis necessariis sibi incumbendis.*" Thus, for about one thousand five hundred pounds in quantity of our modern money, was this Prince maintained, which would perhaps have still gone as far as more than four thousand pounds would in our days, according to the rates of provisions and other necessaries at the two different periods.

In the ninth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 213, we find that in a conference between the ambassadors of England and France, concerning the conclusion of a solid peace between the two nations, and for King Henry Vth's marrying Catherine, the French King's daughter, the latter offers eight hundred thousand crowns, of three shillings and four pence each, being then one hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling, or three hundred thousand pounds sterling in modern money, as her portion, provided the provinces, which France yields to Henry, shall be on condition of his desisting from his demand of the arrears still unpaid for King John's ransom, amounting to one million six hundred thousand crowns; but this treaty came to nothing at present.

King John I. of Portugal, being at peace with all his Christian neighbours, makes preparations for some great enterprize in foreign parts; for which end a fleet was fitted out, partly from Lisbon, and partly from Spain, England, and the Netherlands; the King's five sons undertaking to raise the land forces: all which preparations were made with so much secrecy, that it created jealousy, as well in the minds of the Christian Kings of Castile and Arragon, as in that of the Moorish King of Granada; when, on a sudden, and in the most unexpected manner, they landed on the Barbary Shore, near Ceuta, which town they made themselves masters of in a few hours. Yet, of what substantial benefit Ceuta ever was to Portugal, or has since been to Spain, in whose hands it now is, it would be difficult to determine: so far, however, we may say, that the ease with which this conquest was made, encouraged the court of Portugal to attempt more useful and profitable conquests soon after.

We find, in vol. ix. p. 215-218, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry V. preparing for his invasion of France, for which end he hires ships in Holland and Zealand, and built some at Southampton, to rendezvous at London, Sandwich, and Winchelsea. He moreover directs all

English

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1415 English ships, of twenty tons burden and upwards to assemble at those three ports, and at Southampton; which united fleet consisted of one thousand six hundred sail of ships, hulks, &c. And landing in Normandy, (p. 223.) he took the strong town of Harfleur, and soon after gained the most famous victory of Agincourt. The daily pay of his officers and soldiers being as follows, viz.

	s.	d.
A Duke, per day	13	4
An Earl	6	8
A Baron	4	0
A Knight	2	0
An Esquire, Man-at-Arms	1	0
An Archer	0	6

Each of those Esquires Men-at-Arms had four horses, and every archer one horse; so that those military people were very well paid.

King Henry Vth's physician had forty marks for his annual salary, beside twelve pence per day whilst abroad, and his surgeon (*furgien*) had the same allowances: but each of them were obliged to transport a certain number of archers for the service of the war, for which they had the usual pay. And the surgeon, for each of his twelve servants in surgery, had six-pence per day.

Before the King set sail, he directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to issue his orders to all the clergy, both secular and regular, in case of any danger, either by foreign invasions or domestic insurrections, to arm themselves, as well as their vassals, tenants, and servants. The laity also of the several counties were to be duly mustered at proper times.

The charge of this great armament of fifty thousand men, and of the navy, was, however, more than he could compass within the times they were to be paid, viz. by equal quarterly payments. For his ordinary revenue by customs, tonnage, and poundage, the hanaper, the accounts of the Sheriffs, the escheats, exchange of bullion, wards, and marriages, (says Sir Robert Cotton) was, at this time, no more than fifty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, when he was attempting the conquest of France. So that, in order to advance his second quarter's payment, he was compelled to pawn his jewels for money, till his subsidies, customs, &c. should come regularly in. He obtained also several loans this same year, of certain abbeyes, and also of the merchants of Lucca and Florence residing in England; also ten thousand marks of the Mayor and commonalty of London, for which he likewise pawned jewels to them, to be paid the year following out of the subsidy on wool in the port of London; by which it appears, that there was still a vast annual exportation of wool from England. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 257, 312.

Amongst many others, the famous Sir John Falstaff brought into the King's army ten men-at-arms and thirty archers; and when Harfleur was taken, the King gave him a manor near that town for his good services.

In this year also, we have, in the same volume, p. 300, the first record written in the English tongue, and by any Englishman, to be found in the *Fœdera*; being the confession of Richard, Earl of Cambridge: for the few former records in the English language, which are found in this and the preceding reign, came all from Scotland, our records being before mostly in Latin, and all the rest in old Norman French.

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1415 In p. 318, *ibid.* we find, that the daily allowance for the maintenance of three very eminent French prisoners, of the first quality, taken at the battle of Agincourt, was four shillings and six-pence each, or about nine shillings of our money; which four shillings and six-pence would still go at least as far as four or five times that sum in our days. They were, the Count d'Eu; Arthur, brother of the Duke of Bretagne; and the Marechal Buchicaud, as it is there written, including, as it may be supposed, all their servants.

The allowance which King Henry made to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, as guardian of the realm in his absence, was after the rate of five thousand marks per annum, or about seven thousand pounds of modern money.

In this same ninth volume, p. 322, of the *Fœdera*, we learn, that the fishery of the English for cod, on the coasts of Iceland, is of no small antiquity. It seems, the King of Denmark had made some complaints of the ill conduct or irregularity of the English in that fishery; wherefore, King Henry V. to give that King satisfaction, enjoins the Sheriffs of London "to make proclamation, that none of our subjects do, for one year to come, presume to resort to the coasts of the isles belonging to Denmark and Norway, more especially to the isle of Iceland, on the account of fishing, or any other reason, to the prejudice of the King of Denmark, otherwise than has been anciently customary," *aliter quam antiquitus fieri consuevit*,—and the same prohibition was sent to the other ports of England.

The city of York was probably, at this time, much more considerable than at present. Mr. Drake, its historiographer, gives us "a catalogue of thirty-nine parish churches, which were in it in this year 1415, the values whereof were given in upon oath to King Henry Vth's commissioners, for levying a subsidy of two shillings per pound on all spirituals and temporals in the realm, for carrying on the war against France." Drake adds three more churches, named in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and says, that at the general dissolution of monasteries and free chapels, or chantries, by King Henry VIII. there were seventeen chapels in that city and suburbs, of which he gives the names, two of which only now remain. It had then also sixteen hospitals and nine convents: but poverty coming on this city after that period, a statute was made in the first year of King Edward VI. for uniting, some two, and other three parishes there, which was compleated in the twenty-eighth year of Queen Elizabeth. He observes, that merchant ships, being in those times of small burden, were able to sail up the Ouse to York city; but that river being since much decayed, and greater ships coming into use in the latter days of Queen Elizabeth, the trade and merchants gradually removed to Hull; and as Hull increased, Heydon also, an ancient port of Yorkshire, not far from Hull, gradually decreased.

1416 We may, under the year 1416, just observe, from the ninth volume, p. 346, of the *Fœdera*, that King Henry V. followed the practice of his predecessors, in his war with France, making subsidy treaties with several Princes; as the Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, the three spiritual German Electors, &c. who, for certain annual pensions, (as the Elector of Cologne, one thousand nobles yearly, &c.) were to assist him with troops. He also, p. 413-415, made treaties of alliance with the Kings of Castile and Arragon, and the republic of Genoa, and with the Hans-towns, whom, in his commission to treat with them, he styles, The Honourable Society of the Teutonic Hanse of the sacred Empire.

In p. 417 of the ninth volume of the *Fœdera*, there is an agreement made, in the same year, between King Henry V. and King James I. of Scotland, who, as already observed, had been long detained a prisoner in England, that James might return home to his own kingdom, upon

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1416 upon giving hostages, either to surrender himself prisoner when demanded, or else to pay one hundred thousand marks for his ransom, as his predecessor King David Bruce had done in the like case; yet he was not finally released, nor his ransom fully adjusted, till the year 1424, as will be then seen.

At this time, King Henry V. of England, being in great want of money for maintaining his army, &c. exercised a despotic authority over the foreign merchants of Florence, Venice, and Lucca, settled in England, who were, by an order of Council, compelled to make a loan of money to that King: "because," says the order, "they enjoyed, by grace and sufferance of the King, great privileges, and got great profits by their commerce in England." And such as refused to lend were committed to the Fleet prison. Cottoni Posthuma, Svo. anno 1651, p. 177.

Corn, according to Stowe's Survey of London, was this year so dear, as to be sold at sixteen shillings per quarter, or about thirty-eight shillings of our money.

* The town of Harfleur in Normandy, which King Henry V. had taken in the preceding year, was, in this year, besieged by a large French army on the land side, and by all the navy of France on the sea side, together with certain large Genoese vessels, called carracks, then deemed the largest ships in Europe; yet the great Duke of Bedford, with the English fleet, which some make to amount to one thousand six hundred sail of ships, arriving in time, attacked the enemy's fleet, and entirely defeated them, having sunk or taken five hundred French vessels, and also three Genoese carracks; by which success that siege was raised.

1417 * To what has been already observed, under the years 1393 and 1405, concerning the first discovery and further settlement of the Canary Isles, we may here add, that John II. King of Castile, having granted them to Betencourt with the pompous title of King, but subordinate to him, he, in this year 1417, conquered the isle of Lancerota, and the other isles, and fortified them; whereupon, he sent home, *i. e.* to Spain, a cargo of bees wax, hides, &c. but as yet there is no mention of wines.

Pancirollus observes, that the delicious sack grape, now growing in the Canaries, was first propagated by vines brought from the banks of the Rhine, "where," says he, "they have yielded a far more delicate juice than in their natural soil; by which means, the rocks and sun-burnt ashes of those islands are now become one of the richest spots of ground in the world." But, by this author's leave, whatever encomiums might be made on the canary sack in his time, and which indeed must still be allowed to be a rich and cordial wine, yet the true and best Rhenish wine, called Old Hock, at this day is preferred before it by the generality of people, and accordingly bears a superior price.

Some authors insist, that the invention of rag-paper took place in this year 1417, at Basil, by Anthony and Michael Galicion; yet the general opinion makes it later by about half a century, as we have remarked under the year 900.

Prince Henry of Portugal, fifth son of King John I. and grandson to our John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his daughter Philippa, having learned of the Moors of Ceuta, after that place was taken by him, in 1415, many things relating to the west coast of Africa, before unknown to Europe; such as that it was peopled, and approachable, &c. notwithstanding the former general belief, that there was no going farther south that way than Cape Nao, or Non, as observed under the year 1410, he sent out fresh discoverers in the years 1417 and 1418, who were accidentally driven by the winds to the discovery of the small uninhabited isle of Porto Santo, near the isle of Madeira, in thirty-two and one-half deg. N. latitude.

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1417 Although the isle of Madeira lay so near, yet it was not discovered till two years later, by the Portuguese; which shews the imperfect state of their navigation at that time. Porto Santo is but about five leagues in compass, and was soon peopled by the Portuguese, as being a convenient place for their shipping between Europe, Africa, and India, having corn and cattle in plenty, yet has none of the vines and fruits of Madeira, though so near it. This isle is supposed to be the *cerne ultima* of the Ancients, being reckoned the most remote colony which Carthage had on the western ocean, it being, in ancient times, the general opinion, that the ocean was not farther navigable by reason of mud and weeds. In the year 1596, Sir Amias Preston attacked and plundered the chief town of this isle, called also Porto Santo.

So late as this year 1417, we find the herring fishery still considerable in the Baltic Sea; for the uncertain author of the *Chronica Slavica*, published by Lindenbrogius at Hamburgh, says, under the same year, that Eric IX. King of Denmark, made prisoners of near four hundred Lubeckers in Schonon, who had come thither for the herring fishing, and seized on their effects.

In the ninth volume, p. 437, of the *Fœdera*, we have a commission for a treaty to be concluded between King Henry V. in the year 1417, and the Hanseatic Society, for a lasting peace and commerce between them; whereby all former complaints of grievances on both sides were to be finally adjusted.

In the same volume, p. 447, King Henry V. taking notice, "That the highway named Holborn, in London, (*alta via regia in Holbourne, Londoniæ*) was so deep and miry, that many perils and hazards were thereby occasioned, as well to the King's carriages passing that way, as to those of his subjects; he therefore ordained two vessels, of each twenty tons burden, to be employed at his expence, for bringing stones for paving and mending the same." As this first paving of that very long highway, and now a very considerable street, shews, in part, the gradual improvement of London's suburbs, we thought it not improper to take this notice of it.

The many commissions and embassies, for renewing of truces and peace between England and the Duke of Burgundy for Flanders, in the reign of Henry V. and particularly those of this same year 1417, to be found in the *Fœdera*, (vol. ix. p. 451, 453, 481, 486) are, by historians, not improbably thought to have secretly arranged matters of high importance, viz. the assistance at length given by that Duke, in favour of King Henry Vth's pretensions to the crown of France, in hatred to the Dauphin; although all these commissions, &c. were declared to be only for adjusting commercial complaints,—*pro securitate mercandizarum inter Angliam et Flandriam*. In one of these, (p. 477) the following clause imports, "That so long as war or reprisals shall last between England and Genoa, no Fleming, nor the ships of any other nation being in Flanders, shall lade any merchandize on Genoese carracks, galleys, or ships, otherwise they will be in danger of forfeiture to King Henry V. and his successors, if found in them any where out of the ports of Flanders." It was further stipulated, First, "That none should bring into the ports of either country any ships or goods belonging to either of the contractors, which shall have been taken by an enemy, nor suffer them to be sold there; or, if so sold, then the value shall be made good to the original proprietors. Secondly, Goods or provisions might be freely imported into either country, in any nation's ships, so as they belonged not to the enemy of either country. Thirdly, The ships of either country, pursued by an enemy, shall be safely received into each other's ports. Fourthly, Masters and mariners of English ships, coming into ports of Flanders might free-

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1417

“ly moor their ships there, in the manner practised by the French, Hollanders, Zealanders, and Scots; and the Flemings to have the like liberty in the ports of England. Fifthly, Enemies goods shall not, by any colour or fraud whatever, be imported into either country. Sixthly, Every article of this treaty was, on the part of the Duke of Burgundy, stipulated to be ratified by the four members of Flanders so often named; and the said Duke further obliged himself to get this treaty confirmed by the French King, his and their sovereign Lord. Lastly, This truce was to remain inviolable, even although there should be an actual war between England and France.” Which truce was to extend to all the country, as far back as Cologne on the Rhine.

In this ninth volume, p. 511, of the *Fœdera*, a truce of much the same import, excepting what relates to Genoa, is concluded between King Henry V. and the Duke of Bretagne.

King Henry V. (p. 460, *ibid*) having pawned two gold chased basons, weighing together twenty-eight pounds eight ounces of gold, to two of the Canons of St. Paul's, London, for the loan of six hundred marks, the King thereby values an ounce of this gold at no more than twenty-six shillings and eight pence, (*prix d' l' une*, twenty-six shillings and eight pence) making in money four hundred and forty-eight pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. This price must certainly have been much lower in proportion than silver bullion was at that time, unless the gold of those basons, which possibly might be the case, was not of standard gold. And in the next page (461), we find two gold shells pawned by that King to the Dean of Lincoln for one hundred marks, valued at the same price per ounce.

The King also borrowed of the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, three hundred pounds on some part of his jewels. All which, and many more similar expedients was he forced to try, for enabling him to carry on his war against France.

Under this same year, the *Annales Flandriæ* relate, that the coming of the English to invade Normandy so terrified the Normans, that above twenty-five thousand men, with their wives and children, fled into the adjacent province of Bretagne, whereby the art of making woollen cloth was first brought into Bretagne, of which its inhabitants were before quite ignorant.

1418

In this year, Philip, surnamed the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and sovereign of the greatest part of the Netherlands, succeeded to those rich dominions. He at first favoured England, but afterwards took part with France, from whence ensued many differences between England and the Netherlands.

They had not as yet, it seems, nor indeed for a long time after, found out the art of casting or founding of iron bullets for cannon in England; since, in p. 552 of vol. ix. of the *Fœdera*, we see an order of King Henry V. to the clerk of the works of his ordnance, for making seven thousand stones for his cannon, of different sizes, in the quarries at Maidstone in Kent.

It appears also, by another order of King Henry V. in the very next page, under this same year, that powder of charcoal, made from willow, salt, &c. is ordered to be prepared in great quantities; so that they then made gunpowder in England.

In a rescript of King Henry V. of England to his Chancellor, in vol. ix. p. 633, of the *Fœdera*, it appears, that Alphonsus, King of Arragon and Sicily, and Earl of Catalonia, had granted letters of safe conduct and protection to all merchants, &c. of England, freely to resort to his dominions with their ships and merchandize, for commerce or other lawful occasions. This licence was to endure for three years; King Henry having granted the same privilege to

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1418 the King of Arragon's subjects in his dominions. Possibly our English traders may have, by this time, ventured as far down the Mediterranean as Barcelona, which might occasion this treaty for mutual commerce.

By this time the Hans confederacy was become so potent, by the greatness and number of its shippings, and the increase of the riches and people of its cities, that its historiographer, Werdenhagen, (vol. ii. part. vi. p. 40) writes, That the Emperor Sigismund requested a conjunction of the Hanseatic fleet with his own. And he further observes, that in this year, the Hans. towns powerfully and effectually interposed as mediators in a dispute between Eric, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the Princes of the House of Holstein.

1419 From the ninth volume, p. 664, of the *Fœdera*, we learn, that King Henry V. of England, having now possessed himself of the city of Rouen in Normandy, he imposed a mulct of three hundred thousand crowns on it; two of which being thereby declared equal to one English gold noble, plainly proves that it must have been a rich city, to be able to raise so great a sum as fifty thousand pounds sterling in those times.

In the ninth volume, p. 767—779, of the *Fœdera*, we find that a new treaty, now first named an Intercourse of Merchandize, (*Intercursus Mercandiarum*) was concluded between King Henry V. and the Duke of Burgundy, as Earl of Flanders, much to the same purport as former treaties, excepting that, beside the customary stipulations, England made a demand on Flanders of ten thousand pounds sterling, for violent seizures of their ships and goods in the port of Sluys, and elsewhere, which treaty was renewed in the following year.

The Turks having extended their conquests in Greece, as far west as the east bank of the Adriatic Sea, and being therefore become near neighbours to the Venetian territories on that side, they began, about this time, to be troublesome to that republic, by starting pretensions, and on that account disturbing the commerce of Venice.

In this same year the Portuguese discovered the isle of Madeira, (in lat. 32 deg. long. between 17 and 18 deg. west from London) so called from its woody condition, when first discovered by Gonsalves and Vas, as the Portuguese word imports; and the Portuguese, in order to get rid of those woods, set fire to them, which, it is said, continued burning for seven years, so that they have since sustained a great want of wood. Here they are said to have found Macham, the Englishman's monument, which he had erected for the woman who accompanied him, and died there, as we have seen under the year 1344. The following year they planted that island with sugar canes from Sicily, and also with vines from the isle of Candia in the Mediterranean, both which succeeded very well; and the latter more especially has been the principal means of supporting its trade; as for sugar, we hear nothing more of it at present. Yet the English translation, in 1606, from the Italian of Giovanni Botero's Treatise of the Causes of the Magnificence and Grandeur of Cities, which was written about 1590, mentions the excellence of Madeira sugars: but although this was actually the first sugar plantation of the western world, from whence, some relate, that sugar canes were transplanted to the Brazils and other parts of America, it has since succeeded so well in the last-named countries, that the Portuguese have turned all or most of their sugar plantations at Madeira into vineyards, which are become much more profitable; as, according to some authors, they make between twenty and thirty thousand pipes of different sorts of wine; the greatest part of which is exported to Europe and America.

1420 King Henry V. of England having espoused the Princess Catharine, daughter of Charles VI. the French King, we find, by vol. ix. p. 916, of the *Fœdera*, that her dowry was settled at twenty

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1420 twenty thousand gold nobles of England per annum, or six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence sterling, (equal to about two and one-fourth as much money or silver in our days) or to sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, and to above four times as much in point of expence of living, or twenty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, with respect to what that sum could then purchase of all kinds of necessaries.

The same year, John II. King of Castile or Spain, (for writers, in those days, generally dignified the King of Castile by the title of King of Spain, Castile being the best part of Spain, as already mentioned) for what reason is not perfectly known, caused public proclamations to be made all over Europe, and particularly, says Werdenhagen's History of that League, vol. ii. part iv. p. 509, "at the Hans-towns, with strict prohibition, that none should presume to come into his kingdom, under the pretext of commerce; but that, instead of coming to Spain, they should repair to Bruges, whither also his own merchants should bring their merchandize, fruits, &c." Possibly, his reason for this singular prohibition might be, because the Hanseatics, &c. under the pretext of trading on his coasts, might have carried on a pernicious commerce with his enemies the Moors of Granada, and might supply them with warlike and naval stores, in which the Hans-towns principally traded. Possibly too, and perhaps more probably, it might proceed from the wise consideration, that his own merchant ships and mariners might be employed in the carriage of Spanish merchandize to Bruges, and of bringing back other merchandize to Spain, instead of permitting the Hanseatic ships, as indeed was then generally the case in most countries, to be the sole carriers of merchandize, both outward and homeward, occasioned by the number and strength of their shipping compared with most other nations, especially such as were without the Mediterranean Sea; for, at this time, the great bulk of the naval commerce of Europe was engrossed by the Hans-towns more northward, and by the free cities of Italy, not only for the nations within the Mediterranean, but also for other countries without that sea.

From this account we also learn, that, at this time, the city of Bruges was become the greatest emporium in Europe, and the half-way storehouse, or general magazine and staple for merchandize, between the more northern parts of Europe within the Baltic Sea, and the most remote southern parts of it within the Mediterranean Sea. For although the use of the mariner's compass, was, without doubt, already known, yet it is plain, from many facts, and especially from the slow progress of the Portuguese discoveries on the west coast of Africa, that it was not yet in general use. So that, in the slow and tedious way still practised, of keeping near, or mostly in sight of the shores, it was then deemed, and really was, a long voyage between the Mediterranean and Baltic ports, to be performed in the space of one summer, and home again; the Baltic ports also being generally frozen up in the winter, from which circumstance, there was a risque run of being shut up there till the next summer. And as the bulky commodities of the north were necessary for the southern parts, viz. naval stores, corn, copper, flax, hemp, and many sorts of timber not properly deemed naval stores; so were the commodities of the southern parts, such as fruits, wines, silks, drugs, &c. now become as much desired by the northern people. It was therefore natural enough in those times, to adopt this method of a midway situation, for bringing the merchandize of both the extreme parts of Europe to one general market; and this practice continued even after the mariner's compass came into general use; though the grand staple thereof was some time after removed to the city of Antwerp, as will be seen in its place. It may indeed be justly

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1420 justly said, that Flanders and Brabant were the most proper and convenient central situations of any whatever for such a general staple ; as their great woollen, as well as linen manufactures, and an extensive fishery, contributed very much to the bringing many foreign ships thither, as well as by their having all the bulk of the continent of Europe behind them, till, by the court of Spain's violent bigotry, and the siege of Antwerp, the manufactures, as well as merchants, were driven from thence. This prohibition, however, of the court of Spain, so far irritated the Hans-towns, (says the Historiographer) being, as they considered it, contrary to the law of nature, though surely they would have found it hard to make good that position,—that they fitted out a great fleet of warlike ships for Spain, by which means they forced a traffic for their own commodities, and also got their ships laden with Spanish merchandize for their homeward voyage ; but before they could set sail, they paid very dear for so audacious an outrage, which the King of Spain resented in the highest degree : for he fitted out, with the utmost expedition, the whole strength of his own navy, furiously attacked the Hanseatic fleet in his own ports, which, after a stout resistance, was at length overcome, and forty-eight ships, richly laden, fell a just prey to that Prince's resentment, to the very great loss of the merchants of Germany, &c.

The seas being still infested, and commerce greatly disturbed by the Vitaliani, as Werdenhagen and others call them, who were a set of noble pirates, known by the name also of the Holstein Brethren, who seized on such ships and merchandize as came in their way, and then retired to their fastnesses and forts with their prey,—the city of Lubeck, and other Hans-towns, sent out a potent force against them, and in a naval engagement defeated and destroyed most of them. These pirates were formerly retained by the Hans-towns, when it was their interest to force a trade with Norway—See the year 1407.

Eric, Duke of Saxony, having encouraged and entertained these sea pirates, in his town of Bergedorf and elsewhere, so that the commerce of the Hanseatics was very much distressed, the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, with eight hundred horse and three thousand foot, attacked and took both that town and castle, and utterly destroyed it and some other forts, in which those pirates had been sheltered : whereupon, a treaty was concluded with that Duke, to their satisfaction.

In the year 1421, the ninth of King Henry V. a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was coined into sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, in nobles, half, and quarter nobles : and a pound weight of silver into thirty shillings by tale, viz. into groats, half-groats, sterlings or pence, mailles or half-pence, and farthings, being three hundred and sixty pence ; so that a silver penny was now worth only two pence of our money, at the death of King Henry V.

In vol. ix. p. 108, of the *Fœdera*, we have once more the total marine quota and service of the Cinque Ports, demanded by King Henry V. going on his expedition against France in this ninth year of his reign, which was directed to repair to the general rendezvous at Sandwich. But as every part of this demand is exactly the same with that in the year 1394, by this King's father, both as to the number of ships and men, and the pay of officers and soldiers, “ as “ appears” says this King, “ by the charters of liberties granted by our progenitors, enrolled “ in Chancery, which we do hereby ratify and confirm to the said Cinque Ports,” we shall therefore refer our readers to the year 1394, as we have already done under the year 1412.

A. D.

1421 The Netherland historians seem agreed, that, formerly, the sea or bay between the province of North Holland, called also West Friesland, and that of Friesland, called the Zuyder, or South Sea, was for the most part dry land, and a well inhabited country, full of towns, villages, and farms; although they do not perfectly agree with regard to the precise time of that land being swallowed up by the sea. Morisotus and others think it happened in the year 1421, though surely it is more probable to have been somewhat earlier. They say, in general, that the sea overflowed much country, and destroyed many towns, villages, and people. Morisotus, who wrote his *Orbis Maritimus* in the year 1643, affirms, “ That the tops of churches “ and houses were still to be seen by such as sail on the overflowed parts of the country :” lib. ii. cap. 45. There are many odd stories told and recorded, concerning the foresight of some of the proprietors of the lands then swallowed up; such as, That a cow falling into a ditch several miles from the sea, in the sight of her owner, he, the next day, found her carcass on the sea shore, which, if true, demonstrated that the sea was quite under that thin crust or surface of land, and actually communicated with the water in their ditches: of which last position, we shall offer another instance, equally remarkable and improbable, viz. A landholder, walking in his grounds, distinctly perceived an herring swimming in one of his ditches, though considerably distant from the sea shore. It required no great depth of penetration for this man absolutely to conclude that the sea was too near him; wherefore he, as did the other also, immediately sold all his lands, and withdrew from so undermined a situation, and, as the story goes, that whole country was soon after swallowed up, or sunk down into the sea. Sir William Temple thinks, “ the Zuyder Zee was formed by some great inundation breaking in between the Texel isles, and others that lie still in a line contiguous, like the broken remains of a continued coast—and that East and West Friesland was one continent, till divided by that sea—that the more inland part of the Zuyder Zee was, in Tacitus’s time, one “ of the fresh water lakes, inhabited round by the Frisons, between which lake and the Texel, “ and the Vlie isles, there lay anciently a great tract of land, since covered by some great “ ruptions of waters, that joined those of the sea and the lake together, and thereby formed “ the great bay now called the Zuyder Zee, by favour whereof the town of Amsterdam has “ grown to be the most frequented haven of the world.”² Observations on the United Provinces, chap. iii. Yet in his sixth chapter he owns, “ That although Amsterdam triumphs “ in the spoils of Lisbon and Antwerp, it is a very incommodious haven, being seated upon “ such shallow waters, so as ordinary ships cannot come up to it without the advantage of “ tides, nor great ones without unlading, the entrance of the Texel, and the passage over “ the Zuyder Zee, being more dangerous than a voyage to Spain, lying all in blind and “ narrow channels; so that, it is evident, it is not a haven that draws trade, but trade that “ fills a haven, and brings it into vogue.”

But whether the last named stories of the cow and of the herring, were strictly true or not, which most of the modern Hollanders disbelieve, though related by their own old chronicle, it is agreed by most of the Netherland historians, that, about this time, or, according to Giucchiardini’s History of the Netherlands, in or soon after the year 1421, “ the famous city of “ Dort, or Dordrecht, was, by an inundation of the sea, with the rivers Vahl, or Waal, “ and the Meuse, formed into a sort of an island, which inundation overspread like a sea all “ the present Gulph, which till then was firm land, joined to the Province of Brabant, by “ which accident,” says he, “ seventy-two good villages were swallowed up by the water, “ and one hundred thousand persons were drowned, and also all their goods.”

A. D.

1421 “terly lost; yet it seems, that, by degrees, some part of the lands have, with great pains and cost, been recovered.” Others make this inundation to have happened twenty-five years later, viz. in the year 1446; so very uncertain are the dates of even very memorable events, though they happened but little more than three hundred years ago; which is partly owing to the want of the noble art of Printing, and to the ignorance and indolence of those times.

The exportation or foreign consumption of Newcastle coals must have been very considerable even at this time, since, by an act of the ninth of King Henry V. cap. x. it is directed, “That whereas there is a custom payable to the King of two pence per chaldron on all coals sold to people not franchised, in the port of Newcastle upon Tyne; and whereas, the keels (or lighters) which carry the coals from the land to the ships in that port, ought to be of the just portage of twenty chaldron, according to which burden the custom aforesaid is paid; yet many now making their keels to hold twenty-two or twenty-three chaldrons, the King is thereby defrauded of his due. Wherefore it is now enacted, That all keels be measured by Commissioners, to be appointed by the King, and to be marked of what portage they be, under pain of forfeiting all the said keels which shall be found not marked.”

Under this year 1421, says Bishop Fleetwood’s *Chronicon Preciosum*, Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the very importunate instances of his clergy in Convocation, confirmed the decree of his predecessor, Simon Sudbury, viz. “That every unfixed Mass Priest shall content himself with seven marks per annum, either all in money, or else with diet, and three marks in money. And he that takes a cure shall content himself with eight marks, or else with four marks and his diet.” Now eight marks then containing still about sixteen of our marks in quantity of silver or bullion, we may conclude, that a single clergyman now could not live decently under about sixty marks, or about four times as much as sixteen marks.

Our intelligent readers will easily perceive how very difficult, if not impossible, it is to fix precisely the proportion of the expence of living between such remote times and our own days; for although wheat, the principal staff of life, is, of any one species of provisions or necessities, the most certain rule to govern us, yet there is no small difficulty in determining what was, in any age or time, the mean price of it; and even if this could always be ascertained, there are many other particular necessities to be likewise considered, in order to fix the proportion of the expence of living; which consideration we now mention once for all. But in the case now before us, of the maintenance of a parish priest, we have a reasonable guide to direct us, and therefore we cannot be far from an adequate determination.

In volume x. p. 113 and 114, of the *Fœdera*, we have a curious record, well worth transcribing, which exhibits the annual revenue of the kingdom of England in the year 1421, and its application,—(*declaratio proficuum regni, et Onerum supportandorum*) viz.

	£.	s.	d.
“ 1. The revenue arising from the custom, in the several ports of Eng-			
land, from wool exported	-	-	3976 1 2
“ 2. The subsidy on wool, <i>i.e.</i> the inland duty	-	-	26,035 18 8
“ 3. The small customs	-	-	2438 9 1
“ Twelve pence per pound on goods rated <i>ad valorem</i>	-	-	8237 10 0
			<hr/>
• • • • • Total	40,687	19	94
			But

A. D.
1421

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward—Total	40,687	19	9½

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“ provisions, and on other necessaries, wards, marriages, &c. paid into the
“ Exchequer - - - - - 15,066 11 1

Total Revenue	55,754	10	10½
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ANNUAL PAYMENTS.

	£.	s.	d.
“ 1. For the annual (<i>maritime</i>) guard (<i>custodia</i>) of England, eight thousand marks - - - - -	5333	6	8
“ 2. The like for Calais and its marches, in war time - - - - -	19,119	5	10
“ 3. For guarding the east and west marches of Scotland, with Roxburgh Castle, in time of war - - - - -	19,500	0	0
“ 4. For the guard of Ireland, two thousand five hundred marks, or (The finalities of this sum confirms what Sir John Davis and others justly remark:—That the entire reduction of Ireland to the laws and government of England was much neglected now, and long after.)	1666	13	4
“ 5. For the guard of the castle of Frounsake, one thousand marks, or	666	13	4
“ 6. For the fees (<i>pro feodis</i>) of the Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Judges of both Benches, the Barons of the Exchequer, and other officers of the King’s court - - - - -	3002	17	6
“ 7. To the Collectors and Comptrollers of the King’s Customs and Subsidies in the several ports of England, for their salaries (<i>de iugardis</i>) paid at the receipt of the Exchequer - - - - -	517	0	
“ 8. To sundry Dukes, Earls, Knights, and Esquires; to the Abbots of Shene; and to divers other persons for their annuities at the Exchequer	7751	12	
“ 9. To sundry persons for their annuities, out of the customs of sundry ports of England - - - - -	4374	4	
“ 10. For fees of the Customers and Comptrollers of the several ports of England, allowed them at the Exchequer, yearly - - - - -	274	3	

Total yearly payments, according to the particulars	62,235	16	10½
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Which total is just ten thousand pounds more than this record makes the total to be, viz. fifty-two thousand two hundred and thirty-five pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence halfpenny—probably owing to the sum for the marches of Calais, or else of that for Scotland, being set down ten thousand pounds too much.

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“ 7. To the Collectors and Comptrollers of the King’s Customs and Subsidies in the several ports of England, for their salaries (<i>de regardis</i>) paid at the receipt of the Exchequer - - - - -	547	0	0
“ 8. To sundry Dukes, Earls, Knights, and Esquires; to the Abbots of Shene; and to divers other persons for their annuities at the Exchequer	7751	12	7½
“ 9. To sundry persons for their annuities, out of the customs of sundry ports of England - - - - -	4374	4	3
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A. D.

1401

“ And thus” adds the record, “ the receipts at the Exchequer exceed the payments the sum of three thousand five hundred and seven pounds thirteen shillings and eleven pence half-penny. Out of which saving the following charges are to be supplied, viz.

“ 1. For the King’s and Queen’s chamber, (*Camera*).

“ 2. For the household of the King and Queen.

“ 3. For their wardrobe.

“ 4. For the building of a new tower at Portsmouth.

“ 5. For the office of Clerk of the King’s Ships, (*Navium Regis*) i. e. probably for such as were at any time in his pay.

“ 6. For the keeping of the King’s Lions, and the Salary of the Constable of the Tower of London.

“ 7. Item, for the artillery, and divers other necessaries for the King’s war.

“ 8. Item, for the expence of the King’s prisoners.

“ 9. For the King’s embassies.

“ 10. For sundry messengers,” (*pro diversis nunciis*) “ for parchment, and other disbursements and necessaries.

“ 11. Item, for the expence of the Dutcheffs of Holland.

“ And the following Articles will still remain unprovided for, viz.

“ The old debts of the towns of Harfleur and Calais—Of the King’s wardrobe and household—Of the Clerk of the King’s ships—And of the Clerk of the King’s works—For the arrears of annuities or yearly salaries—To the executors of King Henry the Fourth’s will, for discharging his debts—And lastly, for the present King’s debts, when Prince of Wales.”

“ This account was laid before the King at Lambeth, by the Lord Treasurer of England, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other Lords, spiritual and temporal, and the great officers of the crown.”

In the same year, vol. x. p. 115—123, of the *Fœdera*, there was a treaty of peace and alliance concluded between King Henry V. of England, and the Doge (*Campo fregoso*) of Genoa, by which,

“ I. All complaints on both sides, on account of depredations and other violences and wrongs, were to be buried in oblivion.

“ II. A perpetual league and friendship is established between them.

“ III. But this alliance is not to hinder the merchants of either nation from freely trafficking with and to the ports of the enemies of either of the contracting parties.

“ IV. England shall not give any assistance either by sea or by land, to the Arragonians or Catalans, nor to any Genoese exiles, or other notorious enemies of that republic.

“ V. And, in like manner, the Genoese shall not, with their ships and galleys, nor in any other manner, assist Charles, called the Dauphin, nor the Castilians, nor Scots, nor any other enemy of King Henry V. against his interests in France.” This article we take to have been a very principal point aimed at by King Henry in entering into this treaty.

“ VI. In case of any future rupture, the merchants, &c. of either party shall have eight months time for withdrawing themselves and their effects.” This is the first instance we can recollect in the *Fœdera*, of any such provisional stipulation in behalf of the merchants and their effects, though so universally in use in all modern treaties.

“ VII. Both

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" VII. Both the contracting parties may freely import all kinds of merchandize, jewels, &c. into each other's country, paying the usual customs; and may also, in return lade and bring back the merchandize of either country, prohibited merchandize excepted."

" VIII. No private depredation, or act of violence shall be construed to be a breach of this treaty; but such particular delinquents shall be severely punished."

" IX. In all new alliances, to be entered into by either party, care shall be taken reciprocally to except England and Genoa."

" Lastly, Genoa agreed to pay six thousand pounds sterling to William Walderng and Company, merchants of London, for the loss of their wool, &c. taken from them, on account of which they lately had letters of reprisal granted them." On this treaty we shall only further remark, that of all the commercial treaties we have hitherto met with, this comes the nearest to those of modern times.

In this tenth volume, p. 148, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry V. of England grants an annuity of twenty pounds to Mestre Jehan Boyers, doctor in philosophy, confessor to his Queen, in consideration of that office.

1422

The republic of Genoa, by intestine divisions and violent commotions, was now so much fallen from its former power and splendour, that in the year 1422, they were worsted in a sea-fight with Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan; wherein, having only six galleys, they lost four of them, the other two having got safe to Genoa: they therefore found themselves obliged to submit, for a short time, to the dominion of that Prince, who now had a much larger territory than is comprehended in the present Duchy of Milan; being also in possession of part of the sea-coast of Lombardy, from which it is at this time excluded.

At this period, according to Trusler's *Continuation of Daniel's History of King Henry V.* the Duke of Bedford, his regent of France, signified to the parliament of Normandy, " how rich they might become by cultivating peace with England, since thereby their wines and linen cloth might freely be disposed of in England, in exchange for wool, lead, &c." This shews how early the linen manufacture flourished in that part of France: but at the same time we must observe, that Normandy was never reckoned particularly eminent as a wine country.

Under this year, in Sir Robert Cotton's *Records*, p. 370, amongst the inventory of King Henry the Fifth's jewels, arras, tapestry, apparel, and other goods, " You shall," says Sir Robert, " find plain gowns of that King's of less value than forty shillings, and such other costly apparel, as the meanest pages of the least nobleman in these days would seem to wear."

This year is memorable for the death of the brave Henry V. King of England, at a time when his conquests and influence in France gave him a reasonable and near prospect of gaining that monarchy. The Parliament of England, especially the House of Commons, took some resolutions for supporting the independence of England, upon the contingency of that event, though very far from fully answering the end; since nothing is more certain, than that had an English King entirely subdued France, his constant residence must have been absolutely in that kingdom, not only on account of its being the greater and finer country of the two, but for other political considerations; and more especially, as the King's residence there seems ever to be absolutely requisite, for the retaining of such a great and enterprising people as the French in due subjection. England therefore would, in that event, have necessarily become a mere province of the French monarchy, as elsewhere observed, than which, nothing could have been more distasteful and disadvantageous to the English nation, as well in respect of their commerce and opulence, as of their liberty and independence. How much soever, there-

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1422 fore, most of our own historians have exulted on the conquests of King Edward III. and King Henry V. in France, it must be allowed, that the death of the latter, at this time, and the expulsion of the English from France, in the succeeding feeble reign of his son, were real blessings to England, though not so well understood then as in our days.

We must here also remark, that this attempt of King Henry V. for the conquest of France, occasioned the loss of the liberties of the French people themselves; for the English then possessing a great part of France, the three estates of that kingdom could not come together for granting of taxes, levying of troops, &c. as usual; so that their King, Charles VII. was under the necessity of doing the same, as well as he could, by his own sole authority; which proved, without doubt, a joyful precedent for their succeeding Kings, who were the more easily enabled to preserve their despotic authority; because, in France, the taxes fall mostly on the great body of the commonalty, and but little on the noblesse and clergy, who are also, in other respects, dependent on the crown; wherefore, the two last-named orders left the bulk of the people to the King's mercy, though, in the end, they most justly lost their own liberties.

A pound of silver in this first year of King Henry VI. was coined into thirty-seven shillings and sixpence; yet, in the fourth year of his reign, silver was again brought down to thirty shillings per pound weight; though, in the last year of his reign, it was again brought to thirty-seven shillings and sixpence, and so continued for near fifty years. Moreover, a pound of gold was coined, in the said first year, into forty-five rials, of ten shillings each, that is, twenty-two pounds ten shillings per pound, but, in the said fourth year, gold was brought down to sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

1423 Visconti, Duke of Milan, having made the Genoese his vassals, he drew them, for his own ends, into a war with King Alphonso of Arragon, in favour of Queen Jane of Naples, in the year 1423. He brought them, for that purpose, to grant him a subsidy of two hundred thousand florins, though they were already deeply in debt, wherewith were equipped thirteen ships and thirteen galleys. On each of the largest of those ships he embarked five hundred men, and two hundred on the smaller ones; by which force he expelled King Alphonso out of Naples, and re-established Queen Jane. This equipment shews that Genoa was still famous for naval vessels of great burthen.

By an act of the English Parliament, of the second year of King Henry VI. cap. 6. as a confirmation of the ninth of Henry V. "Complaint being made, that much of the gold and silver coins were clandestinely exported to Flanders, Bourdeaux, &c. it was now enacted, that all such money should be forfeited when discovered; and that none shall hereafter be exported, except for the wars, and also for horses, oxen, sheep, and other things bought in Scotland, to be brought to the counties next adjoining." And foreign merchants residing in England, being suspected of exporting the said money, were, by this act, obliged to find surety in Chancery; every company, partnership, or nation, for all of their own body, to make good all such money as shall be by them exported. All which signified little or nothing, for reasons elsewhere already assigned.

By another act of Parliament of the same year 1423, being the second of Henry VI. cap. 14 for ascertaining the purity of goldsmith's work, it appears, that next after London, the following cities and towns were then, as indeed, for the most part, they still are, some of the most considerable, viz. Newcastle upon Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Coventry, Salisbury, and Bristol; at which places the workers in silver elsewhere were enjoined to get their work touched, to know its fineness.—The hall mark was not as yet directed.

In

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In vol. x. p. 268, of the *Fœdera*, we have a pregnant instance of the mischief done to private families, by the crown's possessing the wardship of the estates of minors; for the Duke of Gloucester's salary of eight thousand marks, as Protector of the realm in the minority of the King his nephew, was to be raised in the following manner, viz.

4000 marks yearly out of the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster.

1500 out of the profits of the estate of Thomas, a minor, brother and heir of John Lord Roos, deceased.

800 out of the estate of Ralph, son and heir of John Nevill, deceased, a minor, whilst that estate remains in the King's hands on account of his minority.

1700 marks out of the King's Exchequer. It was the same, or rather a greater hardship on — minors, who held their lands of the great lords, whose wards they were. It often

8000 happened too, that the King granted or sold to his subjects the wardship of some of — his minor vassals, who, in such case, were in general sadly fleeced.

This shews the substantial benefit accruing to our nobility and gentry, by the annulling, at the restoration of King Charles II. or legally abolishing the wardships of minors.

In the same volume, p. 288, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that the eleven minstrels, or musicians, of the deceased King Henry V. had their former salaries continued to them, being one hundred shillings each.

King James I. of Scotland having been, in the year 1424, released from his eighteen years captivity in England, his ransom was settled between the English Regency and the Scottish ambassadors, at forty thousand pounds sterling, payable at different terms, within five years after his release, as appears in vol. x. p. 299, of the *Fœdera*. For securing the payment of that sum, hostages from the Scottish nobility were delivered; and by way of collateral security, obligatory letters were given under the seals of the four towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Probably, at that time, those three towns were then esteemed the most considerable in Scotland, after Edinburgh; yet the beautiful city of Glasgow has, in later times, greatly outvied even the best of them, in respect to populousness, wealth, shipping, general commerce, and manufactures; and its sober, prudent, and diligent citizens, seem still increasing in every kind of commercial prosperity.

In the following year, however, in consideration of the King of Scotland's marriage with the Lady Jane, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, cousin to King Henry VI. and of his agreeing to a seven years truce, the English Regency remitted the payment of the last ten thousand marks of the said forty thousand pounds; which shews that King James had found means to pay off all the rest of the money, being fifty thousand marks sterling, within one year, though allowed five years to pay it in.—*Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 322.

When King James returned to his own kingdom, he became very earnest in the advancement of its honour and interest. Dr. Drake, in his *Historia Anglo-Scotica*, p. 216, remarks, "That the knowledge of handicrafts and manual occupations was much decayed at that time in Scotland, by reason of continual wars; wherefore, this wise and good King caused to be brought into Scotland a great number of skilful craftsmen from Germany, France, and other parts, for instructing his people in their arts and faculties. He also brought into his kingdom divers men of learning in divinity, civil law, and all other liberal arts and sciences, whom he settled at his lately erected university of St. Andrew's. He also caused the youth to be exercised in military discipline, in shooting, and the use of fire artillery, of which he had seen the benefit, as well as of other things, whilst a prisoner in England. In general,

"that

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1424 “ that wise and worthy King greatly polished the roughness of his people, through his own “ experience, acquired both in England and France.” To Dr. Drake’s remarks we may add, that this King not only introduced many English customs, and even some of their laws, into Scotland; but therewith also more of the purity of the then English stile, diction, and language, into their very statutes, than had been formerly; from which, however, they afterwards gradually degenerated. He procured also many good laws to be made for the advancement of commerce, for preventing the exportation of gold and silver, and obliging foreign merchants to lay out the money they received for the merchandize they had imported, in the commodities of his own realm; for improving his customs on the exportation of fish, cattle, peltry, &c. for establishing inns on his roads; for punishing of vagabonds, and of all beggars who had not a proper badge or licence to beg. We also find in his acts of Parliament mention made of the custom on pickled or barrelled herrings exported from Scotland in this same year, 1424; and of a duty of fourpence Scots per each thousand of red herrings made in Scotland. And in his second Parliament, a duty was laid on woollen cloth exported: a law was also made to enable the King to amend his money, and to coin it of the like weight and fineness with the money of the same denomination in England; (though that was never after effectually done; but, instead thereof, the money was more and more sunk, though the English denominations were still kept up) and that merchants going beyond-sea with their wares, should be obliged to import harness and armour for the defence of the realm. All prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders, were enjoined personally to attend in Parliament, and not by proxy; unless such proxy or procurator bring a legal excuse for his principal’s absence: there were also clauses for the regulation of weights and measures; prevention of fires; improvement of agriculture, &c.

The Duke of Milan, by his possession of Genoa, being grown formidable to his neighbours, in hatred to him, the Florentines joined their galleys to those of Alphonso King of Arragon, forming together, a fleet of twenty-three galleys; by which they ruined the commerce of Genoa, and also beat the Genoese armament of eighteen galleys, and some other ships sent out by that Duke in this very same year.

In the third year of Henry VI. cap. 1. an act of Parliament prohibits the yearly congregations and confederacies of Masons in their general chapters and assemblies, in modern times called the free-masons lodges, under the pain of felony in the promoters, and of fine and imprisonment on all such as shall be found in those assemblies. And the reason assigned for this seeming severity was, “ That the good course and effect of the statutes of labourers were openly violated, to the great damage of all the commons.” Thus we see this humour of free-masonry is of no small antiquity in England.

The river Lea, or Ley, running from the town of Ware into the Thames, near London, was early deemed of so great importance, as to be rendered navigable, for the conveyance of corn, meal, and malt, &c. from the neighbouring counties, for the supply of the city of London: we therefore find an act of Parliament of this same third year of Henry VI. cap. 5. for meliorating that stream. Another in the ninth of that King, cap. 9. for retaining persons to sewer and amend it: and a third, in the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 18. enacting, that within ten years time, a new cut or trench should be made, at the expence of the city of London, for making that river more capable of conveying provisions, &c. from Ware to London, and from London to Ware.

By this time the Genoese had lost to the Turks many ports and isles which they had formerly held within the dominions of the Greek empire, now more and more distressed by the
Turks

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1424 Turks. De Mailly, the Genoese historiographer, observes, under this year 1424, that all they had left was Sumarco, Soldayo, Cimbalo, and Jaffe, in the Black Sea; Tano, in the Palus Meotis; the isle of Chios, in the Archipelago; and Pera, a suburb of Constantinople. They also had warehouses at Sinope and Trebisond, on the south side of the Euxine Sea, for Indian merchandize, which they enjoyed so long as those places remained unconquered from the Greek empire by the Turks. Even this brief account shows what vast benefits the Genoese had enjoyed from the Constantinopolitan empire, and how much they lost by its final overthrow.

We have seen, under the year 1338, a law against the exportation from England of live sheep, and our obvious remark upon it.

About this time, it seems, there was a practice, by many, of carrying live sheep into Flanders, and elsewhere. A law, therefore, was made in the year 1424, being the third of Henry VI. cap. 2. "That no persons should transport them any where but to the town of Calais, for victualling the same and its marches, under the forfeiture of the sheep." This was but a poor penalty for so great a crime in the esteem even of those times. But by the eighth of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1566, cap. 3. "This crime in any person, for the first offence, was made the forfeiture of all his goods, imprisonment for a year, and the loss of his left-hand: and for the second offence, it was made felony, without benefit of clergy."—This law is still in force: but although it is very evident that the general transporting of our sheep to those parts would not only make provisions dearer, but would also increase the quantity of the wool there, and consequently might so far hurt our own woollen manufacture; yet it is now generally known, that our sheep, as well as our black cattle, will in a short time degenerate in those foreign countries, and more especially the wool of the sheep; which is, without doubt, effected as well by the different air, as by the different soil, herbs, and water.

1425 In the seventeenth year of the reign of King Richard II. of England, an act of Parliament, cap. 7. had granted leave to all persons to export corn any where but to our enemies, upon paying the customary duties. And in this fourth year of King Henry VI. an act of Parliament, cap. 5. confirmed the said former act; granting, however, a discretionary power to the King and Council to restrain the exportation of corn, whenever they shall judge it to be for the benefit of the realm. Which restraint may be necessary; first, in the case of a bad harvest at home, whereby our own corn may prove too scanty for ourselves; secondly, in the case of a very great dearth beyond-sea, so that our dealers in corn may be allured, by its high price in foreign parts, to export more of it than we can spare from our home consumption; and, lastly, it may be frequently prudent and beneficial to restrain our exportation of corn, for the distressing of our enemies, who may at such times be in great want of it, and who might obtain a supply of it from those neutral nations to whom we exported it.

This prudent law has, in general, been continued ever since in force, though with some temporary regulations, alterations, and interruptions, as the public utility from time to time required.

In Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 144, and in the third year of King Henry VI. we find in a lease between two private persons, registered in the augmentation office, "that a manor and lands stocked for nine years with one bull and thirty cows, each of these cows are valued at eight shillings." Our introduction, concerning the weight and value of silver coin in various reigns, will enable the reader to guess at the difference between the value then and now of all kinds of provisions. For if the silver coins at this time were twice as weighty

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1425 as in modern times, then those cows cost sixteen shillings each of our money; and they would now probably be worth seven or eight pounds in the country, and more if near London. Yet this alone is by no means decisive for judging of the rate of living at this time, without including the prices of several other necessaries not obtainable at this particular juncture.

1426 Commercial complaints between England and Flanders were revived again in the year 1426, as we find in vol. x. p. 361, of the *Fœdera*. Complaint being made by Philip Duke of Burgundy, their Prince, as well as by the merchants of Flanders, to the Council of England, their King being a minor, of the depredations of the English on the ships and merchandize of the Flemings, the Council expressed their displeasure at those depredations, and strictly enjoined all the King's subjects to forbear all sorts of violence and injustice against the Flemings, and to keep up a friendly correspondence with them: yet, on the other hand, in this same record, the English recriminated in their own vindication, that the Flemings frequently concealed and coloured the effects of the Spaniards, Bretons, and other enemies of England. England was then at war for the crown of France, and, for that reason, was willing to keep fair with Philip, styled the Good, Duke of Burgundy, then a vassal of that crown; though he soon after proved very false to England, and was the principal cause of ruining our affairs in France, which probably induced the English Council to give so mild an answer to the above complaints; and yet the Flemings might be guilty of that treacherous conduct of which they were accused.

In this same year, we again find mention of the representatives of towns in the Scottish Parliament held at Perth. The Latin summonses to that sixth Parliament of King James I. after naming the Prelates, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and other freeholders, adds, *et de quolibet burgo regni certis burgenfibus*, and certain burgeses from every burgh in the kingdom. King James I. (says Dr. Robertson, in the second volume of his History of Scotland, p. 160.) fond of imitating the forms of the English constitution, to which he had been long accustomed, and desirous of providing a counterpoise to the power of the great nobility, procured an act (which he says was in 1427) dispensing with the personal attendance of the lesser Barons, and empowering those in each county to chuse two commissioners to represent them in Parliament. This law, like many other regulations of that wise Prince, produced little effect; all the King's vassals continuing, as formerly, to possess a right to be present in Parliament, agreeable to the feudal system.

At this time the Scots carried on a considerable trade with the ports of Middleburg, Sluys, Bruges, &c. in the Netherlands, where, indeed, their chief commerce was in former times, as partly appears by an act of this same Parliament, directing, "That the concerns of all Scottish merchants dying in Zealand, Flanders, or elsewhere out of the kingdom, should be decided in Scotland." To Flanders and Brabant the Scottish merchants carried great quantities of their wool, which though not so fine as that of England, served nevertheless for various sorts of manufactures. They also sent thither skins, leather, coals, salted salmon, &c. in great quantities, as, in later times, they did their coarse woollen goods, lead, and salted pork; so that the trade of Scotland with the Netherlands was always profitable to her. But it was not so in respect to her trade with France, to which country the Scots had then little else but fish to send for the French wines, brandies, fruits and fripperies for their nobility and gentry.

In this same year, says Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, lib. v. Eric X. King of Denmark, renewed with King James I. of Scotland, their ancient treaties; particularly that between
Alexander

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1426 Alexander III. of Scotland, and King Magnus IV. of Norway, concerning the western isles of Scotland, *super insulis Æbudis*. There was a certain pension which that King had agreed to pay to Magnus for a number of years, on account of the isles of Man and Sodor, or Iscolmkill. There was also one hundred marks yearly to be paid by Alexander and his successors for the Orkney Isles; but this last-named payment being long omitted, on account of wars and other accidents, King Eric now freely gave it up to King James I. Thus were the western and Orkney isles, in all appearance, finally confirmed to be the property of the kingdom of Scotland, though it is evident that was not absolutely the case till the year 1468, when James III. of Scotland married a daughter of the King of Denmark; but the Isle of Man had been long before this time in English hands, as we have related under the year 1263.

The ancient charters granted by the Kings of England to the Hanseatic German merchants residing in the Steelyard at London, gave them a right to have a reputable merchant of that city to be their ordinary judge, in all disputes and controversies between merchant and merchant concerning civil debts, agreeable to the Law-merchant, or the customs of merchants, in case the Mayor and Sheriffs of London did not first do them speedy justice. Those original charters are not to be found in the curious collection called the *Fœdera*, nor are they to be found any where else that we know of. In consequence, however, of such privileges, it had been the custom, that the Steelyard merchants were to have one of the Aldermen of London to be their judge. But, it seems, that it appeared, in this year, the Mayor, Sheriff, and Aldermen of London had not, for seven years past, permitted any of their Aldermen to act in the capacity of their said judge, as we find in vol. x. p. 371-2 of the *Fœdera*, which probably arose from some difference that had taken place between the city and the Steelyard merchants. The Steelyard society, therefore, in this year, petitioned the King and Parliament to have one of the Aldermen of London to be appointed their ordinary judge, according to ancient custom. In pursuance of which, an Alderman was now appointed accordingly.

By a record in the same volume, p. 359, of the *Fœdera*, it appears, that three hundred marks, or two hundred pounds per annum, was at this time deemed sufficient for the maintenance of a ward or minor of the best quality in England. For King Henry VI. having, in this year, knighted his cousin the Duke of York, a minor and his ward, then committed to the care of the Countess of Westmoreland, the King declares, "That, as since his being knighted, and further advanced in years, two hundred marks, his yearly allowance till now, is not sufficient honourably to support his state and dignity, he therefore adds one hundred marks more per annum to his said allowance," which was equal to four hundred pounds of modern money, and probably to above eight hundred pounds in point of expence of living.

And in the same year and volume, we have another collateral proof of the above position, from an ordinance of the Privy Council, made in this third year of King Henry VI. for fixing the annual salaries of the following Members of the said Privy Council, for their constant attendance therein, the King being a minor, viz.

I. To the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Bishop of Winchester, each three hundred marks yearly salary.

II. To the Bishop of Durham, and the Earl of Warwick, each two hundred marks yearly; and the same to every other Bishop and Earl who were of the Council.

III. To every Baron and Banneret of Council, one hundred pounds yearly.

Lastly, To every Esquire, in the said Privy Council, forty pounds yearly.

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1426 These allowances are therein said to be, for the great labour and expence they were necessarily put to, on account of the affairs of the King and Council.

- It seems this alteration was occasioned by the forgetting to mention, in a former deed, the salary of Thomas Duke of Exeter; wherefore that Duke had now three hundred marks fixed for his salary; but with a proviso, which probably the other Privy Counsellors were likewise subject to, "That he was to forfeit twenty shillings for every day's absence from Council, " without a reasonable excuse."

1427 We have seen, under the preceding year, that burghs in Scotland had been twice represented in their Parliament. And, in this year, 1427, we see more into King James Ist's intentions of introducing many of the usages and laws of England into Scotland. He at first designed to have two houses of Parliament, as in England; but though that did not take place, he, this year, being the twenty-third of his reign, got a law passed, at Perth, "That the small barons " and free tenants need not hereafter come any more to Parliaments nor to general Councils; " so as that, in their stead, there be elected, at the head court of each sheriffdom, two or more " wise men to represent them as their Commissioners," excepting only the little shires of Clackmanan and Kinross, who shall send but one Commissioner for each, " and out of these, " when met, they shall chuse a common Speaker of Parliament; which Commissioners shall " have their expences borne by the county they represent."

These Commissioners, and those also from the burghs, assembled with the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earls, and Lords, all in one House, constituted the whole Parliament. This new regulation was probably occasioned by the increase of landholders, and the latter by the increase of people and of the greater cultivation of lands, as had been done in England about two hundred years before. This Scottish law, however, was not always well observed, and was frequently revived and altered. In the fourteenth Parliament of King James II. in 1457, it was enacted, "That no landholder under twenty pounds yearly rent," unless he be a Baron, *i. e.* a Lord of a Manor, or that he be specially summoned by the King, "should come in his own name to Parliament." Even so late as the reign of King James IV. it was enacted, in his sixth Parliament, in 1503, "That none under one hundred marks yearly rent, be compellable to come personally to Parliament, unless specially summoned by the King. But " all above one hundred marks rent, were to come;" the lesser landholders being still represented in the above-named manner. Afterwards they fell into the mode of creating peerages amongst the greater Barons; and thus we see the freedom of the constitution of that country too often and too long stood on a very precarious foundation.

By a statute of the Scottish Parliament in this same year, we find that wolves were not as yet quite destroyed in that country; since a premium was thereby allotted for every one of those pernicious creatures that should be killed. Possibly King Edgar's method of getting rid of them in England, (see the year 966) might help to increase their number in Scotland, where we find them even so late as the year 1457, as appears by one of their statutes of that year: but how much later, we cannot ascertain; only we know that they have been long since extirpated from every part of Great Britain.

1428 Very great was the naval power and military strength of the Vandalic Hans-towns, or those on the south shores of the Baltic, throughout this century. Meursius's *Historia Danica*, lib. v. relates, that in the year 1428, they sent out a fleet of two hundred and sixty ships from their usual station-port of Wismar, wherein they embarked twelve thousand men, for attacking the

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1428 city of Copenhagen: they, however, returned home again without being able to carry that place.

Yet the Vitaliani, who had joined the Hanseatic fleet, went by themselves from the attack of Copenhagen, and first sacked and burned the town of Landikroon in Schonen; next they once more plundered the town of Bergen in Norway, and from thence returned to Wismar with a rich booty.

In those days the port of Wismar was crowded with shipping, being now a kind of free port, but more particularly so for the Hanseatic ships and those of their allies. It even has the appearance as if, in those times, this common rendezvous port for the Hans-towns, was a sort of asylum for all such as pirated on any others but themselves; and was more especially so to the enemies of Eric X. King of Denmark, who was a mortal foe to the Hans-towns. After their miscarriage in their attempt on Copenhagen, King Eric found means to sow divisions amongst the Hans-towns, by stirring up the people against their magistrates, as if the latter designed to destroy their commerce. He also threatened the Vandalic cities with introducing the ships and merchants of certain nations without the Baltic into the privileges which the Hanseatics had till then enjoyed in his ports; by which, and similar means, he gained over several of their towns. Had the Vandalic Hans-towns been furnished near at hand with the best materials for the woollen and other manufactures, they might probably have supported a much greater commerce; but, as the great Pensionary De Witt observes, in his Interest of Holland, part. i. cap. viii. " whilst almost all the European traffic and navigation was carried on by the Easterlings and Hans-towns, there were great quantities of manufactures made in many cities of Holland and Flanders; but the Hanseatics not having materials near them, as the Netherlanders had, they were never able to get into manufactures, which would have proved a great means of preserving their foreign traffic and navigation." We may here naturally add, that a maritime country, possessed of the most general and beneficial manufactures, which the rest of Europe takes off in great quantities, must undoubtedly, sooner or later, enter into foreign commerce and navigation; which was the case in England and Holland in the next century, and has since been the case of France; which was the cause that the Hans-towns gradually lost their then vast foreign trade; while their large and numerous shipping constantly and naturally decreased with their commerce.

It may at least prove a gratification to curiosity, to see the following list of English manufactures and merchandize, so early exported as the year 1428. It is a licence granted by King Henry VI. to the King of Portugal's agent, to export them custom free, as being for the proper use of his Portuguese Majesty, and of the Prince his son, vol. x. p. 391 of the Fœdera, viz.

I. " Six silver cups gilt."

II. " The following woollen goods, viz. Two pieces of scarlet, one piece of sanguine dyed in grain—Two pieces deblodio, (we know not what)—Two pieces of mustrevillers, (query?) Two pieces of marble colour—Two pieces of russet of mustrevillers—Two pieces of black cloth of lyre—One piece of white cloth—Three hundred pieces of Essex straits—Two thousand vessels of amber," *duo millia vasorum de electro*, being dishes, plates, saucers, &c. Whether these vessels were really all of entire amber, which in Latin is called by two names, viz. *electrum* and *fuccinum*, or whether by *electrum* in this record was meant a mixed metal of gold and one fifth part silver, as *electrum* sometimes signified, we are not able to determine with certainty; though it is most likely to have been somewhat resembling the latter, and

1428 and called *electrum*, because such a mixture must have been nearly of an amber colour. On the other hand, so great a number of vessels as two thousand, so described, must have been of an immense value, and scarcely credible to have been four-fifth parts of gold to one-fifth silver, as described in the Cambridge and other dictionaries. This *electrum*, therefore, was most probably only mixed with such a small quantity of gold, as to give it an amber colour. Or, which perhaps may be most probable, it might have been a mixture of brass and tin, or pewter, a practice formerly in use, and which gave it an amber colour. But, to conclude this doubtful point, whatever else it was, it was impossible to have been altogether real amber for two thousand dishes, &c.—“Two beds, with curtains of the largest size—Four beds of a middling size, red and green colours—Four red and green pallet beds—Two green beds with curtains—Eight pieces of red cloth—Four pieces of green—Sixty rolls or balls of worsted, *sexaginta rotulos de worsted*, red, white, and green—Twelve dozen of lances, and twenty-six saddle horses.”

And the same year, p. 398, King Henry VI. grants the same licence to the agent of the Duchefs of Gloucester and Holland, his uncle the Duke of Gloucester's consort, Countess of Holland, Hainault, and Zealand, for exporting the following merchandize, custom free, viz.

“Thirty-four yards of grey mustrevillers—Thirteen yards of grey cloth—Seven yards and an half of murray, dyed in grain—Ten yards and an half of red, twenty-two yards of green, six yards of white, and twenty-four yards of grey cloth—Two yards and an half of brunette—Twelve yards of red flowered fatten, *satyn figurato*—Two entire white kerfies, *carfias albas*—Three mantles of coney fur—One and an half timber of martern fur—Certain casks of grain and meal—And twelve yards of white cloth.”

In this same year, King Henry VI. confirmed the charter of powers formerly granted by his grandfather King Henry IV. to the English merchants residing in Prussia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Hans-towns, “for their electing, out of their own number, one of their merchants to be their governor at each place where they reside; for redressing of all disputes, and the keeping of good order amongst them.” *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 400.

And here we must observe, that, in this and the preceding reign, we find, in the *Fœdera*, abundance of licences from the crown of England, to captains of English ships, for carrying numbers of devout pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. “Provided, however, that those pilgrims should first take an oath, not to do any thing prejudicial to England, nor to reveal any of its secrets. Nor to carry out with them any more gold or silver than what should be sufficient for their reasonable expences.” In this year, according to the tenth volume of the *Fœdera*, there went thither from England, on the said pilgrimage account, the following number of persons, viz.

From London,	-	280	Fowey,	-	-	50
Bristol,	-	200	Plymouth,	-	-	40
Weymouth,	-	122	Exeter,	-	-	30
Dartmouth,	-	90	Poole,	-	-	24
Yarmouth,	-	60	Ipswich,	-	-	20
		<hr/>				<hr/>
		752				164

In all, nine hundred and sixteen persons.

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1428 It is unnecessary to remark the prejudice which this superstitious humour did to England, since it undoubtedly carried out much treasure, notwithstanding the above-named proviso, besides keeping so many people in idleness. Though it must be confessed, that the shrine of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, made ample amends, by drawing thither constantly a much greater number of foreign devotees from almost all parts of Europe, than went from hence to the shrine of St. James of Compostella.

In this same year, vol. x. p. 413, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VI. issues two several declarations in favour of commerce: the one, in behalf of the people and merchants of Holland and Zealand; the other, in behalf of his subjects, the merchants of Flanders, for their freely and safely resorting to, and trading with England, agreeable to ancient treaties. The attempts for the conquest of France by the English, had, from the many captures and depredations which they had occasioned, in some measure, broke off the former very frequent resort of their ships and merchants to England. These declarations, therefore, were intended to bring trade into its former channel.

Henry VI. having been crowned King of France at Paris, called the people of Flanders his subjects, as that province was then a feud, and held of the French crown.

1429 It should seem that foreign merchants coming to England with their merchandize, were in the habit of making agreements to be paid in gold nobles, because (says the act of Parliament of the eighth of King Henry VI. cap. xxiv.) they granted twentypence in the allay of every such noble by exporting the same. Wherefore it was enacted, "That no merchant-alien should bring any of the King's subjects, by promise, covenant, or bond, to make payment in the said gold nobles, nor should refuse payment in silver money." Another clause of this act was, "That as great losses have happened by trusting foreign merchants, who have gone beyond sea, and never returned to pay their debts, or else took to sanctuaries; no Englishman should, for the future, sell any goods to foreign merchants upon trust, but only for ready money, or else merchandize for merchandize." But this severe and ill-judged law was repealed in the following year, by an act, cap. ii. in the year 1430, which allowed them to give six months credit to foreign merchants.

The Turks constantly encroaching and gaining ground on Christendom, made a conquest, in this year, of the once famous city of Thessalonica, now called Salonichi, from the Venetians, who had formerly purchased it from the Greek Emperors.

The people of England, ever adventurous in commerce, still continued to fish at what places they liked best on the coasts of Iceland and Norway; but the Danish court had very cogent and obvious reasons for obliging them solely to come and buy their fish of its own subjects at Bergen in Norway; there being a very material difference, in point of profit, between those two methods of trading. Nevertheless, King Henry Sixth's Council, then deeply embarked in the war in France, thought it prudent, at this juncture, to temporise with the Danish Court, though unreasonable in itself, by making proclamation, and issuing orders, in the young King's name, to the Sheriffs of his maritime counties, "That no English ships do presume to resort for trade or fishery to any other place or port belonging to the King of Denmark, but only to Bergen," which is here, and often before, called Norbarn, or North Bergen, probably by way of distinction from Bergen-op-Zoom in Holland, and from the city of Mons in Hainault, called Bergen in the Dutch language.

The poor Hussites of Bohemia, being by the Pope's wolves doomed to be hunted down, his Holiness had the boldness, vol. x. p. 419, of the *Fœdera*, to ask leave of King Henry VI. to levy

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1429 levy five thousand bowmen and five hundred spearmen in England for that wicked service, and to collect money likewise for that crusade, as it was called, in the stile of those times. This last request was granted without any objection; but, in p. 422, we find that only one half of the above number of each species of soldiers was granted to be raised, as England had been so lately and so much exhausted of men by its own wars, &c. This armament was to have been commanded by Henry Cardinal of Eusebius, commonly stiled the Cardinal of England; but as they were just ready to embark, the English affairs in France growing continually more unprosperous, that Cardinal agreed to lend the whole of it to assist the English there under the Duke of Bedford, the King's uncle, for half a year certain.

By Selden's Titles of Honour, part. ii. p. 321, it appears that Southwark must have been a considerable place of trade in this year 1429, which was the seventh year of King Henry VI. When the Chief Justice declared, that the King might compel any man having forty pounds yearly in lands, to receive knighthood by a writ out of the Exchequer; and if he appeared not the first day, but came afterwards to take this order, by rigour of law he was not to be received, but to be amerced for default: wherefore Selden adds, that writs of that kind being issued, on the second day a great burghers of Southwark, able to dispend one hundred marks yearly appeared, on whom they were unwilling that the honour should be bestowed, wherefore they resolved, "that as he came not the first day, he should not be knighted." The annual income of this burghers was equal in bullion to two hundred marks of modern silver, and could still purchase about four times the quantity of necessaries that could be done in our days.

In this same year, vol. x. p. 438, of the *Fœdera*, the English Privy Council at Westminster directed two gold cups to be made and presented to the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy residing in England. One of the cups weighing two pounds three ounces, cost forty pounds ten shillings; the other, one pound ten ounces, cost thirty-three pounds one shilling and eightpence. So that gold was still about or near one pound ten shillings per ounce; allowing for the fashion of those gold cups.

The staple at Calais was at this time, by several statutes, strictly enjoined to be preserved inviolable, viz. by the eighth of King Henry VI. cap. xvii. it was enacted, "That such as ship wools, &c." excepting the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Florence, and Catalonia, "from England or Ireland, attempting to carry them to any other place but to Calais, should forfeit double the value thereof."—Cap. xviii.—"Ordinances made for the prices of merchandize, and maintenance of the town and mint of Calais."—Cap. xix.—"Ship and goods to be forfeited going to any other place but to the staple at Calais."—Cap. xx.—"No merchant dwelling at Calais, shall purchase beyond sea any merchandize of the staple."—Cap. xxi.—"A repeal of all licences granted to those of Newcastle and Berwick to carry merchandize to any other place than to Calais: and a penalty for carrying merchandize of the staple into Scotland."

It appears that those ports within the Mediterranean, so frequently excepted out of such general prohibitions in this and former reigns, carried on a considerable trade with England, more especially in wool. In the eighteenth year of the same King, 1439, cap. xv. an act of Parliament made it felony to carry wool or woollens to any other place than Calais, excepting, again, to places within the Streights of Morocco, i. e. Gibraltar.

The city of Florence, in particular, was then in its zenith of wealth and commerce, and carried on a very great woollen manufacture; so that the majority of its inhabitants, ~~and~~ of the

the adjacent territories, seems to have been employed in that manufacture; as partly appears from their historian Machiavel, &c. So that they had great need of wool from England, as well as from other parts nearer home; and by their bounties upon them, and to their favourites, they generally found means to be excepted out of the prohibition already recited.

Salted herrings, in these times, were in very general use and esteem. At the unfortunate siege of Orleans by the English, in the year 1429, Sir John Falstaff, called also, Falstaff, in the histories of those times, with seventeen hundred men, was sent by the Duke of Bedford with a supply of salted herrings from Paris to the besiegers, who gallantly repulsed the Comte de Clermont at the head of three thousand French. Which action was styled, The Battle of Herrings.

In this same year, it was enjoined by act of Parliament, eighth of Henry VI. cap. v. That every city and town of England should, at their own expence, keep a common balance, with sealed weights, corresponding to the standards in the Exchequer; and all the inhabitants might weigh thereby without paying any thing for the same, but strangers were obliged to pay. By this statute it was also enacted, That no man shall buy woollen yarn, unless he will make cloth thereof. And by cap. vii. we learn, that the elections for Knights of the Shire having till then been made by tumultuous people of small substance, or of no value, it was now first enacted, That the voters should have at least forty shillings yearly in land, and by a subsequent statute, in the year 1432, the said forty shillings yearly was to be freehold land. That forty shillings was double the quantity of silver, and would go as far as four times that sum in our days, or eight pounds per annum.

Whilst England pursued her conquests in France, miserable was the condition of that country. The *Annales Flandriae*, and many other historians, give us a very melancholy account of it in those days. Much of its lands lay uncultivated, and overgrown with briars and thorns—infested by wild beasts,—and its people reduced to poverty and desolation. Whilst, by way of contrast, those of Flanders and Brabant abounded in riches, plenty, and all kinds of merchandize, under their sovereign, Philip, siled the Good, Duke of Burgundy.—Their cities were magnificent, their towns and villages wealthy, their houses well supplied with good furniture and decorations; and, in short, their whole people enjoyed the utmost liberty and plenty.

It was in this time of the full prosperity of the Netherlands, occasioned by their vast woollen manufacture, that their wise Duke, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, on the day of the consummation of his marriage with Isabella, daughter of John I. King of Portugal, by Philippa, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, instituted in his famous city of Bruges, then the richest commercial city of his large dominions, a new military order, which he named the Golden Fleece; which order has ever since made a splendid figure in Europe. Several English authors insist, and with great appearance of truth, that Duke Philip, by the name he thus gave to his new order, had his thoughts on the immense benefits accruing to his people from the English Fleece; although Guicciardini, the Netherland historiographer, is entirely silent on this subject.

It was probably about this time, and in the reign of their King James II. that the royal burghs of Scotland are said to have made a most imprudent ordinance, viz. That no foreign merchants should be permitted, as had been formerly practised, to purchase herrings of the Scottish fishermen at sea, nor until they were first landed; that so their own burghers might be first supplied. Whereupon the Netherlanders and the German Hanseatics, who till then con-

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1429 flantly took off immense quantities of herrings from the Scots on their coasts, to the great advantage of Scotland, betook themselves directly to that fishery, so that Scotland became afterwards impoverished, and those people were greatly enriched.

In the same year, a sumptuary law was made in Scotland, "That none should wear cloth of silk, or silk garments, nor furs, nor embroideries, nor pearls, nor should use or have any silver plate,—but lords and knights of two hundred marks annual rent and upwards, and their eldest sons; without the King's special licence."

1430 As the following account of the materials for commerce from almost every part of Christendom at this time will, by every curious reader, be probably deemed entertaining, we shall not scruple to exhibit it, though of some length, from Hakluyt's first volume, p. 187, &c. It is in poor rhyme, but good sense; and the main intent or drift of the whole poem, intitled, The Process of English Policy, is of the last importance, viz. to inculcate the absolute necessity of England's keeping the sea, in the phraseology of those times; that is, being absolutely mistress of the narrow seas, and especially between the ports of Dover and Calais. It mentions the Emperor Sigismund as then living, who died in 1437; and for that and other reasons, it was probably written in the reign of King Henry VI. of England, and in, or very near, the year 1430.

After his Prologue, he proceeds to the mercantile commodities and productions of every nation which had any commerce, France only excepted: with which country England was then engaged in an unfortunate war. It is in substance as follows:

I. "From Spain come wines, figs, raisins, dates, liquorish, oil, grain, (probably for dyers) soap, wax, iron, wool, wadmol, kid skins, saffron, and quicksilver; all which," says our author, "are transported to Bruges, the then great emporium of Flanders, by her haven of Sluys, where are so many fair and large ships: but then" says our poet, "they must all pass between Dover and Calais."

II. "From Flanders, the Spanish ships lade homewards fine cloth of Ypres, and of Courtray, of all colours, much fustian, and also linen cloth. Thus," says he, "if we be masters at sea, both Spain and Flanders, who have such a mutual dependance on each other, must necessarily keep measures with us. And if England should think fit to deny to Flanders her wool and tin, and should also prevent the Spanish wool, which they work up with English wool, from getting to Flanders, the last named small country would soon be starved."

III. "Portugal is our friend, it sends much merchandize into England, and our people resort thither for trade. They have wines, osey, wax, grain, figs, raisins, dates, honey, Cordovan leather, hides, &c. all which are carried in great quantities to Flanders," (which our author here justly terms, the staple at that time for all Christendom;) "and as Portugal is esteemed changeable, she is in our power, whilst we are masters of the narrow seas."

IV. "Bretagne supplies Flanders with salt, wines, linen, and canvas. The Bretons, especially those of St. Maloes," whom their Dukes, who were generally friends to England, could seldom keep under due subjection, "have been great sea robbers, and have often done much hurt on our coasts, landing, killing, and burning, &c. to our great disgrace; where—as if we kept possession of the narrow seas, they durst not be our foes."

V. "Scotland's commodities are wool, woofsels, and hides; their wool is sent to Flanders to be draped, though not so good as the English wool, with which it is there worked up. The Scotch must pass by the English coast in their way to Flanders, and may therefore be

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1430 “ easily intercepted. Scotland brings from Flanders small mercery,” which, in those times, meant many kinds of small wares, &c. “ and haberdashery ware in great quantities : moreover, one half of the Scottish ships are generally laden home from Flanders with cart wheels and wheel-barrows.”

VI. “ The Easterlings, Prussia, and Germany, send beer and bacon into Flanders, Osmond, copper, bow-staves, steel, wax, peltry, pitch and tar, fir, oak boards, Cologne thread, wool-cards, fustians, canvas, and buckram. And they bring back from Flanders, silver plate and wedges of silver, which come to Flanders in great plenty from Bohemia and Hungary, also woollen cloths of all colours. They also” says our author “ venture greatly into the Bay (of Biscay) for salt, so necessary for them. All which, &c. they could not do without our permission, if we kept the narrow seas.”

VII. “ Genoa resorts to England in her huge ships named carracks, bringing many commodities, as cloth of gold, silk, paper, much woad, wool,” (of Spain, probably) oil, cotton, rock allum, and gold coin. And they bring back from us wool and woollen cloth, made with our own wool : they also often go from England to Flanders, where their chief staple is. So that the Genoese we have likewise in our power.”

VIII. “ The Venetians and Florentines, in their great galleys, bring all sorts of spices and grocery wares, sweet wines, and a great variety of small wares and trifles, drugs, sugar, &c. And from us they carry home wool, cloth, tin, and our gold coins. They also deal much in usury, both in England and Flanders.”—This shews that the balance was in those times against us with those Italian republics.

IX. “ To the Brabant marts, which we call fairs, we send English cloth, and bring back mercery, haberdashery, and grocery.”

“ To those marts repair the English, French, Catalans, Lombards, Genoese, Scots, Spaniards ; and the Irish also live there, and deal in great quantities of hides, &c.” But he adds, as he says, on good authority, “ the English buy more goods at those marts, than all the other nations do together. Wherefore,” says he, “ let us keep the sea well, and they must be our friends.” And here he laments, with great propriety, the neglect of our shipping for the guard of the sea.

X. “ Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, afforded little merchandize properly of their own, but madder and woad for dyers, garlick, onions, and salt fish. For the other rich merchandize which the English buy at their marts, come in carts over land from Burgundy, Cologne, &c.”

XI. “ Ireland’s commodities are hides and fish, as salmon, herrings, and hake ; wool, linen cloth, and skins of wild beasts,” (here we may remark the antiquity of a linen manufacture in Ireland). “ To keep Ireland in obedience to us is of great importance, and cannot be done without our being masters at sea. The same may also be said in respect to Calais.”

This Essay is not only curious on account of its exhibiting a brief state of the productions and manufactures of the different countries of Europe, by which we perceive the wonderful alterations almost every where, in those respects, throughout Europe, within the space of about three hundred years ; but it affords us also the satisfaction to know that even so early as this time, the great political maxim, never too often to be inculcated,—That without our being always superior to any nation on the seas, not only our trade, but even our very existence as a

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1430 free and independent nation must be lost,—was well understood, though in some other points they too frequently misunderstood their true commercial interests.

In p. 460, of the tenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have an instance of the rate or cheapness of living; still in England, by the allowance made by King Henry VI. for the maintenance of some Scottish gentlemen who were prisoners in the Tower of London; being only two shillings each, or four shillings of our money, which is equal to ten shillings in point of living, per week. Yet he allows eight pence per day, or four shillings and eight pence per week, to each of the two gentlemen appointed to look after their keeping there.

In the next page of this volume, we find King Henry VI. in order to defray the expences of his voyage to France, borrows fifty thousand pounds of several persons and communities, to be repaid out of the Tenth and Fifteenth granted by Parliament, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Of the city of London	6,666	13	4
Of the Cardinal of Winchester	9,950	12	0
— Sir John Cornewale,	500	0	0
— the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem,	333	6	8
— the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol,	333	6	8
— the like of the city of York,	160	0	0
— the city of Sarum, (which is the first instance of its appearance in the <i>Fœdera</i>)	72	0	0
— the city of Coventry, in two payments,	166	13	4
— Sir Ralph Cornwall and others,	489	9	1
— the Men of Lynn,	100	0	0
— of Gloucester	33	6	8
— of Northampton,	40	0	0
— of Doncaster	20	0	0
— of Reading,	20	0	0
— of Taunton,	15	0	0
— of Bath,	13	6	8
— of Wells,	6	13	4
— of Banbury,	5	0	4

These loans are here generally directed to be repaid out of the tenth and fifteenth of the respective counties in which the lenders lived. Many other persons are in this same record named as lenders of one hundred shillings and sixty shillings each, by whose aid the whole sum of fifty thousand pounds is made up; but it would answer no purpose of use or curiosity, to recite them all.

In this same year, says Angelius à Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic historian, in his second volume, part ii. p. 10. the Hanseatic league was obsequiously courted by the Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, for their assistance to his kinsman the Marquis of Misnia.

There appears in p. 467, vol. x. of the *Fœdera*, a remarkably singular method which Henry VI. took to raise money, viz. “ By granting permission to certain natives of Ireland therein named to reside in England during life, notwithstanding his late proclamation, commanding all the Irish residing in England to withdraw into their own country for its defence, under the pain of imprisonment, and the forfeiture of all their goods. Some, for this indul-

gence,

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1430 gence, paid half a mark, and a taylor and his wife in Gloucester paid a mark, and some paid twenty shillings.

In this same year also, the Society of Merchants of St. Thomas Becket, trading in our woollen goods to the Netherlands, since named the Merchants Adventurers of England, had their former privileges confirmed by a charter from King Henry VI.

It was about this time that the commerce of the present mercantile and opulent city of Glasgow in Scotland took its first rise. Its historiographer, who published his work at Glasgow in the year 1736, expressly declares, that the first promoter of commerce in that city, was one Mr. Elphinston, of a noble family, who in the reign of King James I. settled there and became a merchant. Glasgow, before this time, was little better than a village, made up of the houses of the clergy, and their dependents belonging to the metropolitan church there; and even continued to be but an inconsiderable place, till after the reformation from popery. Neither was she very eminent for foreign commerce, says that author, till within the memory of our grandfathers, when Glasgow struck into the American trade, even before the restoration of King Charles II. which commerce she managed, though before the union of the two kingdoms, and after the passing of the English navigation acts) by means of the port of Whitehaven in Cumberland. And since that happy union of the kingdoms, she has carried her American trade to so great a height, as to have the largest share of it, next after London, Bristol, and Liverpool, of any port in Great Britain, more especially to our tobacco colonies. At home, Glasgow is as remarkable for her industry, as her elder sister Bristol; and though short of her in point of magnitude, wealth, and commerce, yet, in respect of every thing that may be called manufacture and improvement, her application very much resembles the other. There are but few manufactures which Glasgow has not attempted and improved: for instance, the distillery from melassus,—The refining of sugar,—Soap-making,—The linen manufacture to a great height, &c.—They have also a great share of the herring and other fisheries. By all which, and similar means, she now surpasses the other towns of that part of the united kingdom, in commerce, shipping, wealth, and populousness, Edinburgh in the last respect alone excepted. If some other towns in her neighbourhood have declined in commerce since she became so considerable, it is owing to their own negligence: for other sea ports on the same west coast of Scotland, have of late years, greatly prospered in shipping and commerce, as particularly the town and port of Dumfries. And although the more ancient ports on the east coast of Scotland, such as Aberdeen, Dundee, Montrose, Dysart, Kirkcaldie, Leith, Borrowstonness, Dunbar, &c. be better situated for the trade of Norway, the Baltic, Germany, and Holland; yet Glasgow, like Lancaster, Liverpool, and Bristol, is more advantageously situated for the trade to Portugal, Spain, the Mediterranean, and Africa, and most of all for that of America.

1431 In the tenth volume, p. 491, of the *Fœdera*, we have King Henry the Sixth's warrant for paying the expence of the Ambassadors of King James I. of Scotland at the English court for the space of twelve days, viz. from the 2d to the 14th of March 1431, with a retinue of thirty six men and forty-two horses, amounting to forty-nine pounds six shillings and eleven pence halfpenny. This surely is a confirmation of the different rates of living then and in our time; always, however, remembering, that their coins still contained at least twice the quantity of silver of ours of the same denomination.

In this same year there happened several disputes and mutual complaints between King Henry VI. of England, and Eric X. King of Denmark and Norway, as appears by Meursius's *Historia*

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1431 *Historia Danica*, lib. v. King Henry VI. had sent his ambassadors to Eric for the renewal of friendship; though at the same time they complained of the ill usage to English ships and mariners in his kingdom of Norway in particular. Eric retaliates on the English shipping, and grievously complains, by his senators of Norway, that the English had not only taken on the sea some of those senators, and held them in chains, but that the English continued forcibly to trade with Iceland, belonging to Norway, though always forbidden to foreigners, and had even entered some of the ports of Norway in an hostile manner, with fire and sword, entering their ships and destroying them, &c. The sum of all which we conceive to be, that, as we have seen under the year 1429, the court of Denmark having, for their own private advantage, prohibited the resort of foreign ships to fish on the coasts of Iceland and Westmonia, and instead thereof to come to Bergen in Norway, and no where else, there to buy their fish of the Norwegians at their own price; the ships of London, Bristol, Hull, &c. disdaining such an unreasonable restraint, had resorted, as formerly, to the coasts of those islands for the fishery of cod and ling, upon which scuffles had happened between the English and Danish ships, and great damages had ensued, as appears by an act of Parliament of the tenth of King Henry VI. cap. iii. “for obtaining redress of the unjust seizure, in one year only, of no smaller a sum than twenty-five thousand pounds sterling in merchandize belonging to English merchants trading to Norway, Swedeland, Denmark, and Finmark. In regard says this statute, that none of the Danish subjects come hither to trade, nor nothing have in the same realm of England.” Whereof it was ordained, “that letters of request under the privy seal be granted to the sufferers; and if restitution be not forthwith made to them, the King will provide a remedy.” It seems five thousand pounds of this sum belonged to York and Hull, the rest to other ports. Even very lately, and in our days, there have been disputes between the Danes and Hollanders on a similar account.

About this time also, we find the Holsteiners and the Vandalic Hans-towns at cruel war with this Eric X. King of Denmark, &c. which war proved the occasion of introducing into the Baltic Sea, the more frequent resort of the ships of foreign nations without that sea, though till now but little frequented by them; especially the Hollanders and English more frequently resorted thither. The Hans-towns justly perceiving, though somewhat too late, that this would prove a great detriment to their own commerce within that sea, as in the end it did, they now judged it prudent to sue King Eric of Denmark, for a peace they had before so often slighted. Pensionary de Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, part i. cap. xxiv. observes, “That heretofore in Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, many inhabitants were maintained by manufactures, fisheries, and traffic, whilst the Easterlings”—that is, the Hans-towns on the south shores of the Baltic Sea—“were the only carriers and mariners by sea but the Hans-towns, or Easterlings, gradually lost the same to the Dutch; the owners of their freight-ships being, by degrees, compelled by the Dutch manufactures, fisheries, and traffic, to forsake the East country, and to settle in Holland.” This is a very just and judicious observation on the origin of the great quantity of shipping, which the Dutch have so long possessed.

In this same year, Pope Eugenius V. confirmed to John II. King of Spain or Castile, (what he before enjoyed) the possession and property of the Canary Isles, agreeable to the ignorant bigotry of those times, which in many cases suffered the rights and property of princes to be determined by the Papal chair.

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1432 After very long wars between the two potent mercantile states of Venice and Genoa, at length they both became weary of fighting, the last naval engagement happening in the year 1431, near the isle of Scio in the Archipelago; wherefore a peace was concluded between them in the year following.

From this period, historians remark, that the Genoese so greatly declined in power, as never after to be a match for Venice, though still retaining, in other respects, consideration and importance.

1433 The Council of Basil sitting now, we find records in the tenth volume of the *Pædæra*, under this year, relating to it; and particularly concerning licences granted by King Henry VI. for sending great quantities of money out of England by the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, that weak King's great favourite, and also by other bishops and clergy going to that council. In p. 538, we find that Cardinal alone carried out at one time, this year, the sum of ten thousand pounds of our coin.

In p. 567, of that volume, we again have the repetition of another great evil to England, in the people's ignorant zeal for pilgrimages to the church and shrine of St. James of Compostella, in Galicia. The method then was, for the crown to grant licences to the masters of ships for the carrying out a limited number of pilgrims, being now in all five hundred and twenty persons. Thus in the following year no fewer than two thousand four hundred and sixty persons from many different cities and towns in England, who carried out considerable sums of money, not so much for necessary expences, but for offerings and other fooleries in that sort of superstition. In the volume xi. in the year 1445, we find the same zeal licensed for two thousand one hundred persons, besides an indefinite number in a ship of the Earl of Oxford's. There was, as in the former licences, a prohibition against carrying more money or bullion with them than they had need of, but as without doubt, many, or most of them, were persons of good abilities, much money must thereby have been privately carried out of the kingdom.

The city of Hamburg was, by this time, become so considerable in naval commerce, that in the year 1433, its fleet vanquished forty pirate ships in a sea fight, and brought them all prisoners to Hamburg, where they were put to death. Their learned historiographer Lambecius, for proof hereof, cites Krantzius's *Vandalia*, and Ubbo Emmius's *Frifian History*: and adds, that they also reduced to their obedience and actual possession the city of Embden, and the capital of East Friesland, which had long been a receptacle for those pirates with their fleets.

1434 At this time the ships sent out by Prince Henry of Portugal, on discoveries southward on the west coast of Africa, had doubled, or passed beyond, the till then terrible Cape Bajador, and to their comfort found the country inhabited: whereas all south of that Cape was before deemed uninhabitable.

The Genoese, though still subject to the Duke of Milan, and greatly lessened in point of their maritime strength, gained great naval reputation, and also a rich booty, by their having, with but twelve large ships of war and a few galleys, vanquished, taken, or destroyed, a superior fleet of Alphonso King of Arragon and Naples, on the coast of Italy, only one ship escaping. And the Kings of Arragon and Navarre were brought prisoners to Genoa, with many princes and lords of their retinue taken in that naval engagement.

The city and republic of Florence continued, throughout all this fifteenth century, to enjoy a very great commerce, both inland and foreign; but as their great riches occasioned continual

tinual factions, as is generally the case in all free states, Cosimo de Medicis, a very rich citizen, whose overgrown wealth had, by his ancestors, been acquired as eminent merchants, becoming at this time extremely popular in that great city, was, in this year 1434, by the people, elected their prince. Yet his grandson, Peter, having leagued with the French King, Charles VIII. without the knowledge of the Senate, was ejected by the Florentines, who thereupon restored the former popular freedom of their republic. Nevertheless, the family of the Medicis still retained a very great sway in Florence, which occasioned a confederacy of several other great families of that city, supported by the court of Rome, who, in a conspiracy, attacked the two brothers, Julian and Laurence de Medicis, at church, in the time of high mass, when the former was actually killed on the spot. Lawrence having escaped, found means to incense the people against the conspirators, in the year 1478, to such a degree, that the Archbishop of Pisa, and several others of them were put to death, and the Medicis family remained in great wealth and influence; though they were not able to regain the sovereignty during this century.

In vol. x. p. 578, of the *Fœdera*, the former order of King Henry VI. and his council was, in this year renewed, against his subjects resorting to any other port belonging to his uncle, the King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, either for trade or fishery, and especially for Iceland and Finmark fish: but to North Bergen alone, pursuant to the declarations of the Danish court for that purpose; and, probably, for the very same reason assigned by us under the year 1431.

Six Genoese carracks arriving at Sandwich, then a port of considerable commerce (though since in some measure deserted by sea, and its trade lost) we find, by p. 584, of vol. x. of the *Fœdera*, that the people of the Custom-house there insisted on the Genoese paying custom for their merchandize *ad valorem*, as they were usually sold there; but, upon the Genoese applying to the King and Council, they obtained an order, that, for those and all other Genoese merchandize imported, the usual customs alone should be demanded.

The *Chronicon Preciosum* observes, that, in this year 1434, England had a very wet autumn, and wheat was dear for the two succeeding years, viz. at one pound six shillings and eight pence per quarter: yet, towards the close of the year following, it fell again to five shillings and four pence, or ten shillings and eight pence of our money, which seems to have been near the usual moderate or mean price of a quarter of wheat about that time in favourable years: wine being now at twelve pence, or two shillings of our coin, per gallon: so the rate of living was still about four times as cheap as in our days.

This same year, Amurath, the Turkish Sultan, having possessed himself of Greece, Macedonia, and Servia, ventured to besiege Belgrade, which he was forced to relinquish by the gallant John Huniades, a Prince of Hungary, who quickly regained Bulgaria and Servia; which, however, proved but a short-lived prosperity, since, in the succeeding engagement with him and Uladislaus, King of Poland, the Turk proved conqueror.

In volume tenth, p. 627, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VI. appointed "Commissioners to meet either at Bruges or Calais, for treating with the Commissioners from the Master-General of the Order of St. Mary of the Germans in Prussia, and the Inhabitants of the Cities and Towns of the Community and Country of the Teutonic or German Hans Society, for renewing the ancient treaties between them." Thus we see, (which all the Hanseatic historians also confirm) that the Master-General of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia

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1436 In this same volume, p. 654, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry the Sixth's affairs in France running quite retrograde, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Flanders, &c. who, whilst the English interest in France was prosperous, had owned him for King of France, and his lord paramount, now shook off his allegiance to our Henry VI. and even went so far as to lay siege to Calais. Whereupon, Henry prohibits all manner of commerce with Flanders, without a special licence from himself. And whereas it appeared, that several foreigners, in friendship with England, had imported the merchandize of Flanders, whilst all English subjects remained under the said prohibition, Henry now expressly prohibits all foreigners from importing from Flanders either woollen cloth, flax, madder, or other merchandize.

In the same tenth volume, p. 645, and 649, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that the Bishop of Holar, in Iceland, by King Henry the Sixth's licence, hires the master of a London ship going to that island, "to be his proxy or attorney, to visit that bishoprick for him, he, the said bishop, being greatly afraid of going thither, because of the great distance both by sea and land."

And there is another licence to the Bishop of Skalholt, in Iceland, to hire an English ship to transport him and his family, &c. to that island.

An act of Parliament of Scotland now decreed, "That all the merchants of that kingdom, exporting either wool or leather, shall give security to the customers of the several ports, to bring home to the King's mint three ounces of silver bullion for every sack of wool, and the like for every last of hides which they shall have carried beyond-sea."

This, perhaps, may be a proper place and time for quoting what Camden, in his *Britannia*, in the edition printed in 1607, says, concerning the city of Coventry: viz. "That it was enriched, some ages since, by the woollen manufacture and caps: that it was in those days the only mart-town in Warwickshire, and of greater resort than could have been well expected from its inland situation." This considerable city has much increased in various sorts of fine and light manufactures since Camden's time; so that it is at present a very large, populous, and opulent city.

After a considerable struggle at the court of King James the First of Scotland, between the ambassadors of England and France, to obtain Margaret, his eldest daughter, as a wife for Henry VI. of England, or Louis the Dauphin, afterwards King Louis XI. the French interest at length gained the Princess; who, escorted by several ships belonging to King James, got to France, round by the west side of Ireland, although the English fleet was sent to intercept her.

We may form a near judgment of the mean or middle rates of corn; and, by inference, of some other provisions, from an act of Parliament of this fifteenth year of King Henry VI. cap. 2. viz. "Corn being of small price, that is, wheat at six shillings and eightpence, and barley at three shillings and fourpence per quarter, may be carried forth of the realm without licence." Now, supposing seven shillings per quarter, or fourteen shillings of our money, for wheat, and five shillings for barley, to have been, at that time, the mean or middle price; and if the same mean or middle price of both sorts, be thrice as much in our days and money, the inference is, that living, by this method of reckoning, was till then, at least four times cheaper than in our time; but then, we must not forget, that their shilling was still about twice the weight of ours, and that dearth and cheapness has always a reference to the quantity of silver in the coins; yet still there is no small difficulty in precisely determining this point.

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1436 In this century, the legislature of England first began to grant relief to decayed towns out of the money given for the public occasions: the first instance of which we find in this year, as mentioned in Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgement of the Records in the Tower, p. 615, when, in 1436, "out of the disme and fifteenth levied on the laity, there was allotted, for the relief of decayed towns and villages, the sum of four thousand pounds," though not found in our printed statute-book.

1437 In vol. x. p. 661, of the *Fœdera*, we meet with the form of a naturalization granted by King Henry VI. to Titus Livius of Ferrara, poet to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the King's uncle, in substance as follows:—"That he be received and taken, in all respects, as if he were a native of England, and shall be capable of holding any office or employment in England, may take or receive, buy and sell, any lands, revenues, reversions, advowsons, or other benefits for him and his heirs: to have and plead all manner of actions in all courts, in all respects like a natural-born subject." Than which a fuller naturalization can scarcely be penned in any words whatever.

In vol. x. p. 66, of the *Fœdera*, we find a treaty between King Henry VI. and Paul Rufford, Master-General of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, and the proconsuls and consuls of the communities and cities of the Teutonic Hans; "being a renewal of all the privileges granted by either contracting party for one hundred years backward, in commercial and nautical concerns, and of the duties and customs on both sides, now agreed to remain on the ancient footing." This stipulation afforded much altercation about one hundred and fifty years after this time, when Queen Elizabeth finally abolished all the peculiar privileges of the Hans-towns. By this treaty also, "nineteen thousand two hundred and seventy-four nobles and a half, due by King Henry VI. to the said Master-General, were agreed to be paid in annual sums of five hundred marks sterling, or one thousand nobles yearly.

1438 The crown of Portugal being in alliance with that of England, King Henry VI. in this year, granted a licence to the Portuguese agent in England, "To export to Florence sixty sacks of wool of Cotteswold, in Gloucestershire, for the service of the King of Portugal, in order to procure at Florence certain cloths of gold and silk, for that King's use."—*Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 684.

Thus the citizens of Florence worked up our wool, as well as that of some other nations, into fine cloths, with which they supplied many foreign parts, as they also did with the rich brocades and silks of various kinds; the fabrication of which rich and costly manufactures was, in those times, confined solely to Italy.

In the same volume, p. 713, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VI. appointed commissaries for settling a new intercourse of commerce between England and Flanders; and also another commission for the same purpose, between England and the countries of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland.

It was in the reign of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, as Petrus Baptista Burgus observes, in his Treatise *De Dominio Genœnsis Reipublicæ* in *Mari Ligustico*, lib. ii. cap. 10. and 13. in treating of the exploits of the Genoese, and of their waging war with great Princes, "That they denounced war against the Duke of Burgundy, then one of the most potent Princes in Christendom, because he would not restore some Turkish ships taken by his commanders in the Black Sea." By which we learn, first, that the ships of the industrious Netherlanders, even so early as, or perhaps somewhat earlier than this period, actually made the longest voyage they thought they could possibly make in those times; for, from the Nether-

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1438 Netherlands to the Black Sea, was the longest course they could then steer on any known coasts; although, in our days, it is nothing compared to a China or South-sea voyage. Secondly, that the Genoese were then still so powerful, as to prescribe laws in that sea to a Prince so potent both by sea and land. The Genoese had not as yet broke with the Turks, but still held the port of Caffa in the Crimea, the isle of Chios in the Archipelago, and the suburb of Pera at Constantinople; it was therefore their interest to keep measures with that people, who were their too near neighbours. The Duke, or Doge of Genoa, tells the Duke of Burgundy, "That the injury of taking those Turkish ships is the greater, as the safeguard and defence of the whole Euxine or Black Sea, has, for above one hundred years past, been committed to the republic of Genoa, (by the Greek Emperors of Constantinople he means) in all which time, seldom or never, durst any pirate shew himself in that sea. And if any injury be received in that sea, it is our province to see right done to the injured." It appears also by our author's thirteenth chapter, "That the Genoese had great command in a number of cities and ports in the Black Sea, not only on the European and Tartarean, but also on the Asiatic shores of that sea; for, beside their great emporium of Caffa, they had magistrates and consuls at Samastra, Tana, De Lopoca, Bosphori, Cimbali, Sebastopolis, Sinope, Trebifond, and," what our author calls, "*ad Capitaneatum Gothiæ*; some of which places scarcely exist in our days; or, at least, have so far changed their name and condition, as to be little better than objects of conjecture. A very few years more will shew, that as well the Genoese, as all other Christian nations, were effectually excluded from entering that sea.

1439 There was at this time, a renewal of the treaty of friendship and commerce between England and Portugal.—*Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 736.

King Henry VI. writes to Eric X. King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, setting forth, "That although England usually produces plenty of corn, yet, by reason of a rainy season, corn, and more especially rye, had this year failed in most parts of it. Wherefore he requests Eric, to permit a merchant of York, therein named, to supply himself with what corn he may desire to purchase, hearing that there is plenty thereof in his dominions." This shews the necessary dependence which one country often has upon another, though perhaps inferior to it in most respects; and that the weather which hurts one part of the world, may be beneficial to another. Norway is indeed a barren land, but Denmark, more especially the fine island of Zealand, abounds with wheat, and other grain.

"At this time," says Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, "a single clergyman might support himself with decency for five pounds per annum." Now, this said five pounds containing twice as much silver as in our days, or being equal to ten pounds, we may reasonably conclude, that this sum went as far as forty pounds would at present go in provisions, cloathing, &c. So that, according to this computation, living was still about four times as cheap as in our days: that is, five pounds of their money, or ten pounds of our silver coin, would then go as far in the necessaries of life, as forty pounds will go in the present times: which ought always to be remembered in judging of the rates of living, until we come to the reign of King Edward VI. when the English coins were reduced to the same quantity of silver as in our own days.

Moreover, an act of Parliament in this eighteenth year of Henry VI. is, in a good degree, a corroboration of the foregoing observation, by making the qualification of a justice of peace in the counties at large, to be twenty pounds yearly in lands or tenements: "Because," says this act, "of late, men of small behaviour, and who, for necessity, do great extortion, had

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1439 "been in commission."—But in corporations, as it is also at present, justices were not obliged to have this qualification.

Thus, we may conceive this qualification of twenty pounds yearly, very nearly answers to the present qualification of one hundred pounds per annum.

Foreign merchants resorting to, and also those constantly residing in England, have too generally, in old times, been most impolitically ill-treated, chiefly through the instigation of cities and towns corporate, who were ever disposed to monopolize and engross all trade to themselves. Indeed, in the reigns of our wisest and best Princes, particularly in that of King Edward III. merchant-strangers met with milder treatment, and the most unreasonable laws made in their disfavour, were either repealed or moderated; but in the feeble and disgraceful reign of King Henry VI. there is less reason for astonishment at even the following act of Parliament, of his eighteenth year, cap. 4. viz.

"No merchant-alien shall sell any merchandize in England to another merchant-alien, upon pain of forfeiture thereof. The mayor, bailiff, or other chief officer of the city, borough, or town, whither any merchant alien shall repair, shall assign to every such alien an host, or surveyor, who shall survey all his buyings and sellings, and register them in a book, and certify them into the Exchequer, and shall have two-pence in the pound for all merchandize by him bought or sold. The same alien shall sell all his merchandize for other merchandize, or for money, and therewith buy English merchandize within eight months of his arrival, upon pain of forfeiture thereof. "But the merchants of Almain." that is, the German merchants of the Steel-yard, and the Hans-towns, "shall not be comprized in this act." This shameful statute is long since abolished; and it were to be wished, for the credit of our ancestors, that the remembrance of it had been entirely done away.

In this same year, we have a statute, cap. xv. confirming several former ones, concerning the staple of Calais, "and which now makes it felony to carry wool or wool-fels to any other place than to Calais; excepting, however, such wools which pass the Straits of Morocco; that is, as the statute of 1435, cap. 11. expresses it, "to the merchants of Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, Lombardy, Florence, Catalonia, and also to the burghesses of Berwick upon Tweed." Much wool had, even in those early times, been run out from creeks, and other obscure parts of the kingdom, without paying the King's duty and subsidy, so that the crown revenue was considerably lessened; which evasions occasioned felony to be, by this statute, annexed to former penalties.

The sixteenth act of this same year directs, "That there shall be but one measure of cloth throughout the realm, viz. by the yard and the inch, and not by the yard and the handful, according to the measure of London."

1440 Under the year 1386, we have exhibited an inventory of the plate, silk-beds, &c. of John de Neville, Lord Raby; and from the same judicious antiquary, Mr. Madox, in his *Formulare Anglicanum*, we now give an extract from the will of his son, Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, in the year 1440, who left much the same quantity of plate as his father did: the intent of both extracts being to shew the grandeur and way of living of the great English lords, even in those less opulent times; by which some judgment may be even made of the commercial state of the world at that time. Besides his rich arras beds, some worked with gold, and his plate, "he leaves to every one of his esquires, who shall be living with him at the time of his death, ten marks; to every valet, two pounds; to every groom, one pound, to every page, six shillings and eightpence; to every gentlewoman living with my wife,

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1440 “ten marks; to every gentlewoman in the nursery, two pounds; and to every other woman in the nursery one pound: for his funeral, three hundred marks; for a badge, one hundred marks; to rebuild a college, three hundred marks; for rebuilding the tower of a church, one hundred marks; to every convent in the bishopricks of York and Durham, two pounds; to every monk in them, one pound: to every mannery in the said two dioceses, one pound; to every unbeneficed clergyman of any chapel, one pound; to every choirster, six shillings and eightpence.”

By which legacies alone, the grandeur of the great lords appears to surpass that of modern times, more especially with respect to the quality and number of their domestics.

In vol. x. p. 753, to 755, of the *Fœdera*, we find King Henry VI. complaining, in his turn, to the Master-General of Prussia, perpetual head of the Hanseatic Confederacy, of various exactions and impositions, contrary to treaties, extorted by the people of Stetin, Dantzick, and other towns, from his subjects trading thither, as also for false imprisonment, &c. for all which the King demands satisfaction.

Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum* makes the whole annual allowance of the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas to be two hundred and forty marks, which were equal to four hundred and eighty of our marks; and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench to be two hundred and twenty marks, besides five pounds six shillings and eleven-pence halfpenny, for winter-robcs, and three pounds six shillings and sixpence for summer robes: the other judges had one hundred and fifty marks each. And living then, or wheat, &c. being about four or five times as cheap as in our days, or according to the rate of our money, about two and one-half times as cheap, and the silver coins still twice the weight of ours, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas salary was equal to twelve hundred marks per annum at the present period, and so in proportion for the rest.

The Duke of Burgundy feeling the inconvenience of being at enmity with England, with which kingdom his Netherland subjects, on account of their commercial interests, could not long be at variance, had given full power to his Dukes to conclude a truce with King Henry VI. for Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, for three years: “That so a good, sincere, and amicable intercourse of merchandize,” says the King, in vol. x. p. 761, of the *Fœdera*, “may now be established and augmented, between all our subjects, as well on this side the sea as beyond-sea, and those of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin.”

Moreover, in p. 792, as a corroboration of the above, we find “the said Netherlanders agreeing to pay thirty two thousand knights, (*equitum*) or crowns, a Flemish coin, consisting each of four shillings Flemish, by way of recompence for the injuries, violences, and losses sustained by English subjects.”

In the same volume, p. 761, we find a licence by King Henry VI. to sixty persons of Zealand, and other parts of the Netherlands, to come to England, upon information of their having found out a new and better method of making salt than had been before practised in his kingdom. This is the first or earliest project for such sort of improvements and inventions, which we find in that great collection of our records.

In the next page, 762, of the tenth volume of the *Fœdera*, the Bishop of Skalholt, in Iceland, who had been confessor to the King of Denmark, obtained of King Henry VI. “That forasmuch as neither corn, salt, wine, nor oil, nor any other liquor but milk and water, nor yet any woollen cloth were to be found in Iceland, he might lade, on two ships, a quantity of corn and other provisions, and also of cloth, for his use, and to bring back into England such

1440 D. "such merchandize as Iceland afforded." "Seeing," says King Henry, "even the divine offices of baptism and the eucharist, without our said relief and help, are like to cease and be omitted there." By which he meant their want of salt, corn, and wine.

In Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgement of the Records, p. 626, there is a second memorable instance or proof, that the English people, even so early as the year 1440, understood the expedience of a navigation act, the former being under the year 1381, as the only means to preserve to themselves the benefit of being the sole carriers of their own merchandize, and of as much of those of other nations as they could procure. It is a petition of the House of Commons to King Henry VI. "Requesting, that no Italian, nor any other merchant beyond the Strait of Morocco, (that is, Gibraltar) shall bring any other merchandize into the realm, than such as are growing or produced in the same their own respective countries, and that for good reasons in the record."

The answer of King Henry was, "The King will be advised :"—Which every one knows to be a flat denial from the crown.

Whether the King's own weak judgment, or, which is most likely, the bribes of the Italians to his worthless ministers, produced this answer, is not perhaps easy to determine at this distance of time ; but surely the petition was wisely intended, being the very substance of the statute which was enacted after the restoration of King Charles II. and is still in force, to the very great benefit of the nation.

In the same great antiquary's Abridgement of the Records, we find that, in this same year, p. 623, King Henry VI. "directs the fees and liveries of his justices, attorney, and serjeants, to be paid yearly out of the customs of the ports of London, Bristol, and Hull." From which we may probably infer, that those three ports then carried on the greatest foreign commerce of any in England : the two first ports we are certain did so ; and, by the great trade of Hull, even so early as those times, to the Hans-towns in the Baltic, &c. it is probable it was then next in commerce to the other two ports.

The discoverers, sent out by Henry Prince of Portugal, on the western coast of Africa southward, having sailed beyond the till then terrible Cape Bajador, without having turned black, or become negroes, as some ignorant people in those times imagined, and still continuing their discoveries, they at length, in 1440, or, as others are of opinion, in 1441, got as far south as Cape Blanco, from whence they brought home some of the natives, and also some gold dust out of a river, which they therefore named Rio del' Oro. In short, they got, in the year 1446, as far as the river Senegal ; and in 1447, to Cape Verde, and thence to Rio Grande. And although the Portuguese discoverers this year lost their great patron Prince Henry, his nephew, Alphonso V. King of Portugal, became equally zealous in patronising discoveries of the same kind, as will, in some measure, be seen in its place.

In, or about this year, was the most useful and beneficial *Art of Printing* first found out, and, in a few years after, practised in most parts of Europe. The city of Haerlem, in Holland, contends strongly for the honour of this invention, where they pretend to shew books printed by their Koster as early as the year 1430. Others are of opinion, that at Mentz in Germany, printing was first invented by John Fust, or Faustus, about this time, and improved by Peter Shoeffler, his son-in-law ; but the most prevailing opinion is, that one William Gurtemberg, a citizen of Mentz, was the original inventor. The city of Strasburg also contends for this invention by one Mantel. Printing was brought into England by William Caxton of London, mercer, who first practised it in the Abbey of Westminster. When Faustus went to Paris, to put

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1440 put this art into practice, it is said he was condemned to be burned, as a conjurer, by the Parliament of Paris; and to save his life, he was forced to discover his invention to the Archbishop of Paris. Whether Haerlem, Mentz, or Straßburg had this invention is of no importance to the rest of the world, and therefore we shall not dwell on it. It is, however, of importance to observe, that the high prices of books, before this happy invention, certainly circumscribed knowledge very much; and the reduction of the prices, by means of this new art, proved the means of diffusing knowledge through all ranks of people, more or less, as well laity as clergy. And as two of the most useful, as well as considerable branches of knowledge, were geography and history, we find, that not only the histories of various countries were soon printed off at reasonable rates, but also charts and maps of the earth, and of its several subdivisions, came afterwards to be published: but these last were naturally of a later date than the historical works; because, although the magnetic virtue of the needle was known prior to printing, yet the mariner's compass did not come into general use till towards the close of this century. Printing then made the world better known, and this knowledge, though at first only theoretical or speculative, soon produced a desire in many to visit foreign nations; and, finally, such visits occasioned new channels of traffic to be discovered, to the great advantage of many countries.

1441 The Hollanders and Zealanders having lost to the value of fifty thousand guilders on the seas, by the depredations and other violences of the Hanseatic Easterlings, ever unmeasurably jealous of other nations, without the Baltic, interfering with a trade they had so long monopolized, and not being able to obtain, in an amicable way, any satisfaction for those losses, the cities and towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Gouda, Rotterdam, Hoorne, Enchuyssen, Middleburg, Veere, Flushing, and Armuyden, fitted out a great number of warlike ships, by way of reprisals; and having twice beaten the Easterlings at sea, and taken great riches from them, they brought them to a very advantageous peace, or rather truce, for twelve years, in 1444; "and, also," says De Witt's Interest of Holland, part ii. chap. 1. "with their allies, the Spaniards, Venetians, and Prussians: the other Netherland provinces," adds that able author, "though likewise subject to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, not concerning themselves in those matters." This success of the Hollanders, it seems, had so raised the envy of the Danes and Swedes, that their trading towns joined the Hanseatics; but, in the end, the Hollanders proved too powerful for them all. It seems, the Hollanders had taken an entire fleet of Easterlings from the Bay of Biscay; and the Prussians, attempting to escape with twenty-three ships, says the Annales Flandriæ, fell first into the Hollanders hands; after which triennial war, a peace or truce was concluded between them at Copenhagen, as above.

1442 "In this year," says Sir Robert Cotton's Posthuma, "being the twentieth of Henry VI. the Commons of England exhibit a bill for the guard of the sea, ascertaining the number of ships, assess the wages, and dispose of prizes of any fortune; to which the King accordeth. And that the Genoese may be declared enemies, for assisting the Turks in the spoil of the Knights of Rhodes." (The Genoese were, by this time, very much at the mercy of the Turks, who were now masters of all the Greek empire, the city of Constantinople alone excepted; though some authors accuse the Genoese of having assisted the Turks in distressing the Knights of Rhodes for private advantage.) "And that the privileges of the Prussian and Hans-town merchants might be suspended, until compensation be made to the English for the wrongs they have done them." The English merchants now interfering with the Han-

seatics

1442 featics in the commerce of the Baltic sea, the latter had thereupon committed frequent insults on the English ships in those parts.

* In vol. xi. p. 2, of the *Fœdera*, we have a second instance of a naturalization, granted by King Henry VI. to a Venetian merchant and his son, with the same privileges as in the former instance, under the year 1437, viz. "Of freely buying and selling, suing, and being sued, of holding lands, taking legacies, &c. equally with any English subject." And it concludes, "That this grant under the privy seal, &c. is, by authority of Parliament, and for the consideration of forty marks, paid into the hanaper."

The worsted fine stuff manufacture must have been considerably advanced at the city of Norwich, and also in other parts of Norfolk, when, in the twentieth year of Henry VI. a statute was made, cap. 10. directing, "That every year, during four years, four wardens of worsted-weavers shall be chosen, to do right, and make due search of worsteds in Norwich; and two in Norfolk, and of what length and breadth all sorts of worsteds made in Norwich and Norfolk shall be."

And, in the twenty-third of Henry VI. cap. 4. "There were four such wardens appointed yearly for Norfolk, as well as the city of Norwich, for three years; and their power of inspecting the true making of worsteds was thereby to extend to Suffolk." Thus has the city of Norwich, and the countries adjacent, been famous for the manufacture of those fine worsted stuffs for about four hundred years past, down to our own times, much to their own and the nation's advantage; very great quantities of such worsted stuffs, crapes, &c. being yearly exported to many parts of the world.

James Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, p. 75, tells us, "That King Henry VI. settled lands for maintaining five scholars at Oxford, (he does not name the college) at the rate of ten-pence each per week:" which ten-pence, equal to twenty-pence of our money, would then go as far as about fifty-pence will in our days, being not quite seven-pence farthing per day for each scholar's maintenance of our money, or one penny three-sevenths of their money per day.

1443 The Portuguese begin to trade with the natives on the west coast of Africa for gold and slaves; and gold now stopping their former complaints, the following year the town of Lagos sent forth, by the King's permission, caravels for that trade, at its own expence. Thus were the Portuguese further stimulated to go on with additional discoveries, until, as we shall see towards the close of this century, they opened such new and important scenes as amazed all Christendom.

We have already, in the years 1237 and 1285, taken notice of the antiquity of water-conduits in London; yet a record in the *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 29, sets this subject still in a fuller light, viz. "First, it recites a grant made in 1237, to the mayor and citizens of London, by Gilbert de Sanford, lord of the manor of Tyburn, of certain springs and waters there, to be conveyed in pipes for the use of the said city. Secondly, another grant, in 1354, by Alice Chatham, lady of the said manor, to the said city, of twenty-four square feet of ground, for the head of a fountain in the town of Tyburn. Thirdly, in the year 1439, the abbot and convent of Westminster granted and confirmed to the city of London a certain head of water, and certain springs in his manor of Paddington, and also in his manor of Eybery. All which grants were now again confirmed by the King and Parliament, for the consideration of twenty pounds paid into the hanaper." And, by another deed, in the same volume, p. 33, this same year the King grants licence to the city, freely to buy, wherever they

" can,

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“ can, two hundred foddor of lead, for new making of their conduits in the streets, and at the standard in Cheapside, for erecting of an eminent cross over the said general conduit in that street.”

The village of Tyburn was, before this time, come to utter desolation, so that no vestiges of it remained. It may, perhaps, be a doubt, whether the springs and head of water mentioned in the first and second grants, be not the same as those above-mentioned in the year 1439.

The stone conduit-house at Eybery, otherwise now called Highbury-barn, we well remember, stood entire about forty years ago, with its door and window, at the upper end of the first field north of the town of Islington; but the poorer neighbours and hay-makers have gradually carried away every stone, without leaving a single vestige of it. Yet the fine spring itself was long before diverted from that conduit, and ran to waste near to it, as it still does, from its original fountain, through an arched conveyance, several yards in length, further up the second field.

The old anonymous author of the *Chronica Sclavica*, published by Lindenbrogius at Hamburg, relates, “ That Christopher III. King of Denmark and Norway, being greatly incensed against the Hans-towns, held a convention of several Princes, viz. the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Duke of Mecklenburg, two Dukes of Brunswick, and many other Princes, for the forming of a league against the said Hans-towns; but, it seems, the Duke of Sleswick not coming into their measures, as they expected, that confederacy proved abortive.”

King Christopher, however, as an additional testimony of his hatred to the Hans-towns, granted a free commerce throughout his kingdom of Norway, formerly almost entirely monopolized by the Hanseatics, to the people of Amsterdam, and also to those of Zirickzee in Zealand.—Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, lib. 5.

From the same author we learn, that Copenhagen, at present the capital city of Denmark, was the property of the Bishop of Roschild, the ancient capital of Denmark, till this year, when the bishop surrendered it into the hands of King Christopher III. Wherefore we can scarcely think it was a very important place before this time; but its fine harbour, and happy situation, very probably, first induced that King to think of making it the capital residence of the Kings of Denmark.

1444

King Henry VI. of England, or rather his bad ministers, in order to oblige the Danish court, still went on in their former course, of suffering the Danish monarchs to confine all the commerce of the English in the North Sea to the single port of Bergen: for, in the eleventh volume, p. 57, of the *Fœdera*, there is a prohibition of King Henry VI. directed to the sheriffs, “ That none of his subjects presume, on any pretence whatever, to send any ships to Iceland, or to any other part of the King of Denmark’s dominions prohibited by that crown to be resorted to, under the forfeiture of their ships.”—See the years 1429, 1431, and 1434, for the grounds of this prohibition.

In the same volume, p. 67, of the *Fœdera*, “ King Henry VI. of England renews England’s ancient commercial correspondence and friendship with the places, countries, and dominions of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, and the inhabitants thereof; and thereby empowers his ambassadors to redress all grievances on both sides.”

In this record it is remarkable, that there is not the least mention of any Prince or Sovereign of those countries. Which seems to confirm what Pensionary De Witt, Sir William

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1444

Temple, and others write, concerning the great power of the states of those provinces in old times, so far as even to make commercial treaties with foreign nations, without consulting or suffering themselves to be controlled by their Counts.

The opinion that one metallic, or other foreign and extraneous substance or matter might be changed or transmuted into another, was, it seems, early propagated by certain chymical geniuses, whose observations of the surprising alterations produced in certain substances and metals by the force of heat and fire, carried their imaginations further than their judgments could reasonably support. The first instance of this kind to be met with in our records is in vol. xi. p. 68, of the *Fœdera*; wherein “King Henry VI. grants a licence to John Cobbe, “freely to work in metals, he having, by philosophical art, found out a method of transferring “imperfect metals into perfect gold and silver.” This bubble, commonly known afterwards by the name of the philosophic powder, or stone, was several times encouraged by public authority in the sequel of this century, and oftener in succeeding periods, all over Europe. Even in our own times, though not from any public encouragement, there have been persons weak enough to labour for many years to find out this secret, though no other discovery was made, but that they themselves, in the end, were utterly undone by such an irrational pursuit.

In p. 69 of vol. xi. we find King Henry VIth's physician, John Faceby, had, for some years past, enjoyed a salary of one hundred pounds yearly, equal in quantity of silver to two hundred pounds of our money, and would then go as far as about or near five hundred pounds in our days.

And, in the year 1446, p. 124, the same salary was allowed to one, called Magister in Medicinis to the King and Queen.

John Wheeler, who was secretary to, and apologist for the company called The Merchant Adventurers of England, and wrote a small quarto *Treatise of Commerce*, printed in 1601, has, in his publication, supplied the public with a great deal of matter relating to the history of that company, and also of the famous city of Antwerp, &c. which, therefore, we shall have frequent occasion to make use of in different periods.

He acquaints us, “That, in the year 1444, that company, under its then name of The “Merchants of the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket, quitted their residence in Middleburg “in Zealand, then judged unhealthy, and settled at Antwerp; where,” says he, “and at “Bergen-op-Zoom, the Company has for the most part resided; save that, in King Henry the “Eighth's reign, they removed to Calais for a time, till, by the earnest intercession of the “Lady Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, they settled again in the Low Countries at Middleburg, “and afterwards at Antwerp; at their arrival at which last named city, they were met by the “magistrates and citizens without the town, and conducted with solemnity to an entertain- “ment.” He adds, “that when Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, first granted privi- “leges to this company, in the year 1446, under the name of the English Nation,” a name, says Wheeler, they have ever since been known by there, “there were but four merchants in “the city of Antwerp, and only six vessels, merely for river navigation, they having then no “maritime trade: but in a few years after this company's settling there, that city had a great “number of ships belonging to it, whereby it was soon much enlarged; and houses therein “which used to be let for forty or sixty dollars, were now, that is in the year 1601, let for “three hundred or four hundred, and some for eight hundred dollars yearly rent.” We are, however, to distinguish carefully between this company and that of the merchants of the staple, which was, in the year 1313, fixed at Antwerp; but was merely for wool, and at a
time

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1444 time when commerce was, every where westward, at a low ebb; whereas, the other company was for wool, woollen cloth, leather, lead, tin, and all other English staple wares, and in a time of much more advanced state of commerce.

Under the said year 1444, the old French book, entitled the *Grande Chronique de Hollande, Zelande, &c.* relates, "That Henry Burflele, or Van Bortelen, Lord of Veere, or Camp-veere, in Zealand, did, in that year, fit out several large merchant ships, with which he traded far and near on the seas, and thereby gained a vast estate in lands and lordships in Zealand; and by which means likewise the city of Veere became flourishing in navigation and commerce."

It was but a few years before this time, that King James I. of Scotland married his daughter Mary to Wolfred Van Borselen, Lord of Veere; whereupon the Scottish staple was removed from Bruges to Veere, where it has generally remained to the present time; which removal was properly the first advancement of the commerce of that city.

The *Chronicon Preciosum* gives us the prices, in the year 1444, of the following provisions, viz. wheat four shillings and fourpence, or eight shillings and eightpence of our money, per quarter. A fat ox one pound eleven shillings and eightpence, or three pounds three shillings and fourpence of our money. A hog three shillings, or six shillings of our money. A goose threepence, or sixpence of our money. Pigeons fourpence per dozen, money being then twice the weight of our modern coin. At this rate, an equal quantity of our money would probably, on a medium, go then about five times as far as in our days; so that the prices were what would be equal to the following ones with us, viz. wheat two pounds three shillings and fourpence per quarter. A fat ox fifteen pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence. A hog one pound ten shillings. A goose two shillings and sixpence. A dozen pigeons three shillings and fourpence. It was this same year enacted by Parliament, that when wheat was so cheap as six shillings and eightpence per quarter, rye four shillings, and barley three shillings, those three species of corn might be exported without a licence.

1445 In the year following, the same author gives us the following prices of provisions, viz. wheat as above, at four shillings and fourpence per quarter. Ale per gallon one penny halfpenny. Hay per load three shillings and sixpence halfpenny. A young swan three shillings. A goose threepence. One hundred flock fish for seventeen shillings and sixpence. Three thousand red herrings for one pound eleven shillings. • Bullocks and heifers at five shillings each; these were probably but calves, also fine linen for surplices and the altar, at eightpence per ell.

We learn, the same year 1445, from Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, that five thousand pounds was given by Parliament for the relief of decayed and wasted towns, in the twenty-third of Henry VI. though it be not in the printed statute book.

1446 The extensive stone edifice, still partly standing, called Leadenhall, in London, is first erected for a public granary.

In vol. xi. p. 140, of the *Fœdera, &c.* we have a commercial truce for twelve years, concluded between King Henry VI. and the inhabitants of Flanders, Ghent, Ypres, and the cities of Brabant. The chief points hereof were:

"1. The English were to have liberty to traffic with all merchandize in those parts, both by land and water; (artillery and gunpowder only excepted,) and the same liberty is allowed to those of Flanders and Brabant, in England, Ireland, and Calais.

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" II. An entire freedom, on both sides, of fishing, when, where, and how they pleased, and may enter each others ports, paying the customary dues of the country.

" III. The merchandize of either the King's, or the Duke of Burgundy's subjects, taken at sea by an enemy, shall not be sold nor landed in the ports of the other party.

" IV. The merchant ships of either party, wrecked or driven on shore in the other's country by storm, shall be preserved safe with the merchandize, for the benefit of the legal proprietors.

" V. England shall make a broad causeway, or road, for the carriage of goods and merchandize, between Calais and Gravelines, for the benefit of the merchants of both parties.

" And Flanders, on her part, shall make a like broad road, for the use of the merchants and other passengers on the part of England, for safely passing and repassing along the Downs of Flanders, without being stopped or obstructed, provided they" the English, " bring not their dogs with them," probably on account of the sheep of Flanders, " nor do any damage there.

" VI. The English merchants shall have in Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, inns for their particular accommodation, where they shall enjoy all due safety and protection, and shall be as favourably used as those of any other nation resorting thither."

King Henry VI. in this year, being the twenty-fourth of his reign, makes a charter or grant to the mayor and burgessees of Bristol of their town in full propriety, all but the castle, and without accounting to him; they paying yearly to him the sum of one hundred and two pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence; to the Abbot of Tewksbury for tythes fourteen pounds ten shillings; to the prior of St. James's in Bristol three pounds, and to the constable of the castle thirty-nine pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence.

In the year 1485, being the first year of King Henry VII. this charter was resigned into the hands of that monarch, who made Bristol free, and discharged it from all quit rent.

The Hanseatic historians relate, that the Lubeckers, being become very rich and powerful, did, in the year 1446, lend King Christian I. of Denmark a great sum of money, in his urgent necessity, for which favour, they allege, he made very ungenerous returns, by plaguing and cramping their commerce, and exciting other Princes to distress them by various ways.

" A bailiff of husbandry in England, at this time," says the *Chronicon Preciosum*, " had a yearly salary, beside his diet, of one pound three shillings and fourpence; also five shillings for his cloathing yearly. A common servant in husbandry fifteen shillings. The chief carter and chief shepherd one pound yearly, with his diet, and four shillings each for cloathing. A woman servant ten shillings with diet, and for her cloathing four shillings. Moreover, a free mason, or master carpenter, had fourpence per day, and his diet, and without diet fivepence halfpenny per day. A master tiler, slater, rough mason, &c. with diet, three-pence, without diet fourpence halfpenny, or ninepence of our money. A woman labourer twopence halfpenny and diet, and without diet fourpence halfpenny." Now money then being twice as much as in our days, the master tilers, slaters, and rough masons had what was equal to one shilling and tenpence halfpenny per day of our money, and the women labourers nearly the same; so that the expence of living now, is near five times as much as it was at that time.

1448 In vol. xi. p. 195, of the *Fœdera*, we see the fashion of the silver plate of King Henry VI. which, in his necessity, he pawned out of his jewel office to two goldsmiths of London, to whom he owed three thousand one hundred and fifty pounds, viz.

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" I. One great alms dish gilded, made in the fashion of a ship, with armed men	lib. oz.
" on board of her, weighing	67 9
" II. Two gilded flagons, scollop fashion,	64 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
" III. Two dozen of dishes, (<i>de chargeours</i>)	
" IV. Six dozen of plates,	255 7
" V. Thirty-five gilt saucers,	

Total 388 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

This quantity of silver, being but double the quantity of our money, could be but a small part of an adequate security for the sum borrowed, and must therefore have been only delivered by way of additional pawn to something already pledged.

Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, having, in the year 1448, laid a tax upon salt, and the city of Ghent refusing to pay it, a war ensued between the Duke and that opulent city, which lasted till 1453, when the Gantois were obliged to submit, and were pardoned; than which nothing can more plainly demonstrate the great wealth and power of that single city, and, at the same time, the high claims of immunities made in former times by the great cities of Flanders, approaching almost to independence.

It seems the Netherlands, at this time, prohibited the English woollen manufactures from being vendd amongst them: whereupon, a statute was made in the twenty-seventh of King Henry VI. cap. i. and in the year 1448, enacting, " That if our woollen cloths shall be prohibited and not accepted in Brabant, Holland, and Zealand," Flanders is not therein named, " then no merchandize, growing or wrought within the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, shall come into England, upon pain of forfeiture thereof." It is no wonder that the Netherlands were alarmed at the vast increase of the English woollen manufactures in about one hundred years, since they were first established, as they occasioned a sensible decrease of their own manufacture, which had formerly been the great source of all their wealth and power. It is said also that the English cloths began to surpass those of the Flemish fabric in the goodness of its manufacture.

The very next statute of this year shews the spirit of that Parliament against the weak King's bad Ministers. It sets forth, " That the subsidies and customs of the staple at Calais did, in the reign of King Edward III. amount to the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds yearly; whereas now it is not above twelve thousand pounds; therefore, no licence granted, or to be granted by the King, shall be available for the carriage of wools, fells, or tin to any place out of the realm but to Calais; and whosoever doth obtain, accept, and put in execution any such licence, shall be out of the King's protection." Here we may observe, that the countries within the Streights of Morocco are not now excepted, as in all former statutes. The Ministers had indeed made great emoluments by such licences so frequently granted, though to the great diminution of the revenue. Yet it may be supposed that the great increase of the English woollen manufacture might, in part, contribute to the decrease of the revenue on wool exported to Calais.

The third statute of this same year enjoins, " That merchant-aliens shall bestow all their money upon other merchandize," of this realm, " and shall carry forth no gold nor silver, upon pain of forfeiture thereof."

Pope Nicholas V. coming to the papal chair in 1447, who was a great lover of learning, he erected the famous Vatican library at Rome, having procured books and manuscripts from all

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1448 parts of the world. Petavii Rat. Temporum, lib. ix. cap. 9. Such brief notices of any steps for the advancement of learning, or useful knowledge, though not immediately relative to commerce, will, we hope, be considered as instrumental to the increase of arts and sciences, and consequently of commerce and manufactures.

The English attempting to fish and trade on the coasts of Iceland, though contrary to the Danish Court's repeated prohibition, and also to King Henry Sixth's proclamations, confirming that prohibition, as already fully related, it seems that, on the Governor of Iceland's opposing the English there, they happened to kill him. In the year following, the Danes seized and confiscated four English ships laden with merchandize from Prussia, by way of revenging that outrage at Iceland. This seizure, says Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic historian, occasioned infinite trouble to the German merchants in England, that is, those of the Steelyard of London, the English having construed that capture to be done with the privy, and in concert with the Hans-towns, who had now made peace with Denmark; wherefore, their ships and persons were seized in England; and, during this seizure, that author accuses those of Cologne, and other occidental Hans-towns, of having deserted their brethren of the oriental Hans-towns, by getting their own goods and persons excepted. Indeed, such kind of defections of particular cities, through self-interest, was very common throughout the history of the Hans-confederacy, which was one of the causes of its declension: the city of Lubeck alone, according to Werdenhagen, never swerved from the public interest of the whole confederacy. The German Princes having in vain sued at the English Court for the release of the said ships, persons, and merchandize, at length a naval war broke out between England and the oriental Hanseatics, that is, the towns within the Baltic on the German and Prussian Shores, in which, according to the same author, the latter prospered so far, as that, after several years war, the English were obliged to come to reasonable terms, through the interposition of Charles Duke of Burgundy, and other Princes.

Yet this author, on this occasion, is so inconsistent and confused, as to tell us, that the oriental Hans-towns, feeling their heavy losses from the capture of their ships by the English, entered into a confederacy with France, which obliged King Edward IV. to come to an accommodation, by allowing the Hanseatic merchants ten thousand pounds sterling for their losses, in the year 1473, or rather, according to Thuanus, in 1474. It seems, the city of Cologne, after this accommodation, was obliged to entreat, with great humility, to be re-admitted into the Hanseatic League, after having so often deserted it in their distress.

Notwithstanding this account of Werdenhagen, we have an authentic voucher in vol. xi. p. 217, of the *Fœdera*, wherein King Henry VI. directs a commission for renewing the ancient treaties of commerce and friendship between England and the Hans-confederacy; wherein, as well as in other records, it still appears, that the Master General of Prussia was first named, as protector of that Confederacy. "Whereas," says King Henry VI. "our predecessors did, for themselves and successors, make certain leagues and confederacies with the noble and magnificent persons, the Master General of the Order of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Teutonic, and the inhabitants of the cities, towns, and country of the Teutonic Hans, &c." In the body of the record, he is only styled Master General of Prussia; at other times he is styled Master General of the German Knights of the Cross, and also of St. Mary of Jerusalem. In some records of the *Fœdera*, the *Hansa Teutonica* is otherwise styled the *Mesne Hans*. "Finally, by this renewal, all injuries were to be redressed on both sides;"

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so that we are not always to rely on those historians, since we are certain that they are wrong, whenever they clash with our authentic records.

- 1449 At this time lived William Canning, an eminent merchant, who had been five times Mayor of Bristol. In the eleventh volume, p. 226, of the *Fœdera*, we find two recommendatory letters from King Henry VI. in this year 1449; one to the Master General of Prussia, and the other to the magistrates of the city of Dantzic; both of them in behalf of two of Canning's factors residing in Prussia, requesting all possible favour and countenance to the two factors of Canning, whom that King styles his beloved, and an eminent merchant of his city of Bristol.

The inscription on Canning's tomb, in Redcliff church at Bristol, in the year 1474, mentions "his having forfeited the King's peace," that is, he had committed piracies on the seas, probably against the Hanseatics, "for which he was condemned to pay three thousand marks, "in lieu of which sum King Edward IV. took of him two thousand four hundred and seventy "ton of shipping, amongst which there was one ship of nine hundred tons burthen, another "of five hundred tons, and one of four hundred tons, the rest being smaller." Yet although those great ships had English names, we are, nevertheless, in some doubt, whether we had, at that time, ships of our own building in England so large; possibly, therefore, Canning might have either purchased or taken them from the Hanseatics, or else from Venetians, Genoese, Lucchese, Ragusians, or Pisans; all of whom had, indeed, ships of even a larger burden at this time; more especially as we find several statutes in King Henry Sixth's reign, against the breaking of truce and safe conduct at sea, by taking the ships of foreign states in amity with England.

In vol. xi. p. 235-6, of the *Fœdera*, the magistrates of the city of Campen, in the county of Zutphen, and also the Bishop of Utrecht, their then sovereign, make their complaint to King Henry VI. of England, of certain sea robberies committed by the English on the traders of that city, to a great value. The King replies, by promising a redress of such grievances, and a free and safe resort of their ships and merchants to his dominions for the business of mutual commerce.

In p. 240 of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, we have a second instance of the bubble or project commonly called the philosophic powder: it is a protection, in this same year 1449, granted by King Henry VI. to one Robert Bolton, who pretended "to have found out the "art of transubstantiating imperfect metals into pure gold and silver, by the art or science of "philosophy."

The crown revenue of the Kings of England was gradually reduced so low in this year 1449, the twenty-eighth of Henry VI. as not to exceed five thousand pounds yearly, occasioned by the extravagant grants of the Kings to their favourites; wherefore there was at this time a general resumption of the crown lands made by Parliament. But this act, if it was properly an act, is not in the printed statute book: it is, however, quoted by Sir Robert Cotton, and by our law books, as being, Rot. 53, under this year.

In p. 258 of the eleventh volume of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VI. at the request of one John Taverner of Hull, "who had," as the record relates, "built a ship as large as a great "carrack, or larger, (*navem adeo magnam sicut magnam carrakam, seu majorem*) then lying in "the river Thames, grants that the said ship, on account of its unusual largeness, shall be "called the Grace Dieu Carrack, with a licence to him to lade thereon and export wool, tin, "skins, leather, and other merchandize, from the ports of London, Southampton, Hull, and

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1449 “ Sandwich, belonging either to English or to foreign merchants, and freely to carry the said merchandize through the Streights of Morocco into Italy, he paying aliens duties for the same, and upon firm expectation, that he would, in return, bring home such merchandize of other nations as were most wanted in England, such as bow staves, wax, &c. whereby a great increase of the duties and customs to the crown would ensue, and much gain to the subjects.”

At a Parliament of Scotland, in the year 1449, in the reign of their King James II. “ there was a strict injunction laid on all the ports of Scotland, and also particularly likewise on the English borders, against the exportation of money; and that all false strikers of gold, silver, and of false groats and pence, be searched and punished.” This plainly seems as if some of the English, in their turn, had at this time repaid the Scots, for their having formerly, as we have related, imported their baser or lighter coins into England, of the same denomination with the more valuable English coins.

We have a most memorable instance of the power of commerce, even in a single merchant of France; it is in Bishop Huet’s preface to the Memoirs of the Dutch Trade, or whoever else was the author of that treatise. King Charles VII. of France having undertaken the conquest of Normandy from King Henry VI. of England, “ Jaques Couer, who was general intendant of King Charles’s finances, and who was, at the same time, as far as appears, the most famous merchant, not only of France, which indeed had very few merchants in those times, but of all Europe, proved alone the main instrument of that great revolution in Normandy, by having supplied King Charles with an army, and with several millions of money, and yet had still vast wealth remaining to himself. Couer was so much addicted to commerce, that even whilst he held his said high station under the crown, he had a great many large ships trading to the Levant, to Egypt, and Barbary; from whence he imported gold and silver stuffs, silks of all kinds, furs, &c. which merchandize he sold by his factors, clerks, and agents at the Hotel Royal, in all the principal cities of France, and in foreign courts, where the people greatly admiring them, bought them up at high prices. **He had,**” continues Monsieur Huet, “ three or four hundred commissaries or factors, and **gained alone** more in one year than all the merchants of the kingdom together.”

In the same year 1449, or, according to some, in 1455, and to others even not till 1481, the cluster of nine islands, lying almost eight hundred miles directly west from Portugal, called the Azores, Terceiras, or Western Isles, was accidentally discovered by a Flemish trader, who, in his voyage to Lisbon, happened to be driven by a storm so far westward as those then uninhabited islands: on his arrival at Lisbon, he acquainted Prince Henry of this circumstance, who immediately went thither himself to take possession of them. Others say, that some Flemings also went thither, and settled on the isle of Fyal, where their posterity are said still to remain. So uncertain, however, are the accounts of this and some other discoveries in those times, that Thuanus ascribes the discovery of those isles to Monsieur Betancourt, who had discovered the Canary Isles so long before this time, which seems scarcely probable. They still remain subject to Portugal, and are deemed very healthy, having corn in some plenty, though their wine be deemed by most palates but indifferent: they have also a competent store of cattle, fruits, &c. yet they are frequently liable to storms and earthquakes. The Portuguese have fortified and garrisoned the town of Angra, the capital of the isle of Terceira, being the only good port of all those islands, where they can conveniently refresh their fleets from Brasil, &c. and have also magazines of naval stores for their ships of war. Here also the Eng-
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1449 lish, Dutch, and French usually have consuls. It is by some Portuguese authors said, that in one of those isles, on the top of a mountain, the first discoverers found the statue of a man on horseback, with his right hand pointing westward: this equestrian statue and its pedestal was all of one stone, and under it were certain unintelligible characters cut out in the rock.— Were this story well vouched, it would induce us to meditate on the far western voyages of the Carthaginian navigators, elsewhere remembered.

The Portuguese now discover so far south on the western coast of Africa as the Cape de Verde isles.

1450 In p. 294 of the eleventh volume of the *Fœdera*, we find a record, wherein the ancient treaties of peace and commerce are renewed between King Henry VI. of England and Christian I King of Denmark. It was therein stipulated, “That the English resorting to the “ports of Denmark, and the Danes to those of England, should pay only the ancient customs and duties, and that the merchants of England should enjoy all their ancient privileges in Denmark; also, that the English prisoners, taken for trading to Iceland, Halgelandt, “and Finmark, should be released: provided, that the English, during this truce,” being only for one year, and until a formal congress could be held, “do not sail nor trade to those “three prohibited places.” Notwithstanding all which, we find, in another record of this same year, p. 277, “That William Canning of Bristol, already mentioned, having represented “to King Henry VI. that although an act of Parliament, of the eighth year of his reign, “did prohibit English subjects from resorting to the before-named three countries belonging “to Denmark, or to any other part of the said King Christian’s three northern kingdoms, either on account of the fishing, or of any other commerce, excepting only to his staple of Bergen in Norway; nevertheless, the Danish King, in consideration of the great debts due by “his subjects of Iceland and Finmark to him the said William Canning, having licensed him, “for a certain term, to lade certain ships with English merchandize for those prohibited parts, “and there to lade fish or other merchandize in return: Wherefore, and also because Canning, during his mayoralty of Bristol,” says this record, “had done good service to the “King, he allows the same to be done for two years to come, on two ships, with any kind “of merchandize not of the staple of Calais; he paying the customary duties, any statute to “the contrary notwithstanding.” Thus, by dispensing with an express act of Parliament, and repeated proclamations, this King’s evil ministers made him assume a dispensing power of enriching any particular merchant at the expence of all the rest, and often, most probably, to the general damage of the nation.

In this year the Scottish Parliament, in the fourteenth year of the reign of their King James II. and his eighth Parliament, thought it expedient to have new money struck, and “for divers causes, conform, even in weight, to the money of England, with the *whilk*, “(i. e. *which*) this realm has part of commoning,” that is, has communication. This was a new silver groat: but though they now made it of equal weight and fineness with the English groat, nevertheless it was to pass in tale for eightpence; “and so shall the English groat,” says that act, “pass in Scotland, and so in proportion for twopences and pence.”

Thus the Scottish coins, of the same denomination, and now again of the same fineness as those of England, are nominally enhanced to double the value of the English coins, and from this time forward grew daily worse in that respect, as will be seen hereafter.

“At the same time, a penny of gold,” (here the word *penny*, in the Scottish statute, as it likewise sometimes did in England, means nothing more than an integer) says that act,

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1450 “ shall be coined to be called a lyon, and to be equal in weight to the English half-noble, “ and shall pass for six shillings and eightpence, and the gold halfpenny for three shillings and “ fourpence.” Then follow directions at what rates the gold coins of France and Flanders, “ should pass in Scotland.” Thus the gold coins of Scotland were, in like manner, in nominal value, raised to double the English gold coins.

1451 In this same fourteenth Parliament of King James II. of Scotland, we find, “ the sheriffs “ are directed to hunt and slay the wolfe and her quhelses” (*i. e.* whelps) “ three times in “ the year; and all in-dwellers of the shire shall rise with them, under pain of one wedder.” Which shews that they had not yet got rid of that ravenous beast.

We have, this same year, King Henry the Sixth's licence to four hundred and seventy-four persons to go in pilgrimage to Compostella in Spain, with the usual money restrictions.—Vol. xi. p. 280, of the *Fœdera*.

1452 In the year 1452, and the thirty-first year of King Henry VI. cap. 8. but never printed in the statute book, a subsidy was granted by Parliament to that King on wool, wool-fels, and cloth exported. This is the first mention we can recollect of any subsidy that was ever laid on our own woollen cloth exported; the exportation of which manufacture was now probably very considerable, before the Parliament thought it worth their while to lay a subsidy on it; which subsidy, however, has always been so very small, as not to discourage or damp a manufacture which has so long been the glory and principal cause of enriching England.

We have a third instance of the humour of this age in the romantic expectations of the philosopher's stone. It is in the eleventh volume, p. 309, of the *Fœdera*, “ wherein King “ Henry VI. grants a protection, during life to John Miffleden, and his three servants, to “ work in the philosophical art of transubstantiating imperfect metals into pure gold and silver, as they are found in the mines.” This word *transubstantiating*, seems used a second time on this subject, in complaisance to the same phrase used by the Romish church in the eucharist, and with equal reason and propriety.

And in p. 317 of the same volume, King Henry VI. is seen, in this year, to grant a licence and protection to three persons therein named, with thirty other persons coming with them from Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, and Mysia, to work in the King's mines. The mines in Hungary are of great antiquity; and, without doubt, their miners were better skilled than ours in such matters.

In this year also, King Henry VI. granted a charter to the burgessees of Southampton and their successors, “ That their town should be a perpetual corporate community; we having “ regard to the great charges which the inhabitants of our said town of Southampton have “ been at in defending the sea-coasts.”—Madox's *Firma Burgi*, chap. i. sect. 11. We have before seen, that so early as the year 1090, the town and port of Southampton had a confirmation of their guild, liberties, and customs, by King Henry II.

1453 The taking of Bourdeaux, by King Charles VII. of France, in this year 1453, from England, after she had been in possession of it for about three hundred years, was a great blow to her maritime traffic; as her people had very much intermarried with the Gascons, and had very considerable commercial dealings with them, more especially for their excellent wines, which, in those times, were probably almost the only wines used in England. Bourdeaux, indeed, soon after revolted again to England, for whose people that city had a great inclination, as it had always been kindly treated by our nation, but was soon regained by France, which was, at length, the case with the town of Bayonne: so that, after all the immense ex-

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1453 pence of blood and treasure for about one hundred years, there was now nothing left to England on the continent but the town of Calais, and the adjacent town and county of Guines; the French having, in three months time, conquered all the noble duchy of Normandy, and in the following year, the entire duchy of Aquitaine or Gascony.

The loss of the English dominions in France, and the bad measures of the Queen and ministers, making the people very uneasy, this gave an opportunity to the Duke of York to acquire popularity, in order to make his claim to the crown whenever a fair occasion should offer; so that all the remainder of King Henry the Sixth's unfortunate reign was, in a manner, wholly taken up with the bloody disputes between the two houses of Lancaster and York.

The Turkish conquests of the miserable remains of the Greek empire were so rapid, that its last Emperor, Constantine Palcologus, had now nothing remaining but the city of Constantinople, which in this year 1453, was besieged by the Turkish Sultan Mohammed II. with an army of three hundred thousand men, and after a most bloody resistance, it was taken by a general storm, wherein the Greek Emperor was trampled to death in one of the gates by the multitude, according to some historians; though others give him the honour of a more noble exit, and relate, that having put off his royal upper-garment, he declared he would not survive his empire: he therefore put himself at the head of those of his garrison who were determined to encounter the grand attack then begun by the Turks, in which manly effort he died an honourable death. It seems the Genoese, who were ever zealous friends of the Greek empire, had, on the first news of that siege, sent thither a good supply of troops and shipping, well knowing that Pera, still in their hands, which is but a suburb of Constantinople, must share the fate of that city if it should be lost to the Turks. The Venetian senate also sent the Greek Emperor ten galleys, and ordered two great argosies, of two thousand tons each, to be fitted out. (This name comes from the city of Ragusa, where the largest ships were in those days built.) The Pope and the King of Naples sent him each ten galleys; all which auxiliaries proved superior to the Turkish fleet, though three hundred and seventy-five vessels in number, so that the city was left open to the sea; yet the walls were so furiously battered, that the breach was made wide enough to be stormed. Mohammed's good fortune prevailed; Pera also was obliged to open its gates to him; and as the Genoese had drawn thither all the trade of the Levant, the loss of it was infinitely prejudicial to the commerce of that republic.—“These misfortunes,” says De Mailly, “joined to their perpetual divisions, obliged the senate of Genoa to give up to the bank of St. George, the port of Caffa, in Crimea, and “and other cities in those parts, in the same manner, and for the same reasons, as they had “before yielded Corsica to it, viz. that it might be the better defended against the piracies of “the Catalans and Arragoneses.” Yet they held Caffa only till 1474.

“Thus ended the Greek or Constantinopolitan Christian empire, after it had existed one thousand one hundred and twenty-three years, reckoning from the dedication of Constantinople, in the year of our Lord 330.

This great conquest by the Turks, was soon after followed by their taking from Venice most of the isles in the Levant and Archipelago, which that republic had formerly either taken from the Greek Emperors in their distress, or had obtained of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, for their assistance against the Greek Princes, as we have shewn in its proper place. The Venetians were also soon dispossessed of the country and port towns of the Morea, anciently named Peloponnesus, and they were even forced to pay the Turks an annual tribute for leave to trade to the Black Sea. Yet, so lately as the year 1687, they again repossessed the

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1453 Morca, which was confirmed to them by the peace of Carlowitz, in the year 1699: but the Turks again possessed themselves of all the Morca in one campaign, in 1715. The Genoese also were soon dispossessed of what had been bestowed on them by the Greek Emperors.

Mr. Professor Ockley, in the preface to his first volume of the History of the Saracens, as well as other authors, observes, that the Greek language was not understood, in the west of Europe, till this sad revolution; when several learned Greeks escaping from Constantinople with their libraries into Italy, and other parts, caused that language to be known in the west, and with it they also introduced several branches of polite knowledge, with many improvements in science, which were chiefly encouraged at Florence by the Medici family; and with the books and manuscripts brought by these learned men, the lately-erected Vatican library was greatly enriched: our former philosophers contenting themselves till this period with Latin translations, not only of the Mahometan authors, but also of Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers, &c. which translations of those ancient Greek authors were not made directly out of the original Greek, but out of Arabic versions, which had been translated from the Greek, as has been already related, under the ninth century.

This year Mohammed besieged and took the city and the whole Greek empire of Trebisonde, situated on the south-side of the Black Sea, and barbarously butchered all the royal family of the Comneni; so that a period was put to that Christian empire, after it had stood two hundred and thirty-eight years.

The cities of Ghent and Bruges, says Mezerai, had wars with their Earl Philip, Duke of Burgundy, between the years 1452 and 1457, the tax on salt being one of their principal grievances; both which cities were, in the end, vanquished by him and his son Charles.—They were, therefore, obliged to pay great fines to the Duke, beside the loss they sustained of many thousand citizens. The people of Ghent alone lost twenty thousand men at the battle of Gavre; and were, on that account, brought so low, that two thousand of the inhabitants, bare-headed and bare-footed, with all their counsellors, sheriffs, and other officers, only in their shirts, went out a league to meet the Duke and his son, to implore his mercy. Their fine was four hundred thousand riders of gold, beside the loss of various privileges.

1454 The Great-Master and German or Teutonic Knights of Livonia and Prussia, having, according to Werdenhagen, gradually imposed such heavy taxes and burdens on the new cities which their progenitors had built, that the inhabitants joined with the nobility in a league of self-defence; but the Grand-Master and Knights found means to obtain a severe sentence to be pronounced against them by the Emperor Frederick III. in 1453. This circumstance obliged the cities and nobles to put themselves under the protection of Casimir, King of Poland, in the following year 1454; whereupon a twelve years war ensued, the issue whereof was, that in 1466, Poland obtained that part of the country to be yielded to it, which is still called Polish or Royal Prussia, with the city of Culm. But the other part still remained to the Teutonic Order till the year 1525, as will be seen in its proper place: yet they were obliged to hold even that other part as a fief of the crown of Poland.—See a confirmation of the substance of this account under the year 1471.

It appears, that even so late as about this time, the general use of writing was by no means so universal in France and elsewhere as at present. The French word *taille*, signifying a tax, says Voltaire, is derived from the custom which the collectors had in France, of marking on a tally what the persons liable to contribution had given; and our Anglo-Norman Kings brought over the like custom into their English Exchequer, of which the wooden tallies still

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1454 in use are a proof. Even the custom or usages of cities in France, according to the same author, were not reduced into writing till ordered by King Charles VI. in the year 1454.

A remarkable and wholesome law was now made in the twenty-third of King Henry VI. cap. vii. for reducing the number of attornies-at-law in the two manufacturing counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. It takes notice, "That not long past there were not more than six or eight attornies in both those counties and the city of Norwich together, in which times great tranquillity reigned there; whereas now there be more than fourscore attornies, most part of whom, not being of sufficient knowledge, come to fairs, markets, and other public places, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to suits for small trespasses, &c. Wherefore there shall be hereafter but six attornies for the county of Suffolk, six for Norfolk, and two for the city of Norwich."

The Great Master and Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem being in much danger of losing their isle of Rhodes to the Turks, who at this time sorely distressed them, they sent one of their knights to solicit aid at all the Christian Courts of Europe, where they generally obtained a jubilee for that purpose. King Henry VI of England wrote also in their behalf to the republic of Venice, though then at variance with that order; he also wrote to the Emperor Frederic III. lamenting the rapid conquests of the Turks, and the loss of Constantinople, whereby all Christendom was greatly alarmed. *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 352, &c.

1455 From the year 1440 to the year 1460, says Bishop Fleetwood in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, "wheat was never above eight shillings per quarter; and, in the year 1455, it was so very cheap as one shilling per quarter," Stowe says fourteenpence per quarter, and malt at seven-teenpence, "notwithstanding the sword was drawn betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster, which usually cuts down corn as well as men; and ale was per gallon one penny to one penny halfpenny." But from these surprizingly cheap prices no certain rule can be determined concerning the rate of living.

In this same year 1455, "King Henry VI. at the request of Charles King of Sweden, grants "a licence for a Swedish ship, of the burden of one thousand tons or under, *mille dollorum vel infra*, laden with merchandize, and having one hundred and twenty persons on board, to come to the ports of England, there to dispose of her lading, and to relade back with English merchandize, paying the usual customs." *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 364. Thus we see those northern people had got early into ships of very great burden, from the example of the Hanseatic ports of Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, &c. in their neighbourhood, even long before either we or the French had any vessels of such large dimensions.

By an Act of Parliament of the same thirty-third year of Henry VI. cap. v. it was directed, "That no wrought silk, belonging to the mystery of silk women, should be brought into England by way of merchandize during five years to come." Which prohibition proceeded from England being at that time overstocked with that commodity by foreigners, as appears by the following original statute, though not in the printed Acts of Parliament: "*per gravem querimoniam sericatricum et filatricum mysteriæ et occupationis operis serici infra civitatem Londoniæ, ostensum fuerit qualiter diversi Lombardi, et alii alienigenæ, dictam mysteriam et omnes hujusmodi virtuosas occupationes mulierum in regno predicto destruere, (et) seipsos ditare;*" i. e. "Upon the heavy complaint of the women of the mystery and trade of silk and thread workers in London, it appeared, or was shewn, that divers Lombards, and other foreigners, enriched themselves by ruining the said mystery, and all such kinds of industrious occupations of the women of our kingdom." *Madox's Firma Burgi*, chap. i. sect. x. p. 33.

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1455 These must have probably been only needle works of silk and thread, since only women are said to be concerned in them; for the broad silk manufacture did not commence in England till long after this time. The London traders accused the Venetians and other Italians, living in London, of growing rich by their parsimony, and that they imported and exported the merchandize which the English alone were accustomed to do; wherefore they rifled and robbed the houses of Venetians, Lucques, and Florentines without reason or measure.—Hall's Chronicle and Martin's History of England.

1456 After much wrangling between King Henry Sixth's Council and the Hans-towns, and more particularly with that of Lubeck, a truce was prolonged between them for eight years to come, for the mutual convenience of commerce on both sides. *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 374.

Ibid. p. 379, King Henry VI. grants a licence to three persons for making the Elixir Salutis, and for finding out the Philosophers Stone: and the same licence was granted, in the year 1460, to three other persons. Thus we see, that as the nation grew more populous and opulent, quackery and projects grew more frequent.

The same year 1456, according to Angelius à Werdenhagen, vol. ii. pars. vi. p. 10, Christian, King of Denmark, at a grand assembly of many princes and representatives of cities at Rostock, earnestly solicits the Hanseatic-confederacy to send their ambassadors to Charles Cnutefon, King of Sweden, for composing the differences between himself and that King. Such was the power and influence of that Confederacy at this time.

1457 In the fourteenth Parliament of King James II. of Scotland, in the year 1457, their lately coined groats, which, in 1450, they had raised to the nominal value of eightpence, were, in 1457, raised in denomination by law to twelpence. Thus the Scottish nation went by degrees still further from the value of English money, though they still retained the denomination of it.

In this year also, the same Scottish Parliament found it necessary to make a new sumptuary law, viz. "That no common tradesmen in towns, except they be magistrates, nor their wives should wear silk, nor costly scarlets in gowns, nor furred garments; and their wives shall wear on their heads short curches, with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries. Labourers and their wives, on work days, shall wear only grey or white; and on holidays, but light blue; and their wives curches of their own making, not exceeding forty pence the elne." They also made good regulations for the assaying and marking the fineness of plate of gold and silver made by goldsmiths. It was likewise enacted, "That none other hedges should be made in Scotland but quickset hedges," though very little has since been done therein till of late years, and chiefly since the commencement of the eighteenth century. Another law of the same reign was, "for the encouraging the planting of timber, and the sowing of broom."

In the eleventh volume, p. 387, of the *Fœdera*, we find a licence from King Henry VI. at the King of Portugal's request, for him to export from England three thousand pounds weight of tin, and two thousand pounds weight of lead, any statute or law to the contrary notwithstanding.

The French, not content with having driven the English out of the whole continent of France, excepting the town of Calais, and the inconsiderable town and county of Guines in that neighbourhood, landed in this year at Sandwich in Kent, and burned that then important town; they also burned the town of Fowey in Cornwall.

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1457 The Turkish Sultan, Mohammed II. having been, in the year 1456, forced to raise the siege of Belgrade by the gallant Hunniades, with the loss of forty thousand Turks, he this year also makes a vain attempt upon Rhodes, which was still possessed by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The assistance of the Genoese and the Pope were chiefly instrumental in raising that siege.

1458 The company of the merchants of the staple of England must have still made a considerable figure in commerce, even so late as this time, although so powerfully rivalled by what was still called the commercial society of merchants of St. Thomas Becket, afterwards the company of merchant adventurers of England, who had by this time engrossed the exportation of English cloth almost entirely to themselves.

Gierard Malynes, in his *Center of the Circle of Commerce*, printed in 1623, p. 87, quotes a record in the Exchequer, in the thirty-sixth year of King Henry VI. 1458, shewing, that this company of staplers paid to the crown, for the custom of the staple wares of England in the said year, sixty-eight thousand pounds. It was then in use, for the crown to intrust that company with collecting the customs from their several members, who therefore paid the whole collection in one entire sum into the Exchequer. And a very considerable sum it was in those times, for the custom of wool, woollens, tin, lead, leather, and perhaps some woollen cloth; for the staplers had also a right to export our woollen, &c. manufactures equally with the merchant adventurers company. Now, the ounce of silver being then only thirty of their pence, that sum was equal to one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds of our money. If this account be compared with the whole amount of King Edward Third's customs, in the year 1354, and when the customs paid by the rival company of St. Thomas Becket at this time, by the Steelyard merchants, and by those of the Italian free cities, &c. as well as by those of our own merchants trading to France, Spain, and Portugal, are all considered jointly, it is highly probable, that in the space of one hundred and four years, that is since 1354, the commerce of England was very considerably increased.

Mutual complaints of outrages between England and the Netherlands were very common in this and the preceding century; such as murders, captures, imprisonments, robbery of ships, goods, &c. In the eleventh volume, p. 410 of the *Fœdera*, we find that King Henry VI. in this year 1458, appointed twenty-one persons of quality and eminence to treat at Calais with the ambassadors of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and of his son Charles, Earl of Charolois, for the redress of all those grievances, and the renewal of the intercourse of commerce; although this treaty gave great offence to the French King, Charles VII.

Ibid. p. 413, the same year, King Henry grants a licence to a merchant of Cracow in Poland, to bring into England a ruby, weighing two hundred and fourteen carats, for sale, provided the King and Queen shall have the first offer of it.

The city of Hamburgh was this year again compelled to submit to the subjection of Denmark; yet, three years after, it recovers its former privileges.

The town and port of Dundee, on the east coast of Scotland, was, without doubt, a place of commerce long before this time. Under the word *fiorella*, in Skeene's *Regiam Majestatem*, which that learned antiquary explains to be an Italian word, signifying a vessel smaller than what may properly be termed a ship; he observes, that in a royal privilege granted to that port town in the year 1458, towards the repairing of their harbour, the following tolls were laid on vessels arriving there, viz. "on every ship ten shillings; on every crayer, barge, " barge,

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1458 " barge, or ballinger five shillings; on every fercost twelvecence, and on every great boat " sixpence."

The town of Perth, situated further up the river Tay, near the mouth of which Dundee is commodiously situated, having been the ancient metropolis of Scotland, was likewise anciently, as well as at present, a port of commerce, as old records testify, although ships of great burden cannot get up to the town.

According to Fabian's Chronicle, p. 7, we find an English merchant ship so far from home as the Levant Sea, in this year 1458; which ship having been captured as a prize by a ship of war of Genoa, it occasioned all the Genoese merchants in London to be committed to the Fleet prison, who, to make good the damage arising from the capture, were amerced in the sum of six thousand marks. The Genoese and other Italians, at a very early period, distinguished the seas east of Italy by the general appellation of the Levant, and those west from Genoa by that of the Ponent; but that ship possibly might not be so far eastward as what we now strictly name the Levant Seas.

In this same year, Alphonsus, King of Portugal, made himself master of the city and port of Alcazar in Barbary, which that nation has held ever since. So small a country as Portugal, and not extremely populous, seems already to grasp at more foreign acquisitions than good policy directed; more especially as the ports which that kingdom acquired on the coasts of the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, have been found very expensive and difficult to be held.

1460 King Henry VI. now grants a licence to the Duke of Burgundy's Netherland subjects, to fish on the English coasts, as we have seen his grandfather, King Henry IV. did to those of France, Bretagne, and Flanders, under the year 1406. But although such licences were, in those times, frequently demanded, the world has now got into another and more generous way of thinking, leaving every nation at equal liberty to make the most of what they get out of the sea every where, unless where nations are at war with each other.

About this time, as near as may be guessed from the Historia Florentina of Johannes Michael Brutus, printed at Lyons, in the year 1562, p. 255-6, (though he is an author who is not remarkable for a strict regard to the precise dates of occurrences) and in the pontificate of Pius II. who died in 1464, and came to the popedom in 1458, were first discovered the alum mines of Tuscany, which that author conjectures to have been the first found in Italy, at least since the fall of the western empire. He even asserts, that ancient authors of great reputation and learning say, that there never were any mines of alum before found in Italy. This mineral is of great use in dying, medicine, &c. and is therefore no contemptible article in commerce. The ancient Romans had it probably from the east; for that it was known to both Greeks and Romans, more especially for its necessary uses in the dying of colours, seems quite certain. The author above-quoted remarks, that the city of Volaterra made great profit of those alum mines, as they were so near to several manufacturing cities of Italy, and particularly to Florence, a city very famous of old for its great skill in dying and dressing of woollen cloth, silk, &c.

The unfortunate King Henry VI. in this year, which may be deemed the last year of his reign, though not of his unhappy life, concluded a four years truce or treaty of peace and commerce with the city and community of Genoa; " whereby ancient friendship and commerce were renewed, by freely permitting the ships of both nations to resort to each other's country, provided that neither side shall aid the other's enemies, nor carry their goods and merchandize in their ships." *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 441.

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1460 Engraving on wood and metal was now first invented, or rather re-invented, by one Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, and was soon after improved by Martin of Antwerp, and by Albert Durer and Lucas. Etching was also discovered very near as early; being effected by strokes or lines made by aqua fortis on copper, which is thereby eaten or cut out, instead of engraving them with a tool or instrument. We need not add, that both these arts necessarily produced rolling-press printing.

The Portuguese further discover the coast of Sierra Leona on the west coast of Africa, and also the Cape Verd Isles, lying about one hundred leagues west of that famous cape or promontory, which had been discovered some time before, and also a sight of those islands in the year 1449.

1461 In this first year of King Edward IV. the city of Bristol was become so considerable as to obtain a charter from him, exempting that city and its district from the jurisdiction of the King's Admiral both by land and water.

1462 It seems probable enough, that the republic of Venice, after becoming such near neighbours to the Turks, by being in possession of all that the Christian Emperors of Constantinople had held on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, was the first state in Christendom which kept up a constant or standing military force in time of peace. And France, soon after, seems to have been the first of any of the European monarchies which adopted that practice; though many are of opinion, that their King, Louis XI. was the first, who, for very bad ends, followed the example of the Venetians in that particular: yet Mr. Voltaire, in the conclusion of his General History of Europe, thinks that it is somewhat older, and that Louis's father, King Charles VII. who died in the year 1462, kept up, in time of peace, one thousand five hundred Gens d'Armes, with each six horses, and also four thousand five hundred archers. Louis XI. first raised one hundred Frenchmen for his life guard, there having been no other guards before but Scotchmen, who were ever esteemed the first guard of the French Kings bodies, and its captain had always the title of the first captain of the guards, according to Mathieu's history of Louis XI. This practice gradually brought on the like in other countries; so that all Europe, at length, appears in a perpetual military posture.

The same year King Louis XI. purchased, or else lent money by way of pledge on, the county of Roussillon, belonging to the King of Navarre; the possession of which, in after-times, occasioned much contention between France and Spain, though in the end it was confirmed in the possession of France.

The same King of France, having observed that the mercantile fairs at Geneva drew a great deal of money out of his kingdom, thought proper, in the first year of his reign, 1462, to establish the fairs at the city of Lyons, which afterwards became so famous for their commercial benefits, and particularly for the adjusting of bills of exchange from most parts of Europe. He also is said to have first established regular couriers or posts in France, in order that he might be more expeditiously and certainly acquainted with all that occurred either in his own or in foreign nations; and Philip de Comines thinks, that this was the first time of there being any regular posts. Though some contend that they were in use in the reign of Charlemagne, but afterwards discontinued. These posts, however, were only for the particular use of the court; for the author of the life of the Duke D'Essex says, that the packet, or letter office was not set up in France in the year 1619. Posts had, in very ancient times, been in use, though afterwards dropped. Herodotus ascribes their origin either to Cyrus or to Xerxes: there is also mention of post horses in the code of Theodosius, though probably different from

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1462 the modern method, being only public horse posts appointed by the Emperors for messages. The Emperor Mathias established posts in Germany in the year 1616. There had been posts in England from King Charles First's time, and perhaps somewhat earlier, though not by act of Parliament till the twelfth of King Charles II.

After the Turks had got possession of the entire Constantinopolitan empire, the Venetians found their condition sadly reversed; on account, however, of their commerce to the east, and also of their vicinity, they were the first Christian state of Europe that were under the necessity of making peace or forming an alliance with the Turks; in consequence of which, they imprudently neglected to take care of the delicious country of the Morea, the renowned Peloponnesus of the Ancients. The Turks, therefore, taking advantage of their negligence, in the year 1462 attacked and demolished the Venetian wall on the Isthmus of Corinth, reaching six miles from sea to sea, and then over-ran and conquered all the Morea: the Venetians being entirely overcome at Paraffo, they lost the city and whole island of Negropont to the Turks, after a terrible slaughter of the Christians.

We find in the eleventh volume, p. 497, of the *Fœdera*, a prolongation of the truce of commerce between King Edward IV. and the Netherlands, dated the eighteenth of December, 1462, unto the first of October, 1463, upon which Mr. Rapin makes the following judicious remark, viz. "It must be observed, that England and the Netherlands having so great a trade with each other, that they could not well discontinue the same without remarkable prejudice to the subjects of both nations, the affairs relating to commerce were therefore always treated of apart, whatever might be the differences between the two countries in other respects: inasmuch, that even truces for traffic, and treaties of commerce were often made in times of the hottest war. This maxim," continues Rapin, "was infinitely better than what has been followed since, of making a prey of the merchants to their ruin." This useful remark very sensibly accounts for the many short renewals of commercial truces, which took place, from time to time, even when the sovereigns were at variance, and when England was obliged to join with France against England.

1463 In the year 1463, the castle and port of Gibraltar was again taken by the Castilians from the Moors.

In the same year, it was enacted by the Parliament of England, cap. ii. of the third of King Edward IV. (though this act is not now printed in the statute book,) "That no corn should be imported, if wheat was not above six shillings and eightpence, rye four shillings, nor barley three shillings per quarter," which, says the *Chronicon Preciosum*, signifies those prices not to be high. And this same year, at London, according to that author, wheat was but two shillings, barley one shilling, oats one shilling, and pease three shillings and fourpence per quarter.

The same year died the famous Prince Henry of Portugal, who for about fifty years together had prosecuted his truly noble purpose of discoveries of the western coasts of Africa, which were unknown till this time, and in which he spent much treasure; though but about one thousand one hundred miles were discovered in all that time southward, or between Cape Bajador and Sierra Leona. After the death of that Prince, King Alphonso V. granted or turned out all future discoveries to Ferdinando Gomez, a citizen of Lisbon, for five years to come, on condition of his discovering three hundred miles every year, beginning from Sierra Leona southward. Gomez discovered St. George del Mina, and down to St. Catherine, south of the Equator; and also the isles of St. Thome, Fernando-Po, St. Matheo, Delpríncipe, and Annobon.

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1463

The manufacturers and tradesmen of London, and other parts of England, having made heavy complaints against the importation of foreign manufactured wares, which greatly obstructed their own employment; an Act of Parliament passed, in 1463, being the third year of King Edward IV. cap. iv. "prohibiting the importation of woollen caps, woollen cloths, laces, corsets, ribbands, fringes of silk and of thread, laces of thread, silk tained, silk in anywise embroidered, laces of gold, and of silk and gold, saddles, stirrups, or any harness pertaining to saddles, spurs, bosses for bridles, andirons, gridirons, locks, hampiers, pinsons, fire tongs, dripping pans, dice, tennis balls, points, purses, globes, girdles, harness for girdles, of iron, latten, steel, tin, or of Alkeminé; any thing wrought of any tawed leather, any tawed furs, buscanes, shoes, galoches, or cokes, knives, daggers, wood knives, bodkins, shears for taylors, scissors, razors, chessmen, playing cards, combs, pattins, pack needles, painted ware, forcers, caskets, rings of copper or of latten gilt, chaffindishes, hanging candlesticks, capping balls, sacring bells, rings for curtains, ladles, scummers, counterfeit basons, ewers, lats, brushers, wool cards, black iron thread, commonly called and named white wire; upon forfeiture of the same; moiety to the King, moiety to the informer. Irish manufactures are however excepted, and also such as should be taken at sea, or by wreck. Magistrates of cities and towns are hereby authorized to search for defective and unlawful wares, which shall be forfeited. Excepting, however, the liberty of the Dean of the free chapel of St. Martin's LeGrand in London, and its precinct." The above catalogue of merchandize may give an idea of the manufactures which were, at that time, brought to any perfection in England.

In vol. xi. p. 498, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward IV. made the following grant or charter to the German merchants of the Steelyard in London, viz.

"Calling to our remembrance the ancient alliance and friendship between the kingdoms, lands, and cities of Germany and England, which have been of late years, through various means, not a little impaired and violated; that peace and friendship may be renewed between both nations, we do hereby grant—to the merchants of the kingdom" (*regni*) "of Germany, who have an house in the city of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Germans, That, from Christmas last, they shall, for two years and an half, enjoy all and singular the privileges, liberties, and free customs which they enjoyed by charters from the Kings our predecessors; and all those, without any impediment from us, or our officers and ministers whatever. And they shall be absolutely free from all manner of subsidies granted, or to be granted, to us and our heirs, as well on account of their persons, as of their goods and merchandize to be brought into, or exported out of England by any of them during the said term. Saving," says the King, "to us and our heirs our ancient prizes," *antiquis nostris prœiis*, "rights and customs whatsoever."

We have an English record in the *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 504, which gives us the salary or wages of the following ambassadors from King Edward IV. going to St. Omers, for forty days, to treat with the Ministers of the Duke of Burgundy, viz.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the Bishop of Exeter, Lord Chancellor,	200	0	0
To the Earl of Essex,	133	6	8
To the Lord Wenlock,	80	0	0
To each of four Doctors of Law, therein named,	40	0	0
To Sir Walter Blount,	40	0	0

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1463 "To have of our yifte, (*i. e.* gift,) by way of reward for the cause aforesaid," as this record expresses it.

"At this congress, which probably ended within the said forty days, a continuation of the truce, as it was usually called, or an intercourse of commerce between England and the Netherlands, was concluded for one year longer, in general terms.

A similar truce, or abstinence of war, as it is therein termed, and free commerce, was the same year, 1463, concluded between England and France, for one year, *ibid.* p. 508.

The same year likewise, King Edward IV. confirmed the privileges of the Merchants-adventurers company trading to the Netherlands, though still retaining the old name of St. Thomas Becket.

The Easterling German merchants of the Steelyard in London, were at all times great importers of corn, as well as of cordage, linen cloth, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, masts, pipe staves, steel and iron, wax, wainscot, &c. but more especially of the first. And it having often happened that they imported great quantities of corn when that of England was at a low price, the farmers and landed interest suffered not a little from such a circumstance, and therefore made heavy complaints against it; which produced an Act of Parliament, cap. ii. in the third year of King Edward IV. 1463, "That when the quarter of wheat did not exceed the price of six shillings and eightpence, rye four shillings, and barley three shillings, no person should import any of the said three kinds of grain, upon forfeiture thereof." But the rates of corn becoming much higher in succeeding times, this act was repealed in the twenty-first of King James I.

1464 We find in the eleventh volume, p. 531, of the *Fœdera*, a truce concluded for one year between King Edward IV. of England, and Francis Duke of Bretagne. Most of those short truces are couched in such vague and general terms, as can give little or no insight into commercial history, either with the Netherlanders, the Hans-towns, Denmark, Scotland, France, Castile, or Portugal; because they refer or relate to some former treaty of peace and commerce, not always named, of which such truces were nothing more than the continuation.

There had been several good laws made in England since King Edward the Third's reign, for the advancement of the woollen manufacture, which was by this time brought to great perfection, as we have already observed; yet it now also began to be abused and corrupted by designing men. This therefore produced an act of Parliament of the fourth of King Edward IV. cap. i. setting forth, "That whereas the workmanship of cloths and other woollen goods was become to be of such fraud and deceit, as to be had in small reputation in other countries, to the great shame of this land; and that, by reason thereof, great quantities of foreign cloths are imported and sold here at high and excessive prices:—for remedy thereof, it was now enacted, that broad cloth, fully watered, should be twenty-four yards and one inch in length, and two yards, or at least, seven quarters in breadth, within the lists," and a proportionable regulation was made in half-cloths, kerseys, freats, &c.—"And that no cloth of any region but Wales and Ireland, shall be imported, excepting cloth taken at sea." Other regulations were also made by the same statute, with regard to wool, and to barding, spinning, weaving, shearing, fulling, burling, and dying; as also to the measuring and sealing of cloth by the aulneger.

By this act also we find, that the master clothiers had already got into the way of forcing the people they employed to take goods, as pins, girdles, and other unprofitable wares, (as this act expresses it) instead of money for their wages, at such rates as they pleased to impose

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1464 on them ; as in our days they have obliged them to take eatables in the same manner, which has been much complained of.—It was now therefore further enacted, “ That the clothiers “ shall pay ready money to their work people, and shall deliver wools at the due weight thereof, “ under forfeiture, &c.”

By another law in England in this same year, cap. v. “ The prohibition of all Netherland “ wares is further continued, until the Duke of Burgundy shall revoke a proclamation made “ by him for the banishment of English cloths out of his dominions.”

Thus temporary reasons of state frequently brought on such mutual prohibitions between those countries, but they were generally of a very short duration ; an open and uninterrupted commerce being both their interests, as we have already and frequently observed. Hall’s Chronicle remarks, “ That the English, by the way of Calais, having made inroads into the “ Duke of Burgundy’s adjacent provinces, the English merchandize in the Netherlands were “ thereupon attached ;—which sore grieved the merchants, and much hindered their voyages. “ Beside this, the merchants of the staple at Calais wrote to the King, and to the Earl of War- “ wick, that if their wools at Calais were not sold and uttered as was wont to be,”—the great- est part whereof was bought by the Duke of Burgundy’s subjects and vassals for ready money, —“ the soldiers of the garrison should lack their wages, the King should not be paid his cus- “ toms, and the merchants, in conclusion, should stand in adventure both of loss of stock “ and credit,” &c.

Under this same year 1464, there is an incident, mentioned by all our historians, which, in a commercial sense, may be termed a very remarkable one, viz. That in a league then entered into between King Edward IV. of England, and Henry IV. King of Castile and Leon, the former granted liberty to the Monarch of Spain to transport certain live sheep from the Cotswold Hills of Gloucestershire ; Trussell says, a score of ewes and five rams, which it seems so greatly increased in Spain, that from thence proceeded the fine Spanish wool, so necessary for the manufacture of our superfine English cloth. Nevertheless, the whole story is perhaps liable to some exception ; as if, for instance, there were no sheep in Spain which produced fine wool before those of Cotswold were sent thither. Yet we dare not positively reject what is so generally related by all our historians ; since possibly it might happen, that the feeding on the fine herbs of Spain’s warmer climate, and the sheep breathing a purer air, might produce such an alteration on their wool, provided the fact be certain as to the sending of such live sheep thither.

1465 We have a remarkable instance of the difference in the expence of living even so late as the year 1465, from that of our own times, in the eleventh volume, p. 450, of the *Fœdera*. “ King Edward IV. grants to the Lady Margaret his sister, (afterwards Duchess of Burgundy) “ an annual allowance of four hundred marks, for her cloaths and the other necessities of her “ body, suitable to the dignity of our kingdom, ourself, and her, and for wages and other “ expences of the servants attending her. Which annual allowance she shall enjoy, until we “ can provide for her properly by a suitable marriage.” It is true, that this sum was about, or very near double the value of our money, or eight hundred marks, and that living being then about two and one-half times as cheap as in our days, it was equal to two thousand marks in the present time ;—after all, it is a striking proof of the cheapness of living in those days compared to modern times.

Cosmo de Medicis, of Florence, who died this year 1465, had warehouses in many of the principal cities of the world, and met with such peculiar good fortune, (says Keysser, in his Travels,

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1465 Travels, in the year 1729) that in a course of fifty-four years, he met with no considerable losses from the failure of other merchants.

- In the same eleventh volume, p. 551 to 556, of the *Fœdera*, we have the conclusion of a new league of friendship and commerce between King Edward IV. of England, and Christiern, or as some write it, Christian, I. King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; which was to last during the joint lives of both Kings, and two years after the decease of either of them; and likewise until its revocation be expressly declared by one of the succeeding kings.

By this treaty it was stipulated, “That the ships and merchants of both contracting parties might freely resort and trade to each others ports, Iceland alone excepted; to which Island no Englishmen were to resort without a special licence from the King of Denmark, under forfeiture of life and goods. Neither should the English resort to Halgaland or Finmark, unless driven thither by storm; and even in such case they are not by any means to trade there. Lastly, the merchants of both contracting parties shall enjoy all their ancient rights, immunities, &c. in each respective country.”

This exclusion of the English from the coasts of Iceland and Finmark, to which they could only resort on account of the fishery (those inhospitable lands affording no other materials for commerce, excepting, perhaps, some brimstone from Iceland, if that commodity was so early known there) took place in order that Denmark should have the sole enjoyment of the fine cod fishing there, and the making and vending of stockfish, which so much abounded on those shores. And although the crown of Denmark had, indubitably, the same, or as good a right, to exclude other nations from fishing in those parts, as our Kings of England and Great Britain had to exclude foreign nations from fishing on the British shores; yet, in modern times, such exclusions have grown entirely into disuse, as being deemed odious and arbitrary, the sea being deemed a fluctuating element, and ought therefore to be free for all civilized nations, to navigate, and even to fish on the coasts of other nations with whom they are in amity, without obstruction.

In the year 1465, a pound of gold coined in the Tower of London, was to make twenty pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence; and the pound of silver, old sterling, was coined into, or made by tale, thirty-seven shillings and six pence. Yet so unstable were they, in those times, in money matters, that the very next year a pound of gold of the old standard, was to be coined into twenty-two pounds ten shillings by tale, although silver remained as above, at thirty-seven shillings and six pence per pound troy. And in the coinages of the eighth, eleventh, sixteenth, and twenty-second years of King Edward IV. both for gold and silver, the standard was the same. It was in this reign that the difference between the standard of English and Irish money first began. King Richard the Third's coinage, both of gold and silver, was exactly of the same value and denomination with that of the fifth year of King Edward IV. above specified.

1466 In the same eleventh volume, p. 466, of the *Fœdera*, we have the allowances to a judge of the King's Bench, named Thomas Littleton:

“In order” says King Edward IV. “for the said Judge's supporting himself decently, and for his bearing the expence of his office, one hundred and ten marks are granted him yearly, being

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“To

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		£.	s.	d.
	Brought forward	73	6	8
1466	“ To receive the fame of the Clerk of the Hanaper, or else of the Customers of the ports of London, Bristol, and Hull. And also for his gown,			
	“ lined with fur, annually at Christmas,	5	6	11½
	“ And for another robe and lining at Whitfuntide	3	6	6
	Total annual allowance,	82	0	1¼

And money being still about twice the quantity of ours, this allowance was one hundred and sixty-four pounds and two pence halfpenny of our modern coin. Now wheat, by Sir Robert Cotton's Records, under the year 1464, being at six shillings and eight pence the quarter, of eight bushels, and that price being then judged moderate, or a medium between the extremes of very cheap and very dear—was upwards of five times as cheap by the coins of those times, or two one-half times as cheap by our coins, as in our days, so that we may fairly presume that this Judge's salary and allowances, amounting to eighty-two pounds and one penny farthing, were then equal to about four hundred and ten pounds in our days; *i. e.* weight for weight of money or bullion, living was then between two and three times as cheap as in our days.

This record does not call this grant an additional one to any former established salary, yet, it is not improbable but it may have been so.

In Scotland, about this time, the people seem to have been very gay in their apparel (owing in all probability, to their being in so much intimacy and alliance with France) which occasioned several sumptuary laws for restraining such excesses; some of which have been already observed. By an act of the sixth Parliament of King James III. in the year 1466, “ The Sheriffs of Counties were directed to make enquiry concerning such as wore cloth of gold or silver, velvet, or silks, contrary to acts of Parliament.” Five years after, in 1471, it was enacted, “ That considering the poverty of the realm, and the great expence and cost made on the importation of silk into the realm, no man hereafter shall wear silk in doublet, gown, nor cloak, excepting Knights, Ministers, and Heralds, unless he spend an hundred pounds worth of land rent. Nor that their wives wear silk in linings, but only on the collars and sleeves.”

In the same year we find the following title of a Scottish act of Parliament, in the table of acts of King James III. not printed, *viz.* “ Licence to merchants to pass to Middleburg with their goods.” As the staple for all Scottish merchandize had been removed from Bruges to Veer, in the year 1444, such a licence for their trading to Middleburg was probably judged to be necessary at this time.

By the title of another Scottish law of this same year, not printed, *viz.* “ Of fishing and making of herring in the West Sea,” it is evident that the Scots were engaged in that fishery. But whether by the word, making, be meant red herrings, or only the usual gilling or pickling of herrings in general, we cannot readily determine.

Copper money was first directed to be coined in Scotland by law, *viz.* “ Four pieces to each penny, for the ease of the King's lieges, and for alms-deeds to be done to poor folks;” are the words of the ninth act of King James the Third's first Parliament. By the same law it was also enacted, that the new English groat of King Edward IV. which, in 1453, had been raised to eight pence, was now to pass in Scotland for ten pence. So that the proportion of English to Scotch money of the same denomination, was now as two and an half to one.

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1466 In King James the Third's second Parliament of the same year 1466, two ill-judged laws were made, viz. First, "That none should carry on traffic with merchandize out of the realm, but freemen of burghs, and their factors and servants." The other, "That no man of craft," (that is, of handicraft) "shall practise merchandize till he renounce his craft." The first of these two they probably might copy from England; but the latter favours more of France.

In p. 569, vol. xi. of the *Fœdera*, we meet, under the same year, with a treaty of alliance between King Edward IV. of England, and King Henry IV. of Castile or Spain; probably, more for securing the personal rights and safety of those Kings, (and particularly of King Edward against his rival King Henry VI. still alive) than for commercial interests, although, therein, the mutual freedom of commerce is stipulated in general terms.

This also seems, in some measure, to have been the principal aim of many of the treaties made with foreign states, during the fierce contention between the two houses of York and Lancaster.

We may here also remark, that the frequent truces renewed between England and the Duke of Burgundy as sovereign of the Netherlands, as also, in this and some former years, between England and Bretagne, were only the consequences of the general truces renewed from year to year between England and France.

King Edward IV. of England, calling in question the validity of the powers of the ancient charter of German merchants of the Steelyard in London, they made him a present of a large sum of money for the renewal of that charter. The King also renewed, at this time, the charter of the Society of English Merchants trading to the Netherlands, by the name they had long possessed, of the Society of St. Thomas Becket, though they were afterwards called the Merchant-Adventurers of England. Probably this Prince was in an unusual want of money at this time, and such renewals were thought necessary on those occasions.

In this year, (says Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic historian, vol. ii. part vi. p. 10) the Hans confederacy sustained a sharp war against the powerful Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg, whom the following year they obliged to conclude a peace on honourable conditions.

1467 The Netherland provinces, and more especially Flanders and Brabant, were at this time in their meridian glory, when in the year 1467, their Prince Philip, styled the Good, Duke of Burgundy, died, and was succeeded by his son Charles the Bold, who, in the same year, or the beginning of next, married Margaret sister to King Edward IV. of England. Sir William Temple observes, "That by the great extent of a populous country, and the mighty growth of trade in Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, both the said Dukes, father and son, found themselves a match for France, then much weakened, as well by the late wars of England, as by the factions of their princes." Charles the Bold added to the great dominions which his father left him, the dukedom of Gueldres and the county of Zutphen, which he purchased of Arnold d'Egmont in the year 1473. The Netherlands at this time prospered extremely in their vast manufactures of both linen and woollen. For although, by the increase of the English woollen manufacture, they had lost their former importation of cloth into England, yet they had extended it greatly into other parts of Europe, as they did also their linen manufacture. So that had it not been for the Duke Charles's rash wars with France and the Switzers, and the heavy taxes laid by him, for those ends, on the provinces, which taxes were increased by his successors, that country might long have remained the most opulent of any in Christendom.

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1467

By an English act of Parliament of this same year, cap. i. the worsted manufactures of Norwich and the county of Norfolk are further regulated; by directing and empowering their Wardens to see carefully to the making of good merchantable worsteds, with respect to their lengths, breadth, and substance, both in those places, and also in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. "Which worsted goods," says this act, "were formerly much esteemed and desired in parts beyond sea;" though of late, it appears that they were deceitfully made; and had thereby lost their ancient reputation.

Many other laws have been enacted in succeeding times for regulating the manufactures of Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn, and other parts of Norfolk, and also of Suffolk, &c. with respect to their worsteds, flamins, fustians, &c. the particularising of which would be tiresome to the generality of readers.

As the alliance between Scotland and France was very ancient, it occasioned also a regular commercial correspondence between those two nations in very remote times; of which we find, in their histories, many instances.

In the third Parliament of King James III. in the year 1467, it was enacted, "That it should be lawful for all Scottish merchants to navigate and trade to Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and other parts of France with their merchandize, as they anciently did."

In the same Parliament it was a matter of complaint, "That the nation received great prejudice by their monies having a lower course than that of other realms, and were therefore carried out of the nation. Wherefore they now enacted, how high, or at what rate, certain French, Flanders, and English gold coins should be current in Scotland. In particular, the old English groat was now to pass for sixteen pence, and the old Edward's groat for twelve pence, and the English penny for three pence,"—which was soon afterwards raised to four pence. These augmentations of the nominal value of coins, did, without doubt, occasion much confusion in commerce, as we may remember it to have been the case in France in the reign of Louis XIV. and during the minority of Louis XV.

Thus the Scots continued more and more to enhance or raise the nominal value of their own, and other nations coins, though they continued the same denominations of silver, pence, and groats which the coin of England had; although the latter bore at this time a quadruple proportion in value to those of Scotland.

The eleventh volume, p. 591, &c. of the *Fœdera*, acquaints us, that there was concluded, at Brussels, a new intercourse or treaty of friendship, commerce, and fishery, between King Edward IV. of England, and the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, in the name of her son Duke Charles the Bold, to continue for thirty years. The substance of the commercial part of it runs thus, viz.

I. "A free intercourse of ships and merchandize on both sides,"—excepting artillery, cannon, gunpowder, and other implements of war.

II. "In case of a dearth of provisions, either of the contracting parties may prohibit their exportation."

III. All the fishers, as well of England, Ireland, and Calais, on one side, as of Brabant, Flanders, and other countries of the Duke of Burgundy, on the other side, may freely fish on the seas without obstruction on either side; and without needing or requiring any licence, leave, or safe conduct: and if they shall happen by storm, or other necessity, to be driven into the ports of the other party, they shall be civilly and kindly entertained, they paying the customary tolls and duties."

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IV. Neither

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1467 IV. Neither shall any enemy in the ports of either contracting party, be suffered to hurt or
 “ to do any mischief to the merchants, mariners, pilgrims, &c. of the other party.”

V. “ Nor shall pirates nor any other enemies be permitted to sell the merchandize they
 “ take at sea from either of the contracting parties, in the ports of the other party.”

VI. “ The merchants, mariners, &c. of neither party shall bring in or colour” (the colouring the goods of others, is, in our law books and acts of Parliament, always to be understood to mean their being imported and entered as if they were their own) “ the goods of an
 “ enemy of the party into whose ports such goods or merchandize may be attempted to be
 “ brought.”

VII. “ Ships laden with merchandize of either party, wrecked on the coasts of the
 “ other party, if there remain alive therein either man, woman, or child, dog, cat, or cock, the
 “ goods therein shall be secured for the benefit of the owners, reasonable salvage being allowed.”

In all probability the English woollen manufacture had long before this time spread into Devonshire, although we do not meet with any act of Parliament expressly mentioning it there till this year; when by an act of the seventh of King Edward IV. cap. ii. the hundreds of Liffon, Tavistock, and Rowburgh in that county, represent “ That they have, from time
 “ immemorial, constantly mixed flocks with their wool in the making of cloth; and that
 “ without this indulgence they must be undone, because their wool is so gross and stubborn,
 “ that cloth cannot be made thereof without mixing it with flocks; wherefore they of the said
 “ three hundreds are permitted so to do, notwithstanding an act of the fourth year of this
 “ King, prohibiting such practice.”

In this same year, to prevent a bad practice, which was at that time, as it appears, in pretty general use, an act of Parliament expressly prohibits the exportation of woollen yarn from England to foreign parts; as also of woollen cloth, before it be fulled and compleatly wrought in England.

1468 So immense was the commerce of the famous city of Bruges in Flanders at this time, according to the anonymous author of the *Annales Flandriae*, that in the year 1468, there were seen by many persons no fewer than one hundred and fifty merchant ships arriving, altogether or at once, at the port of Sluys, which was then the haven of Bruges.

The public is obliged to Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, for many excellent materials for the History of England in particular, as well as for Commercial History, in matters and at times wherein not only our other historians, but also our printed statute books are silent.

In that Abridgment. p. 615, he acquaints us, “ That in the eighth year of King Edward
 “ IV. the House of Commons, out of the grants of the said year to the King, allotted twelve
 “ thousand pounds to be deducted thereof to the relief of the most poor towns.” We wish, however, that our great Antiquary had, or could have, given us a more circumstantial account of this matter; such as, to what towns that relief was bestowed, and for what particular decay of trade, &c. since that bounty is not to be found in the statute book.

In this year, a marriage was concluded between King James III. of Scotland, and Margaret, daughter of Christiern, or Christian I. King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; “ whereby,” according to Dr. Wallace's Account of the Isles of Orkney, printed in the year 1700, “ King Christiern agreed, that the isles of Orkney and Shetland should remain in the
 “ possession of King James and his successors, Kings of Scotland, as that Princess's dowry,
 “ until either King Christiern or his successors should pay to King James or his successors,”

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1468 “ fifty thousand florins of the Rhine. In the year following, King Christiern being informed of his daughter’s being delivered of a prince at Edinburgh,” (who was afterwards King James IV.) “ for joy thereof, he renounced for ever to the crown of Scotland, all right or claim to the said isles.” Dr. Wallace adds, “ That Kirkwall, the capital town of the Orkneys, which had been erected into a royal burgh in the time of the Norwegians, was, in the year 1486, confirmed by charter in its ancient privileges, with additions.” We have seen elsewhere, that even so far back as the ninth century, Scotland got possession of those isles, which were again given up to Norway in the year 1099: that they were restored to Scotland in 1263, and have ever since remained in the possession of that crown. The learned Scottish Antiquary, Skene, has, under the year 1093, given a somewhat different account of the pretensions to, and possession of those isles, which had occasioned much and long contention between those two monarchies. So that although Scotland had so long possessed them, yet as the Danish crown kept up its old pretensions to them, it was well worth the dowry above-mentioned, for the crown of Scotland to have the formal renunciation of them for ever made by King Christiern. This was an happy transaction for Great Britain, as several authors acquaint us, that, before that times, the Danes and Norwegians refused to permit either English, Scots, or Irish, to fish on the coasts of those isles, without an annual permission from, and yearly tribute paid, to the Norwegians, and that for this end, they were obliged to repair annually to Bergen in Norway. The Kings of Norway were also anciently possessed of the western isles opposite the great Atlantic ocean, and of those also opposite to Ireland; but those had been long before regained by Scotland: so that there are few or no vestiges of the Norwegian language to be found in them: but they generally or mostly speak the Irish tongue. Whereas, in some of the Orkney isles, their language seems to this day, to be partly Norse, that is, Norwegian, and partly English. The reason for the difference of language in these two clusters of isles, seems to be, that the Hebrides, *Abudæ*, or western isles, from the Mull of Cantire to the isles of Lewis and Sky inclusive, were subdued by the Scots in the early times when the Irish language was more prevalent in Scotland than it has since been, and before the Anglo-Saxons had brought the Saxon or English tongue into Scotland; and that those isles, upon the expulsion of the Norwegians, were peopled from the west and north-west Highlands of the main land of Scotland, where the Irish tongue is still predominant: whereas, the northern isles of Shetland and Orkney, like their neighbours of the Fero isles, might not only very probably have been originally peopled from Norway, but also remained so long in subjection to the Norwegians or Danes, that their original language, the Norse tongue, was directly succeeded by the English tongue, without any mixture of Irish, as far as we can discover.

In the preceding century, under the year 1365, we have, from Dr. Brady’s Treatise of Burghs, instanced the poor condition of the towns of Lancaster at that time. From the same useful Antiquary, we have very near a parallel instance from two counties, near neighbours to our present great metropolis, viz. *Essex* and *Hertfordshire*; for both which now very populous shires, there was but one sheriff in this same year 1468; who, in making his return for the election of representatives to serve in Parliament for the county of Hertford, says, (*et in prædicto comitatu Hertford, &c.*) “ And in the aforesaid county of Hertford there is not any city nor any burgh, from whence any citizens or burghesses may be chosen.—Nor is there any city, nor more burghs in the said county of *Essex*, from whence any citizens or more burghesses may be chosen but those for Colchester and Maldon.” It appears, therefore, that no one town in Hertfordshire, and but those two in *Essex*, could support the expence of sending

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1468 representatives, nor were any such fit to be sent who lived in their burghs. For, in those days, all the King's demesne burghs in each county,—*i. e.* such as paid a fee-farm rent to the crown, and were able to pay the daily wages of representatives—were summoned to send members to Parliament.

Dr. Brady, who seems to have carefully perused and understood the old English writs and charters, has clearly made it appear, that, down to this time, there was no particular precept directed to the Sheriff for him to order this or that particular burgh to elect, or to omit the election, of representatives to Parliament, that being, in those days, left entirely to his discretion: for although before this time there were statutes in general enjoining all cities and burghs, as well as counties, of the King's demesne, *i. e.* free burghs, to send up representatives to Parliament, yet the clause in the writs was always general, *viz.* *De quolibet civitate duos cives, et de quolibet burgo duos burgenſes: i. e.* “Two citizens for every city, and two burgesſes for every burgh.” Yet it was left to the Sheriff's judgment to summon such only as could afford it, and to omit such as were poor and mean; and that, when in his return, he usually said, “*Non ſunt aliqui, vel plures civitates, vel burgi, &c.*” that is, “There are none, or no other cities or burghs in my county, &c.” the meaning always was, none able to send representatives. For in the charters of ancient burghs, there is no clause obliging them to send representatives to Parliament. Lastly, Dr. Brady observes, “That the burghs, during the time of all the kings reigns, from Henry III. to Edward IV. that is, for the space of two hundred and fifty years, never complained of the Sheriffs for not returning them burghs, or for not sending precepts to them, or taking away their birthrights; nor did they clamour against hard usage or injustice. Neither did the King, Lords, nor Commons in Parliament, ever blame, complain of, or question the Sheriffs for sending or not sending precepts to this or that burgh, or to all or any of them, and making returns accordingly. Neither was it then accounted an advantage, honour, or privilege, to be bound to send burgesſes to Parliament; but rather, on the contrary, it was reputed a burden and a grievance for poor and small burghs to send them; as in the case of Torrington in Devonshire, in the year 1369,” elsewhere exhibited. So great is the alteration in this respect in our days, partly occasioned by the increase of commerce and manufactures in England, which has so much enriched the ancient cities and burghs, and also raised so many poor places to considerable burghs; and partly also by the honours, privileges, and emoluments to be obtained by modern representatives; so that, that not only the daily pay of four shillings to members of Parliament for cities and burghs, has long since fallen into disuse, but moreover, much expence is generally incurred by candidates for their obtaining such elections. Though God alone knows whether this gross abuse may not, some time or other, prove the means of overturning the happiest constitution upon earth.

We see in vol. ix. p. 618, &c. of the *Fœdera*, such another treaty, for thirty years, and the articles of it nearly the same, as that with the Netherlands in the preceding year, formed between King Edward IV. and Francis Duke of Bretagne, both for mutual commerce and fishery. The merchandize therein specified to be traded in between England, Ireland, and Calais, on the one part, and Bretagne on the other, are wool, woollen cloth, linen cloth, wines, fruits, leather, provisions, harness, armour, artillery, horses, and other cattle, &c.—But as the benefits arising from the commerce of Bretagne are long since lost to England, by its fatal union with France, any further enlargement on this treaty is superfluous. Nor, for the same reason, need we enlarge on the new treaty of alliance, made this year, between these

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1468 two Princes; by which Edward stipulates to supply Francis with three thousand archers against Louis XI. of France, who was then attempting the conquest of Bretagne. King Edward also stipulated to transport a powerful army himself, for the invasion of France, and the regaining the provinces thereof, lost by Henry VI.—which, however, was never effected.

In this same year, Mezerai observes, that Louis XI. of France, caused an account to be taken of all men, as well ecclesiastics as laity, in the city of Paris, fit to bear arms, viz. from the age of sixteen to sixty; and they amounted to eighty-four thousand persons; which number multiplied by three, will give the whole number of souls to be two hundred and fifty-two thousand; or by four, to three hundred and thirty-six thousand, which is, possibly, the more accurate mode of calculation, especially in Protestant cities since the reformation, whereas, in such a city as Paris at that time, there were probably some thousands of male ecclesiastics who had no families.

And in this same year, *ibid.* p. 631, Edward renewed and concluded a defensive alliance with John King of Arragon, by which the parties bound themselves to aid each other against all their enemies.

In the same year, *ibid.* p. 637, King Edward IV. licenses one Richard Carter to practise *Alchemy*, with all kinds of metals and minerals. It is probable that this might be like some former projects for finding the philosopher's stone.

Upon occasion, or in consideration, of the last-named treaty with Arragon, King Edward IV. is said by our historians to have sent to King John of Arragon a present of some live English ewes and rams; which, they add, so greatly multiplied in Spain, as to have proved very detrimental to the woollen trade of England. Yet, as Mr. Tindal's Note on this paragraph in Rapin very justly remarks, it is by no means to be inferred from thence, that there were no sheep in Spain before; since, on the contrary, there is a patent of King Henry II. of England, in the thirty-first year of his reign, to the weavers of London, importing, "That if any cloth were found to be made of Spanish wool mixed with English wool, the Mayor of London should see it burnt," for which Mr. Tindal quotes Stowe, p. 419. And this quotation also shews, what we have elsewhere already proved in this work, that there was a woollen manufacture in England long before King Edward the Third's great improvements made therein. See the article, under the year 1464, relating to the point of live sheep sent into Spain.

1469 To so great a height was the Netherlands arrived in point of maritime power and riches, by means of their vast commerce and manufactures, that the Duke of Burgundy's fleet was at this time the greatest in all Europe. Philip de Commines, book iii. ch. v. says, "His navy was so mighty and strong, that no man durst stir in these narrow seas for fear of it, making war upon the King of France's subjects, and threatening them every where. His navy being stronger than that of France and the Earl of Warwick's joined together. For he (the Duke of Burgundy) had taken at Sluys, many great ships of Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, and divers hulks of Germany."

Notwithstanding all the prohibitions of the court of Denmark against the English merchants resorting to Iceland for the fishery, yet we find them there in the years 1468 and 1469, according to the *Chronica Sclavica*, and to Meursius's *Historia Danica*; in which last named year they are said to have killed the Governor of Iceland, for extorting very extravagant tolls from them. For which deed, King Christiern of Denmark was so highly enraged, that he seized on four English ships in the Baltic with their cargoes. Whereupon, say they, great

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1469 mischief ensued to the Hanseatic merchants in England, who were imprisoned and their effects confiscated, the English alleging, that the Danish King made that seizure by their instigation, although the Hanseatics spared no pains to convince the English that they had no concern whatever in it. It is hard to determine, at this distance of time, whether the Hans-towns, observing, with indignation, English ships now frequenting the Baltic, wherein they had so long reigned sole lords, might not, secretly, incite the Danes to distress the growing commerce of the English in that sea? Or, whether, on the contrary, it might not be malice in the English people against the Hanseatics or Steelyard merchants? One thing, however, seems very evident, that there were no Danes nor Danish effects then in England.

It is more than probable that this dispute occasioned, or produced a new truce and commercial intercourse to be concluded in the same year, between King Edward IV. "with the Governors of the Countries and Cities of the German Hanse, otherwise called the-Mesne Hanse; and also with the Communities," (*Universitatibus*) "Societies, Princes, Lords, and Governors of certain Lands, Countries, Cities, Towns, and Territories of the Kingdom," (*Regni*) "or Land of Germany," without once naming the Master-General of Prussia.—*Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 645.

1470 The next year the Portuguese made themselves masters of two sea ports in the kingdom of Morocco, or Fez; the one, called Arzilla, was on the Atlantic ocean, a little south of the Streight of Gibraltar; the other was named Tangier, on the entrance of the Streight: on which expedition King Alphonso V. employed twenty-four thousand men, and three hundred and eight sail of vessels, great and small.

John, Duke or Czar of Russia, the son of Basilus the Blind, is said to have been the first of the Russian Princes who began to unite, by conquest, many of their present provinces into one empire, after the Russians had been for a considerable time subject to the Tartars, whose subjection he shook off this year, and also subdued most of the petty princes about him, and particularly the Dukes of Twer and Great Novogrod; in which last city, then a place of great riches and commerce, he is said to have got a booty of three hundred cart loads of gold and silver; a thing scarcely to be supposed credible. Thus did this tyrant overthrow the vast commerce of a great city then so renowned for it; and which, had he possessed the foresight to have cherished, might have proved of inestimable and perpetual benefit to him and his successors. That city stands on a navigable river running northward into the lake Lagoda, and was commodiously seated for conveying to the Baltic the commodities of Russia and Tartary, and even of Persia. The Hans-towns had great dealings with Novogrod, which was one of their four great comptoirs. It is much decayed from its pristine grandeur, yet some authors say it has still one hundred and eighty churches and monasteries in it. The country about it abounds in flax, hemp, corn, wax, honey, and the finest manufacture of Russia leather. Its latitude is fifty-eight degrees north, and is forty German miles from Narva in Livonia eastward. It had been till then frequented by the Hanseatic merchants near four hundred years, (says Werdenhagen) but according to Thuanus, lib. 51, only three hundred years back; as from the year 1272, Lubeck first began to bring away the above named goods and furs, &c. and dispersed them all over Europe. Upon its being taken and plundered, the emporium for the trade of the Hans-towns was removed to Revel, where it continued but fifty years; from thence it was removed to Narva, as the English, Dutch, and French merchants did at the same time. But the Swedish wars in and near Livonia proved the ruin of Narva, and of the commerce which the Hans-towns carried on in that city.

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This is the first clear account we have of the rise of that empire, which, before this time, was very little known to the more civilized parts of Europe, with which it had till then no commerce, nor indeed scarcely any communication. Yet, in less than a century more, we shall see it again explored by our gallant English adventurers, in a voyage till then never attempted by any mortal; and a regular commerce established between England and Russia.

In Mathieu's History of King Louis XI. of France, translated into English by Grimston, in the year 1614, he makes that King take a survey of all the men of his metropolis able to bear arms, in this year 1470, when they mustered one hundred and four thousand men, all in one livery, viz. red caslocks and white crosses, in the presence of the ambassadors of the King of Arragon. This is very probably an exaggerated account of Paris at such an early period: yet, we must, at the same time, acknowledge, that the historians of most other nations of Europe have, from a similar vanity, fallen into the same mistakes concerning the magnitude of their respective metropolitical cities, of which we have, in our Preface, given several instances. Paris, at this time, might very probably contain about three hundred thousand souls; which number was then superior to that of any other city in Europe, except Constantinople and Moscow. But considering the number of its religious professors of the male sex, who may then be supposed to be in it, the mustering of one hundred and four thousand men in arms, may fairly make five hundred thousand souls in Paris; though Giovanni Bottero, who wrote above one hundred years later, makes them not to exceed four hundred thousand; and he also allows Paris to have been then the largest city in Christendom, Moscow excepted.

“So naked as yet,” says the great Pensionary de Witt, in his Interest of Holland, part ii. chap. 9. “was England of any naval power, that the Hans-towns having” (in the preceding year) “been at war with England, they compelled King Edward IV. to make peace upon terms very advantageous to them.” This was the peace already named, in 1469, and concluded after Edward had imprisoned the Steelyard merchants, and seized their effects, on a surmise that the Danes had seized on four English ships by their instigation, as before related under that year.

“So long” continues De Witt, “as the English used to transport nothing beyond sea but a few minerals, viz. lead and tin, and much wool carried over to Calais by a small number of their own ships, and sold only to Netherland clothiers, it would have been so prejudicial to their King to have been without his customs on wool,” (amounting alone to fifty thousand crowns per annum “by a war with the Netherlands, that we read not of those provinces ever breaking out into a perfect open war with England. For, although war sometimes happened between the Princes of the respective countries, yet most of the cities concerned in traffick and drapery, continued in amity: so that all the wars of that rich and plentiful country” (England) “broke out against France, and consequently against Scotland, or else against Wales and Ireland, and sometimes against Spain.”

As able an author as De Witt was, we may here take the liberty to remark, that King Edward IV. being betrayed by his own brother, the Duke of Clarence, who joined the famous king-maker, the Earl of Warwick, about this time, for dethroning him, and restoring Henry VI. (which they this year accomplished, though for a very short time) it is no wonder that he yielded to the Hanseatics in some points. We may also further remark, that even long before the time De Witt alludes to, England had exported considerable quantities of woollen goods beyond sea, as appears by several acts of Parliament, &c. before exhibited.

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1470 It appears, that, at this time, some lands in England might be valued at near upon ten years purchase. For which, in vol. xi. p. 654, of the *Fœdera*, we have the authority of a record, in the year 1470, which is a rescript of King Edward IV. to Edward Dudley, his Lieutenant of Ireland, declaring, “ That whoever shall seize on and bring to him George Duke of Clarence,” (his own brother) “ or Richard Earl of Warwick,” (who plotted the restoration of King Henry VI. and had retired thither, and whom he had declared to be traitors) “ shall, for his reward, have either one hundred pounds per annum in land, or else one thousand pounds in ready money, at his option.”

Ibid. p. 671, &c. seven Spanish ships, laden with iron, wines, fruits, wool, &c. bound for Flanders, being taken by certain English ships, the Spanish owners complain thereof to King Henry VI. who was now again placed, for a short time, on the throne, exhibiting, upon oath, the burden and value of their ships, and the prices which the merchandize would have yielded in Flanders. Hereby may appear the great disparity, in those respects, between this and modern times, viz.

		£.	s.	d.	
1. One ship of 100 tons, valued, with her furniture, at	-	107	10	0	<i>Sterling</i>
One ditto of 70 tons,	at	70	0	0	
One ditto of 120 tons,	at	110	0	0	
One ditto of 110 tons,	at	140	0	0	
One ditto of 40 tons,	at	70	0	0	
One ditto of 110 tons,	at	150	0	0	
One ditto of 120 tons,	at	180	0	0	

So that the highest value of any one of these ships was but thirty shillings sterling per ton, furniture included; the proportion of their money to ours being as one and seven-eighths is to one.

2. Their Bourdeaux wine, those owners swear, would in Flanders have yielded five pounds per ton, and their Roman and bastard wines four pounds per ton.

3. Their iron, four pounds ten shillings per ton.

4. Their Spanish wool, they swear, would have yielded in Flanders four pounds sterling per sack, weighing one quintal and three quarters.

In the same volume, p. 678, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VI. grants a charter “ To the German merchants of the city of Cologne, who now have, and, in times past, amongst other merchants of Germany, had a house in the city of London, commonly called the “ Guildhall of the Germans:”—*Domum in civitate Londonia, quæ Guildhalla Theutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur.*

This charter is in the very same stile, and on very near the same terms, as that granted in the year 1463, by King Edward IV. to all the merchants of the Steelyard in general. Probably the Cologne merchants had testified a more particular attachment to Henry VI. than the other Germans of the Steelyard had done; which might induce that Prince to bestow all the Steelyard privileges on them alone for five years to come.

✚ Bishop Burnet and Mr. Strype observe, that the Steelyard merchants had sometimes gone beyond their charters, particularly in King Edward the Fourth's reign:—and it was by dint of great presents that they obtained a renewal of them. Always trading in a body, they easily ruined single traders by underselling them. The cities of Bruges and Hamburgh were then the two greatest emporiums of the west, whose factors in the Steelyard usually set such

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1470 such prices as they pleased on both their imports and exports. This short memoir alone is sufficient to explain this point, and to vindicate our monarchs of the next century for still retrenching, and afterwards finally suppressing, the mercantile college of the Steel-yard merchants.

We shall close our account of the tumultuous year 1470, with observing, from Sir Robert Cotton's *Posthuma*, p. 186 and 187, that notwithstanding the various acts of Parliament which obliged the English merchants to carry all the staple commodities exported to Calais alone, and at one stated time of the year; yet out of their supposed unlimited prerogative, King Richard II. King Henry IV. King Henry VI. and King Edward IV. frequently sold licences with a clause of *non obstante* of any statute: "whereby," says our antiquary, "they dispensed with multitudes, to trade with what commodities, and to what places they would." Richard II. granted that shameful privilege, in the twentieth year of his reign, to the merchants of Newcastle, for their carrying wool, &c. to any other port beside Calais, paying him custom and subsidy extraordinary. Henry IV. granted to divers citizens of London, to export a great quantity of tin for seven years, paying four hundred pounds yearly, above the usual customs. Henry VI. regranted, at several times, to the town of Newcastle, the same licence they had enjoyed in the twentieth of Richard II. above specified. He also granted to Benoni, a Florentine merchant, to export thither six hundred sacks of wool, with a *non obstante* of any statute to the contrary. And also to Laurence Barbarico, for no less than twelve thousand sacks of wool, to what ports he pleased to carry them. And although the town of Calais complained to Parliament of the frequency of those licences, and of its decay thereby, yet it met with no relief. And King Edward IV. in the tenth year of his reign, on borrowing twelve thousand pounds of divers merchants, permitted them, *non obstante* any law, to carry staple wares to the Straits of Morocco, until they were satisfied their said sum." By this term the Straits of Morocco was then understood or intended to mean any parts within the Mediterranean sea.

Thus did those Kings, for a little present gain, lessen the lasting benefits accruing to themselves and successors by the revenue of Calais, and at the same time rendered the laws of the kingdom of no effect. So precarious were the liberties of England under such Princes.

In this eleventh volume, p. 683, of the *Fœdera*, we find that King Henry VI. again replaced upon the throne for a few months, concluded a five years truce and intercourse of commerce with King Louis XI. of France, who favoured the Lancastrian party. And as the republic of Genoa generally favoured the side of France, Henry thought it his interest in the same year, *ibid*, p. 697, to remit to the Genoese merchants residing in England, the subsidies and taxes laid on by some late acts of Parliament on foreign merchants living in England, and also to ease them of part of the subsidies on wool, skins, leather, tin, &c. But Henry, in this same year, was a second time driven from the throne by King Edward IV. And again, of other instances of the great riches of the Medici family at Florence, acquired by an immense commerce, so as to be the admiration of every foreign nation, both Philip de Commines, and Joannes Michael Brutus, in his *Historia Florentina*, agree that they assisted King Edward IV. with money for the recovering of his crown, after he had been driven out by the famous Earl of Warwick.

In vol. xi. p. 712, of the *Fœdera*, we have the expence of maintaining the unfortunate King Henry VI. a prisoner by King Edward IV. in the Tower of London, with the daily allowance of ten persons waiting on him for fourteen days, being in all but twenty persons.

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1470 shillings, which is not quite eight shillings per day for the King and his ten attendants. And, in this same record, that captive King's own diet for two days, in the Tower, cost but three shillings and tenpence, or one shilling and elevenpence per day.

In another record, in the same page of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, of that King, who was put to death in the Tower, the whole expence of the funeral was thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence, in which sum were included the fees of a priest, money paid for linen cloth of Holland, spices, fees to such as carried torches with the corpse to St. Paul's church in London, and thence to Chertsey in Surry; also to two soldiers of Calais, who watched the corpse, and for baggage from London to Chertsey; in which sum was also included eight pounds twelve shillings and threepence distributed in charity to several religious orders.

And, p. 713, in the same year, the ordinary expence allowed to that King's widow, Queen Margaret of Anjou, per week, was five marks, or three pounds six shillings and eightpence; and to the Duke of Exeter, a prisoner of the Lancastrian party, for himself per week, six shillings and eightpence; his chief attendant, two shillings, and three other attendants, one shilling and eightpence each per week; also for his own three servants, one shilling and fourpence each per week. Now as their money weighed seven-eighths more than ours, or 'as one is to one seven-eighths, the rates of provisions were still between two and three times as cheap as in our days; it is easy therefore to judge of the plainness as well as cheapness of living at that period, compared to the present. For one shilling and fourpence per week, and seven-eighths of it, which is one shilling and twopence, made of our money two shillings and sixpence per week, and reckoning that living was two and a half times cheaper than ours, the whole amounts to six shillings and eightpence per week for each of those three servants of that duke; or not quite tenpence three-farthings per day of our money.

1471 In the year 1471, King Edward IV. grants certain immunities from tolls, &c. to the merchants of the town of Middleburg in Flanders, "although," says this King, "it be not a member of the German Hans-Society; for the services done to me by its temporal Lord, Peter Bladelyn."—*Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 729.

And, in the same volume, p. 732, in the same year, grants privileges and immunities to the town of Veer, (Terveer, or Campveer) in Zealand, in behalf of the Count de Grant Prié, its Lord, whose services that King hereby acknowledges, viz. "That they may freely resort to the ports of England and Ireland, with their ships and merchandize for sale, and may there trade English commodities homeward;" (the merchandize of the staple of Calais alone excepted, *i. e.* wool, leather, lead, and tin) "they paying only threepence per pound sterling *ad valorem*, and twelpence one very piece of cloth of twenty-eight yards long," (a very easy duty indeed) "and for cloth dyed in grain, the same as the Easterlings pay. Provided, however, that King Edward's own subjects be exempted from paying any duties at the said port of Veer." A very good and kind proviso truly, for his own subjects.

"In this year," say the *Annales Flandriæ*, "a treaty of commerce was concluded between the city of Bruges and the Hans-towns; purporting, that all the merchandize of the latter should be brought to Bruges only, as their sole staple for all the Netherlands; for which end, certain ships should be stationed at Hamburg and Sluys, which the merchants of both parties should use, and none others; and which were also to be well furnished against pirates. And that the cities of Lubeck, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, Dantzack, Königsberg, Riga, Revel, and all other German, Prussian, and Livonian cities, shall use no other emporium but Bruges; and that the customs at Sluys should be regulated and moderated, so

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1471 “as no illegal exactions should be made. That the port of Sluys should be cleansed, deepened, and widened, and be made every other way convenient for merchants.” This remarkable treaty helped greatly to increase the commerce of Bruges, already arrived to a very great height.

The Hollanders must at this time have been very considerably advanced in maritime power and commerce, since, in the year 1471, their giving aid and support to their sovereign Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, drew upon them the resentment of the great Earl of Warwick, who being supported by King Louis XI. of France, took thirty of their merchant ships in one day, and soon after twenty more. But Van Borsele very soon revenged that disaster, by attacking Warwick with a fleet of thirty-six sail on the coast of Normandy, retaking ten of those ships, and burning the remainder of them.

The people of the country of the Grisons, till now subject to the house of Austria, being hardly treated by those of Tyrol, entered into a confederated union with their neighbours the Cantons of Switzerland; which junction was a considerable addition to the strength of that republican confederacy.

Under the year 1453, we have related, from several authors, how the Teutonic order in Prussia came to lose a great part of that country to the crown and republic of Poland. But as the royal author of the *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, published in the year 1751, gives us a clearer and somewhat different view of the decay of that order in Prussia, it will not be here unacceptable to offer a brief relation of it from such authority. “That order had maintained very bloody and long wars against the Poles, with various success. But under their Great-Master, Conrade of Erlichauken, in the year 1458, the cities of Danzig, Thorne, and Elbing, declared to him, that as they were weary of his administration, they had transferred their allegiance to Casimir, son of Jagellon, King of Poland. The war which then broke out between that order and the Poles concerning Prussia, lasted thirteen years, in which the Poles were victors, and prescribed the law. Whereby Prussia, on the hither side the Vistula, was annexed to that kingdom, and called Royal Prussia. And the order kept the further Prussia, but was obliged to do homage for it to the conquerors.”

472 By a clause in an act of Parliament, in the twelfth of King Edward IV. (which though not printed in the statute-book, is partly recited in an act of the fourth of King Henry VIII. cap. 6.) it appears that there was much finery in the apparel of those times. The first of these acts directs, “the sealing by the custom-house officers (*les uns*) of cloth of gold and silver, vaudakin, velvet, damask, satin, farsenet, tariton, camlet, and other cloths of silk, and of silk and gold, and silver, of the making beyond-sea.” Thus we see, that even in more remote times, much gaiety of dress was to be found amongst persons of fortune, though, perhaps, in those times the lower classes of people did not, nor, indeed, by reason of much greater poverty, could not, so very closely imitate the former in that respect, as is done in our days, occasioned by a more general increase of wealth by commerce and manufactures.

During the confusions proceeding from the frequent changes of power in England, in the contention for the crown between the houses of York and Lancaster, it is not much to be wondered, that the Hans-towns had met with some injuries from the English,—that their privileges were not strictly maintained, and were even violated in various respects. These hardships obliged the Hans-towns to make reprisals on the English in a hostile manner on the sea. But King Edward IV. now finally and firmly settled on the throne, was in this year, 1472, applied to by the Hanseatic, to be satisfied for their former damages, and also

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1472 renewal of the alliance, a confirmation of their ancient privileges, and a mutual security of both parties in their navigation and commerce. Whereupon King Edward accorded to a congress of commissioners, from both parties, to meet at Utrecht, for the settling of all differences; which were there finally adjusted, in the year 1474.—*Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 739.

In vol. xi. p. 735, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward IV. grants a licence, though contrary to the statutes of the Staple, to his sister Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, to clean and pick fifty sacks of wool, and to export the same free of all subsidy, in whatever ships she should chuse, through the Straits of Morocco.

And, in the same volume, p. 738, Edward, this same year, issued a commission for redress of grievances, and a renewal of the intercourse of commerce with his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

Also, as per page 741, &c. of the same volume, a treaty of peace and intercourse of commerce, formerly made between King Richard II. of England, and John, King of Portugal, was now renewed; several Portuguese ships having, in the preceding year, been violently seized by certain English pirates, commanded by the Bastard of Falconbridge.

Also, *ibid*, p. 748, a similar peace or truce was concluded with Scotland; and, p. 750, &c. with France and Bretagne.

1473 A treaty of peace and commerce is also concluded between King Edward IV. of England, and King Christian I. of Denmark; but still with a proviso, that the English shall not resort nor trade to Iceland.—*Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 735.

In the same volume of records, p. 780, King Edward IV. concluded a new truce and commercial intercourse with the aldermen of the German Hans-merchants, residing at Bruges in Flanders, in the name of the general community of the Hanseatic Confederacy. As this is the first instance of this sort of treaty between England and the Hans-towns, it is to be presumed, that the latter, in their annual general assembly, held usually at Lubeck, had given a general power to those of Lubeck for that purpose.

About this time the republic of Venice got possession of the famous isle of Cyprus, by virtue of the assignment of Catherine, daughter of Marco Cornaro, a noble Venetian, the widow of James, bastard son of John, the last King thereof. That isle was held by Venice about ninety-five years, during which it proved greatly beneficial to her commerce.

In the same eleventh volume, p. 783, King Edward IV. granted a licence to the Bishop of Durham to coin halfpence at Durham: "He and his predecessors," says that record, "having, from time immemorial, been in use to coin pence or sterlings, but not halfpence till now." It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader, that halfpence, as well as pence, were now, and for a considerable time later, of silver.

In Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgement of the Records, under the year 1473, he quotes a grant of the House of Commons, of the thirteenth of King Edward IV. of six thousand pounds for the relief of decayed towns: he gives also another grant for the same purpose and sum, in 1482, which was the twenty-second of the same King. But as neither of them are to be found in the printed statute-book, we wish he had, or could have been more explicit, with respect to the more particular application of those charitable grants.

1474 The anonymous author of the *Chronica Slavica*, already frequently quoted, relates, "That there was a convention held at Utrecht," (*Trajetti*) possibly at Nimeguen, "between the cities," that is, the Hans-towns, "and the English; when the King of England, Edward IV. renewed the privileges to those cities, under the mediation of Charles the Bold,

" Duke

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1474 “ Duke of Burgundy; so that their factors might freely resort to England with their merchandize, they having now also obtained additional privileges. This was after a war of three years between them and England, (see the year 1470) that was occasioned by the capture of some English ships in the Sound, which made the English, in revenge, plunder sixty ships of the Hans-towns.” Upon which we shall only observe, that what Mr. De Witt, as under the year 1470, perhaps truly, ascribes to the superiority of the naval strength of the Hanseatics, the author of the *Chronica Slavica* attributes to the goodness of King Edward IV. “ For,” says he, “ this King was virtuous, and a lover of equity.”

The Turks having, by this time, made themselves masters of all the country of Crimea, or Crim Tartary, anciently called Taurica Cherfonefus, excepting only the city and port of Caffa, still belonging to the Genoese, this city, after a long and vigorous defence, was, in this same year 1474, taken by the Turks, under Mohammed II. by which event the Genoese were quite driven out of the Black Sea. Elated by this conquest, the Turks bend their arms against the Venetian territories on the east shores of the Adriatic sea with too much success.

In the fourteenth year also of King Edward IV. Sir Robert Cotton has, in his Abridgement of the records, p. 697, given us an act of Parliament, not to be found in the printed statute-book, but which is only a consequence of the before-named treaty of peace and commerce with the Hans-towns this year: “ Whereby the house called the Style-house, otherwise the Stilliard, in the parish of All-hallows, in London, is assigned to the merchants of the Hans, and to their successors for ever, together with other tenements to the same belonging; yielding yearly to the mayor of London seventy pounds,” (or one hundred and twenty-five pounds eight shillings and fourpence of our modern money, their money being equal to one seven-eighths of ours) “ and other rents to others.”

But although we have already, under this year, from the *Chronica Slavica*, and from our English antiquarian, given a sketch of the solemn treaty between England and the Hans League, it seems requisite to describe a fuller account thereof, as it comes from the incontestable authority of the *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 792, &c. which is a treaty between King Edward IV. and the Deputies of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Dantzick, in the name and by the authority of all the cities and towns of the Teutonic Hans-League. The substance whereof is as follows:

“ I. All past injuries and complaints shall be buried in oblivion, and all injuries and violences shall be absolutely forborne for the future.

“ II. For the greater safety of the merchants and people of the Hans-Society, King Edward agrees to grant his charter or obligation, in the strongest terms, and shall also get it confirmed by act of Parliament, that no kind of damage shall be done to their persons or goods, by reason of any sentence or determination of the said King and his council, for reprisals, &c. on account of matters done prior to this treaty.

“ III. The merchants of England may freely resort and trade to the countries and ports of the Hans-League, as the Hanseatic merchants may to England, with their ships and merchandize, freely to sell the same, and purchase others there, without paying in either country any more than the ancient duties and customs, on any pretence whatever.

“ IV. All the privileges and immunities of the Hanseatics in England are hereby renewed, and shall also be confirmed by act of Parliament, and the English shall enjoy all their ancient immunities at the Hans-towns as formerly.

“ V. The Hanseatic merchants in England shall not henceforth be subject to the Lord High Admiral's court or jurisdiction; but, in controversies about maritime affairs, &c. shall have two judges allotted to them by the King for determining the same.

“ VI. That

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“ VI. That the Steel-yard in London, in its utmost extent, shall be confirmed to the said German merchants, as also the Steel-yard at Boston, (this is the first mention of Boston Steel-yard in the *Fœdera*) “ and that a like house be assigned for their use at Lynn, near the water-side.

“ VII. That the ten thousand pounds sterling, liquidated to be due by the King to the said German Hans merchants, shall be paid or deducted out of the customs and duties on their merchandize, till the whole sum be discharged.

“ VIII. If any city of the Hanseatics shall hereafter separate itself from the general union, the King of England shall cause all the privileges of that separating city to cease in England, until they be re-united to the League.

“ IX. The said German merchants of the Steel-yard shall have the possessing and keeping of the gate of the city of London, called Bishopsgate, as by ancient agreement between that city and them.

“ X. The King shall provide, that the woollen cloth of England be reformed, both as to the quality of the wool, and the length and breadth of the cloth.

“ XI. The said Steel-yard merchants shall be at liberty to sell their Rhenish wines by retail, as well as by wholesale, according to ancient custom.”

This treaty was ratified by King Edward IV. on the twentieth of July, 1474, and by the consuls and proconsuls of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Dantzick, in the name of the whole league, the deputies from the following cities being also present, viz. Lubeck, Dortmund, Munster, Deventer, and Campen; also the two aldermen and the secretary of the Hans merchants residing at Bruges, by the secretary of the said merchants of the Steel-yard in London; and, lastly, by the secretary of the Hans merchants residing at Bergen in Norway.

We may here observe from this treaty, First, That the Hanseatics had a higher opinion of the credit and authority of an act of Parliament, than of that of the King and council alone. Secondly, We may conclude, that Mr. De Witt's account of the superiority of the naval strength of the Hans-towns was nearer the truth, and had consequently a greater influence on this treaty, than the virtue and love of justice ascribed to King Edward by the *Chronica Sclavica* above-mentioned; and that even, from most of its articles, may be clearly seen the naval superiority of the Hans-League at this time.

The alliance made, as appears in this volume, p. 804, of the *Fœdera*, between King Edward IV. and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, for their jointly attacking King Louis XI. and for enabling Edward not only to recover the duchies of Normandy and Guienne, but the entire French monarchy, came to nothing, in consequence of that Duke's wild schemes against Germany, which made him neglect to second Edward, who had, in this same year, actually invaded France with an army. Had this scheme succeeded, it was by this alliance stipulated, that, in recompence for that Duke's assistance, Edward was to yield him the duchy of Bar, the counties of Champagne, Nevers, Rhetel, Eu, Guise, and St. Paul, the barony of Douai, the city and territories of Tournay, the cities and countries on the Somme, &c. without any vassalage or dependence on Edward, or on any future Kings of France: thus selling the bear's skin before they had caught and killed the bear.—But Louis proved too cunning for them both, and bought off Edward for a yearly pension of fifty thousand crowns during his life, whilst he brought destruction on that headstrong Prince, the Duke of Burgundy.

In King Edward's preparations for the invasion of France, *ibid.* p. 817. we see the daily pay of his knights in the army was two shillings—of his spearmen or men at arms one shilling—

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1474 of his archers sixpence. A duke's pay was thirteen shillings and fourpence; an earl's six shillings and eightpence; a baron's and banneret's four shillings; the King's body physician two shillings per day; the like to the Dean of his chapel; and the other clergy one shilling and twopence each; his body surgeon one shilling and sixpence; and seven other surgeons one shilling each; money being still one seven-eighths of modern money, and the rate of living then being at least two one-half times cheaper than in our days.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 824, &c. a truce for forty-five years was concluded between King Edward IV. of England, and King James III. of Scotland; and also a treaty for a marriage between James's infant son, James, afterwards King James IV. and Cecily, Edward's infant daughter, with whom Edward stipulated to give a portion of twenty thousand marks sterling. The word sterling being now become necessary to distinguish English money from the debased Scottish money. And so earnest was Edward to secure the back door of Scotland, whilst his other scheme against France was in agitation, that he paid down, at different times, a considerable part of this stipulated portion, although that marriage never took place. But he had the precaution to bind the provost, magistrates, and burghers of Edinburgh to make good the money to him, in case King James should declare against the marriage, as he afterwards actually did.

For this expedition against France, Edward, *ibid.* p. 835-6, treated of an alliance with the Emperor Frederick III. and King of Hungary; and, *ibid.* p. 839, he summoned all English ships of sixteen tons and upwards to be ready; as also the artillery, viz. cannon, (named culverines, fowlers, serpentes, &c.) besides bows, arrows, spears, and swords, no hand-guns being as yet invented, also ammunition, as gunpowder, (*pulveres*) sulphur, saltpetre, stones, (or bullets) iron, lead, &c. All which he directed his officers, as was usual in those cases, to seize every where for his use, paying ready money for them. Such was the practice in those times, and which is so different from that of our days.

Ibid. p. 841, King Edward IV. acknowledges a debt of eleven thousand Spanish crowns to the merchants of Guipuscoa in Spain, of the value of which sum certain English ships had robbed them on the seas. But as Edward, at this time more especially, could not well spare the payment of this sum in ready money, "he promises to allow the same to the Guipuscan merchants out of the custom hereafter to become due to him by them, on their importation and exportation of merchandize." This shews that the Guipuscans, at this time, carried on, in all probability by the port of Bilbao, considerable commerce with England.

This article concludes all our extracts from the eleventh volume of Rymer's Collection of Records, to which we are so much indebted, from the year 1442 to this time, for a great mass of important and interesting materials.

5 In the twelfth volume, p. 7, of that Collection, we find that, in the year 1475, King Edward IV. having borrowed five thousand pounds sterling of Lorenzo and Julian de Medici, and four other merchants of Florence, he, in return, grants them a licence to export, either from London, Sandwich, or Southampton, and in any ships, English or foreign, wool, woollen cloth of any colour, whether in grain or not in grain, lead, and tin; and to carry the wool up the Straights of Morocco, and the cloth, tin, and lead to any parts beyond sea, and to bring back to those three ports, in the same vessels, any merchandize from beyond sea, until they shall have repaid themselves out of the customs, subsidies, &c. which will be due to him on the said exports and imports; they not being bound to pay above four marks for the custom,

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1475 custom, subsidy, and other dues of Calais on each sack of wool, and the usual custom and subsidy on cloth, lead, and tin.

This is one of the *non obstante* stretchers of prerogative, of which we have given various instances from Sir Robert Cotton, under the year 1470, one of which was exercised by this very King; the bad tendency of which is, in that place, sufficiently explained.

In the twelfth volume, p. 21, of the *Fœdera*, we have also the treaty between Louis XI. and Edward IV. already mentioned as agreed to in the preceding year, after Edward had transported an army into France, and found himself deserted by the Duke of Burgundy, who, instead of joining Edward with his forces as he had stipulated, amused himself with the unsuccessful siege of Nuys in Germany. By this treaty, as before related, Louis agrees to pay Edward fifty thousand French crowns yearly, during his life; and a truce was agreed upon, which was to last during their joint lives: a contract of marriage was thereby also entered into between the Dauphin and Edward's daughter Elizabeth, which however did not take place.

In this year the Parliament of Scotland enacted their new groat to be made of the same fineness with the English groat, twelve of which made an ounce of silver; and their silver penny and halfpenny was to be of the like fineness; but the penny was to go for threepence. In most of their laws for raising the nominal value of their coins, they complain that their money is exported, and no due care taken to import bullion from foreign parts, agreeable to the laws for that end. About this time also they raised the nominal value of all their gold coins, for the same assigned reason, viz. that gold was cheaper in Scotland, and was therefore carried beyond sea. This regulation seems not to be perfectly consistent with the preceding ones.

1476 In vol. xii. p. 28, of the *Fœdera*, we see a licence from King Edward IV. to certain persons, with their necessary servants, for four years, "to practice the artificial science of natural philosophy, in making of gold and silver from mercury." This was probably the same bubble with that called the philosophic powder or stone.

Differences having arisen between the general Hans-confederacy and the city of Cologne, one of the most ancient and considerable of its members, the general assembly of that Confederacy had, for a time, disfranchised that city, or cut it off from the privileges of the Hans-featic-league, for that Cologne alone, as we have related under the year 1470, had accepted of King Henry VI. the sole enjoyment of the Steelyard privileges, exclusive of the other Hans-ties. But Cologne having compounded its differences with the general assembly of the Hans-league, the consuls and proconsuls of the city of Lubeck, in the year 1476, notified to King Edward IV. in the name of the general Confederacy, that Cologne, at the request of the Emperor Frederick III. and the Elector of Treves, was again reconciled and united to their body. *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 36.

1477 The pickling and barreling of salmon for exportation is of great antiquity in Scotland, where that fine fish very much abounds. There was a law made by the Parliament of Scotland in this year, which directs their salmon barrels to be of the measure of the city of Hamburgh, and of the ancient assize. Indeed there are many statutes for the regulation of the salmon fishery in Scotland; which fishery has long been deemed of great importance to that kingdom.

An English Act of Parliament, *seventeenth of Edward IV.* cap. i. prohibits the circulation of Irish money in England, because, perhaps, it was of baser alloy. It was also made felony by the same statute to export the coin of England, or even plate and bullion, or jewels of gold or silver, without the King's licence; and all bullion, produced by melting down of the coin,

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1477 was to be forfeited. It was also enacted, that all goldsmith's silver plate, &c. was to be as fine as the sterling, that is, the current silver penny called a sterling, and to be marked accordingly.

By the same act, "all merchants-aliens were again enjoined to employ the money received "for their merchandizes upon the commodities of the realm." Concerning which, and all such kind of laws, enough has been already said in this work.

The death of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, killed in this year before Nancy in Lorraine, produced great alterations in the state of commerce in the Netherlands and other parts, and it may also be justly said, as Rapin has well observed, to have been the principal source of most of the wars with which Europe has been troubled ever since. For Louis XI. of France, taking advantage of Charles's leaving an only child, a daughter, named Mary, of but nine years of age, seized on Burgundy, and on the towns on the river Somme in Picardie, possessed by her late father, whereby the power of France was considerably increased. And had not that young Princess been at length married to Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederick III. it is possible that France might have swallowed up the rest of her rich dominions.

Till that headstrong Duke's fatal misconduct, and for above one hundred and twenty years backward, the Netherlands had been in the greatest prosperity and affluence. Commynes says, "That although he had himself travelled the best part of Europe, yet he never saw any country abound so much in riches, sumptuous buildings, vast expences, feasts, and all kind of prodigality; and that the city of Bruges had a greater traffic of merchandize and resort of strangers than any town in Europe." "Antwerp too had become the great staple of the northern nations," says Voltaire, in his General History of Europe; "in Ghent there were fifty thousand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture; and Arras was celebrated for its beautiful tapestries."

Voltaire, speaking of the defeat of Duke Charles by the then rustic Switzers at Granfon, makes the following remark: "who could have, at that time, thought, when the largest diamond in Europe," then belonging to Duke Charles, "was taken by a Swiss soldier, and sold to his general for a crown, that there would be one day much finer and wealthier cities in Switzerland than even Dijon, the capital of the dukedom of Burgundy," viz. Zurich, Bern, Basil, Solothurn, &c. Mathieu's History of Louis XI. says, "that diamond was sold for a florin to a priest, who sent it to the magistrates of his canton; and that it passed afterwards through many hands, till at length Pope Julius II. had it for twenty thousand florins. There were also, the same historian adds, many other inestimable jewels, which were little esteemed by the Swifs; the spoil being above three millions in gold, jewels, &c. which the victors held in so little estimation, that they exchanged gold for copper, and silver for tin. They even tore the pavilions of cloth of gold into pieces to apparel their wives and children; for those people lived as yet in that commendable ignorance of money, which made Sparta for five hundred years the Queen of Greece." The cantons of Switzerland were, at this time, only eight in number, viz. Uri, Switz, Underwalden, Bern, Zurich, Glaris, Duceru, and Zug; the five others, viz. Friburg, Solothurn, Basil, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, not having as yet entered into that Confederacy.

In this seventeenth year of King Edward IV. Sir Robert Cotton, from the Records in the Tower, acquaints us, "That statutes were made for paving the streets of Canterbury, Southampton, Taunton, and Cirencester;" from which we presume it may be inferred, that those

places were then risen into a thriving situation: but those statutes, being quite obsolete, are not in the printed collection.

1478 In the twelfth volume, p. 51, of the *Fœdera*, we have a charter from King Edward IV. “to the grandees,” *gretmannis* is the Latin, “consuls, proconsuls, judges, communities, societies, and men of the parts of the county of Friesland, called Ostergow and Westergow, importing, that whereas, in old times, there had been a good correspondence, confederacy, and intercourse of merchandize between the people of England and your predecessors, and the other people of the before-named parts of Friesland, until the same was interrupted by means of certain seditious men, disturbers of the public peace: we therefore, being desirous to renew the said ancient correspondence and intercourse of commerce, do hereby agree, contract, and conclude a good, sincere, true, and perpetual peace and friendship, for us, and our heirs and successors, vassals, subjects, kingdoms, &c. with you, your heirs and successors, vassals and subjects, for ever; so as the subjects on both sides may freely resort and trade with their ships and merchandize to each other’s countries, &c.”

In the same volume, p. 57, we meet with a continuation of the truce between King Edward IV. and Christiern I. King of Denmark, &c. which contains the accustomed proviso, that no English ship shall resort to Iceland without special leave from the Danish King.

In this twelfth volume, p. 6, of the *Fœdera*, we also meet with another instance of the disfranchisement of a member of the Hanseatic-confederacy, in this very year 1478. It is a certificate addressed to King Edward IV. of England from the general diet of the Hans-towns met at Lubeck, importing, “That the city of Colberg in Pomerania had separated itself from the Hanseatic-confederacy, and is therefore utterly incapable of participating of the privileges of this League in England, until the said League shall certify that Colberg is again reconciled to it.” This certificate is agreeable to the last general treaty between the said King and the Hanseatic-confederacy.

In the same volume, p. 67, &c. we see a new treaty of peace, and an intercourse of commerce and mutual fishery, between Mary Duchess of Burgundy, jointly with the Arch-Duke Maximilian, her consort, on the one part, and Edward IV. King of England, on the other part, dated at Lisle, the twelfth of July, 1478, in substance as follows, viz.

“I. From the date hereof, for ever, the merchants of England, Ireland, and Calais on the one part, and the merchants of Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Mechlin, &c. on the other part, as well merchants of wool, leather, victuals, as all others whatsoever, may freely resort and trade by sea and land, with their ships and merchandize, to each others countries.

“II. And may freely buy and carry away victuals or provisions, mutually, from each others countries, without any obstruction.

“III. On account whereof, there shall be paid, on both sides, only the ancient duties and tolls, and none other.

“IV. The merchants on both sides, their factors, servants, mariners, &c. may safely, and without molestation, reside in the others country, without disturbance on account of any former differences.

“V. ————— Shall not presume, on any pretence, to disturb or injure the merchants, &c. of foreign nations resorting to the ports of the Netherlands, or of England. Nor shall the merchants, &c. of either contracting party be molested by foreign merchants, &c. in the ports of either of the contracting parties.

“VI. The

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“ VI. The fishers on both sides shall freely fish on the seas, without any impediment, licence, or safe conduct, and when driven, by the force of weather or other necessity, into the ports of either party, they shall be kindly treated, on paying the customary dues.

“ VII. No pirates, whether of France, Flanders, or any other country, are to be permitted to enter the ports of either party, to molest either the traders or the fishers. Nor shall they be there permitted to sell the ships or goods belonging to either party, nor to land or otherwise dispose thereof in the said ports. And if, notwithstanding this prohibition, they shall happen to be sold or alienated, the officers of the port or place shall be bound to make good their value to the injured party.

“ The word pirates, in the foregoing article, could probably mean or intend nothing more than enemies armed ships.

“ VIII. The ships and mariners of either contracting party shall not import into the others country the goods of the enemy of that country.

“ IX. In case the ships of either party be wrecked on the coasts of the other party, neither ship nor goods shall be deemed wrecked and forfeited, in case there be either man, woman, child, dog, cat, or cock found alive in such ship; but all shall be preserved for the owners, allowing only a reasonable salvage.

“ X. The merchants of both parties shall enjoy and possess their houses, and all other privileges, in each others countries, in like manner as the custom has been for the last sixty years of intercourse between them.

“ XI. When English merchants resort to the fairs of Antwerp, Mons, &c. they may freely buy what merchandize they think fit, and at what price shall be agreed on: but the chief of the said English merchants, commonly called the Court Merchant, shall not be permitted to fix a limited price on the goods the English want to buy, nor ordain any punishment on such as shall give an higher price for them, as has formerly been an occasional practice, and has occasioned frequent complaints from the merchants of the Netherlands.

“ XII. Neither shall the English, at the said Netherland fairs and markets, direct or indirectly, that no English merchant shall buy any goods belonging to Netherlanders till at or near the close of such fair or market, as sometimes has been the case; forasmuch as the said Netherlanders, fatigued with being so long on the spot, in order to get the sooner home to their habitations, do then usually sell their wares at an under-price, as has been often complained of.

“ XIII. And because the Netherland merchants have often complained that the English have ordained, that none of their merchants should buy any goods from the Netherlanders but by the weights of the King's beam, which is a great and exorbitant weight, but when the English sell their goods to the Netherlanders, they do it by their own private weights, called the small weight. This error surely ought to be rectified by royal authority, &c.

N. B. The other articles relate to the searching of ships for prohibited goods, or for bullion; for granting liberty to the English to carry the bullion they purchase in other countries through the Netherlands, and thence freely home to England, &c.

At this congress, various complaints of the Netherlanders against the English merchants of the staple at Calais, and of the Staplers against the Netherlanders, were discussed and redressed; such as those relating to frauds in wool, old and new, its package, payment for it, &c. all which matters are long since obsolete, and therefore omitted.

In vol. xii. p. 86, of the *Fœdera*, it appears, that a new treaty was set on foot in this year, which was perfected the following one, p. 100, for prolonging the truce and intercourse between England and France to one hundred years after the death of one of the two Kings, Edward IV. and Louis XI. and also that the annual payment of fifty thousand crowns should be continued to Edward's successors for the said term of one hundred years; and the directors of the bank of Medicis at Florence were to be bound for the payment of the said annuity.

The reader will easily comprehend the reason why the treaties between England and France were called truces, ever since the conquest of the provinces in France, belonging formerly to England, viz. to prevent the starting or even naming England's title to, or claims on France. Thus that awful and suspicious Prince, Louis XI. chose rather to agree to one hundred years continuance both of the truce and annuity, than to enter into any discussion of rights and claims with King Edward IV. a truce being nothing else but a mere cessation of hostilities for a limited time.

In vol. xii. p. 94, of the *Fœdera*, we find a deed which dispenses with an Act of Parliament of the eighth year of King Henry VI. prohibiting all English subjects from resorting to any places of the King of Denmark's country, either for fishing or merchandizing, excepting only to the staple of Bergen in Norway, on pain of forfeiting all moveables, and also of imprisonment during pleasure; for, notwithstanding that express statute, "King Edward IV. now grants a licence to Robert Alcock of Hull, to send an English ship of two hundred and forty tons, laden with any merchandize, not of the staple of Calais, to Iceland, and there to relade fish or other goods back for England, the said statute, or any other act or restriction to the contrary notwithstanding." It is not to be imagined that this merchant received this favour without some good and equivalent return.

1479 The *Chronica Slavica* relates, that in the years 1479 and 1480, the Slavian cities, *Civitates Slavicae*, by which he means the German Hans-cities on the Baltic Shores, concluded, at Munster, peace and friendship with the Hollanders, *Hollandrinis*, of Amsterdam and other cities. This author alleges, "That the Hollanders had done much damage to those Hans-towns, although now at length a peace or truce was concluded with them for twenty-four years; where- by it was stipulated, that both sides might freely and peaceably carry on and transport their merchandize, &c. which agreement was afterwards ratified and confirmed by the Emperor Maximilian I." Whereupon our anonymous author concludes with the following remark, viz. "*sine commutatione et mercium permutatione atque commercio, regna et civitates stare diu jucundè non possunt*; that is, without the exchange of merchandize and commerce, kingdoms and cities cannot long remain happy." This seems to have been the first formal treaty of commerce between the Hans-towns and the Hollanders.

1480 To so great an height of prosperity was the Medici family arrived in this same year 1480, that although Cosimo de Medicis, had not as yet obtained the sovereignty of Florence and all Tuscany, and therefore still lived as a private citizen of Florence, yet, according to Mathieu's History of Louis XI. of France, he commanded like a Prince, and his country called him their father, for his piety, generosity, and magnificence. He laid out four millions of gold in the building of churches and palaces, and relieved the miseries of the poor at the expence of one million. Even their very servants were become rich enough to assist great Princes in their distresses. A servant of Peter de Medicis lent Edward IV. King of England, one hundred and

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1480 twenty thousand crowns; he also lent, at one time, fifty thousand crowns to the Duke of Burgundy, and eighty thousand crowns at another.

In this twelfth volume, p. 115, of the *Fœdera*, we have the proportion which French money, at this time, bore to English money. It is a confirmation by King Edward IV. of a prior agreement between the two nations concerning this point, viz.

I. An English rose noble, of six-penny weight, shall be taken in France at sixty-five sols Tournois, and so in proportion for halves and quarters of that coin.

II. The nobles, called Angelets, three of which are equal to two rose nobles, shall pass in France in the same proportion. These were always gold coins.

III. The English silver groat shall pass for two sols six deniers Tournois, and in that proportion for halves and quarters.

French money shall pass in England as follows, viz.

I. The old French crown at four shillings and two-pence sterling.

• II. The new crown of the sun at four shillings and three-pence farthing.

III. The great silver gros, or groat of France, at four-pence halfpenny sterling.

IV. Two pieces and three quarters of silver, called undenes, or elevens, at four-pence sterling.

In the same volume, p. 120, there is a two years truce, which was concluded between King Edward IV. and King Christiern I. of Denmark, wherein all that is memorable, is the prohibition still stipulated on the part of Denmark, that no Englishman shall resort to Iceland, without special leave of, and a safe conduct from the King of Denmark. It is probable, that the dispensation, already mentioned under the year 1478, in behalf of a merchant of Hull to trade to Iceland, might occasion this new truce.

The twelfth volume, p. 137, of the *Fœdera*, gives us also a treaty between King Edward IV. of England and the Arch-Duke Maximilian and his consort Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, confirming the solemn alliance made six years before between Edward and her father, Duke Charles the Bold, particularly for Edward's aiding them with six thousand archers, when required, at their expense.

And as Louis XI. of France, who had invaded their territories, and was not over scrupulous of breaking his faith when occasion served, might probably with-hold from Edward the annuity of fifty thousand crowns by him before stipulated, the said Duke and Duchess, by another record, p. 127, of this same year, oblige themselves to make good that annuity to King Edward.

And by a third record, this very year, it was agreed, that Philip, the son of the said Maximilian and Mary, should marry Anne, daughter of King Edward IV. who was to give one hundred thousand crowns for her portion; which last contract never took place. Edward, however, sent the Duke and Duchess some assistance against Louis XI. who at this time bore hard upon them.

In the same year, p. 137, " King Edward granted leave for his sister Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, yearly, during her life, to export from England, without paying any custom, toll, or duty, one thousand oxen and two thousand rams, to Flanders, Holland, and Zealand." By rams being mentioned in this licence, the Duchess's aim was, without doubt, to mend the breed of sheep in the Netherlands.

By this time, the Portuguese had discovered as far southward on the western coasts of Africa as twenty-two degrees south of the equator.

But,

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1481

But, in the year following, two English merchants, having, by encouragement from the Spanish Duke of Medina Sidonia, fitted out a fleet for a voyage to Guinea, King John II. of Portugal, hearing thereof, dispatched an ambassador to King Edward IV. in order to put a stop to that enterprize; and that King having made out his prior possession of the Seigniorship of Guienne, he prevailed on King Edward to lay aside that enterprize.

In the same year, King James III. of Scotland having begun a war against England, we find, in vol. xii. p. 139, of the *Fœdera*, that King Edward IV. had, at this time, six ships of war of his own, to whose commanders he gives orders to hire mariners sufficient for manning them. He also orders the commanders of five other ships, not his own, to do the same, in order to go against the King of Scotland: but we have neither the burden nor number of men of those ships. This war from Scotland was, without doubt, in concert with Louis XI. of France, now at enmity with Edward; for which reason the latter, p. 142, made, the same year an alliance with Francis Duke of Bretagne; and also agreed on a marriage between the Prince of Wales and Anne, that Duke's daughter, though unfortunately it never took place.

King John II. of Portugal sends out a fleet of ten caravels to the Coast of Guinea, the lordship whereof he now formally assumed, and where he now erected the castle of St. George del Mina. On this coast the Portuguese now began the custom, since followed by other nations in their new discoveries, of erecting pillars in various places, with the arms of Portugal engraved thereon, and also the names of the discoverers, as well as the dates of the respective discoveries.

At this time the Turks, under their Sultan Bajazet II. gained ground considerably on the Christians, more especially on the state of Venice, from whom he took Durazzo, Modon, Coron, Novarino, &c. on the east side of the Adriatic Sea.

1482

The Parliament of England grants six thousand pounds for the relief of decayed towns.

In the same year, the Parliament settled an annual sum, out of the customs and other revenues, for the support of the King's household, the yearly expence of which was eleven thousand pounds, according to Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower. How strangely are things altered since those times; money being then as one one-half to one of our present money.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 145, King Edward IV. renewed with King John II. of Portugal, in general terms, the treaties of friendship and correspondence formerly entered into between King John's predecessors and King Richard II. and King Henry IV. of England.

King Edward IV. having, in the year 1474, as we have seen, concluded a truce with King James III. of Scotland, by which he had obliged the provost, merchants, burghesses, and whole community of Edinburgh, by an instrument, to repay to him all such monies as he had advanced to King James III. in part of the marriage portion then stipulated to be given with his daughter Cecily to King James's eldest son James, who, by the name of King James IV. afterwards married King Henry Seventh's daughter, instead of this stipulated match, "the said magistrates and citizens of Edinburgh, on failure of this marriage, were thereby liable, for themselves, their heirs, &c. and also for all their goods, merchandize, &c." Which said instrument was then executed under that city's common seal, and delivered at Alnwick by Walter Bartraham, the provost, to the Duke of Gloucester, in the presence of Alexander Duke of Albany, King James's uncle, and of several Lords, &c. of both nations.

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1482 of marriage not being complied with, King Edward, on demanding the money by Garter, King-at-Arms, in the year 1482, the said city repaid the same, amounting to six thousand marks sterling, being nine thousand marks sterling of modern money. Hall's Chronicle, p. 57, London 1550, and Gordon's History of the House of Gordon.

It was in this year, according to the old *Grande Chronique de Hollande*, &c. "That the city of Amsterdam was begun to be fortified, and surrounded with a strong brick wall, by their sovereign, Mary Duchess of Burgundy, that city having, till this time, been only fortified with planks, palisadoes, and towers, at proper distances." This, however, shews, that Amsterdam, even before this time, was a place of some account, and not, as some have written, an upstart place, or a fishing town, raised merely on the ruin of Antwerp.

From the middle of the fourteenth century, and more especially towards the latter part of it, when the pickling of herrings, as at present, was invented in Flanders, the Netherlands provinces constantly gained ground of the Hanseatic-cities: this, joined to their immense woollen manufacture, could not fail to increase the maritime commerce of the city of Bruges, until this year 1482, when the Flemings entered into a war with their Prince, the Arch-Duke Maximilian, for the guardianship of his son, &c. by which Sluys, the then proper port of Bruges, was much disturbed; and the Antwerp and Amsterdammers taking advantage of this event, by assisting the Arch-Duke in his designs, they gradually gained a great share in the commerce of Bruges. Antwerp more especially began, from this time, to acquire that vast commerce which it held for about one hundred years after; of which more will be related under the year 1487.

The fishing trade of England, for exportation, must have been considerable at this time: since, in this twenty-second year of King Edward IV. 1482, we find no less than four statutes, though two of them be now left out of the printed statute book, for the well packing in casks, of salmon, herrings, eels, and other barrelled fish. These are some of the earliest statutes for packing of fish: yet there are several older statutes for the preservation of the fry of salmon, lampreys, &c. even as far back as King Edward First's reign, especially in the rivers Thames and Medway; but they related only to our home consumption.

It has been advanced by various authors, that there was no malt liquor known by the appellation of beer, as distinguished from the ancient liquor called ale, till hops came to be used in Europe, which was not generally the case quite so early as this time: the Flemings having first found out the virtue of this plant for that purpose, in or about the fourteenth century, it being till then esteemed an useless weed: yet we find, by a statute of the twelfth Parliament of the twenty-third year of King James III. of Scotland, chap. lxxxviii. entitled, Of the bringers home and sellers of corrupt wine, it was enacted, "That no person shall mix wine or beer, under the pain of death."

The same year, a sumptuary law, relating to the apparel of laymen, was made by the English Parliament, the twenty-second of Edward IV. cap. i. directing what kind of apparel may be worn, and what kinds shall be prohibited, by every various degree or rank of persons. "And that none, under the estate of a lord, excepting certain persons particularly named, shall wear any gown or mantle, unless it be of such length, that, he being, or standing, upright, it shall cover his privy members and buttocks."

Also,

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Also, in the same year, there were two English laws made, relating to manufactures, viz. cap. iii. "That no ribbands, laces, corsets, girdles, callisilk, or colleinsilk twined, shall be imported or worn, under forfeiture thereof, or their value." This was intended for the encouraging our own English made small silk haberdashery manufactures.

Another, cap. v. "That no person shall full or thicken any hats, bonnets, or caps at any falling mill, nor set to sail any so fulled, upon the pain of forfeiting forty shillings."

In the twelfth volume, p. 146, of the *Fœdera*, we see a commission from King Edward IV. "To treat with the deputies of the province of Guipuscoa in Spain, of a league of friendship and intercourse of merchandize with the towns, places, and people of the said province, and for redress of former grievances." In this record there is not any mention made of the King nor Queen of Castile nor Leon: yet, in the next record but one, p. 148, we have the capitulation of the Guipuscoans, by leave obtained from King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, sovereigns of Castile, &c. viz.

A treaty between the said King Edward IV. of England and the noble and good men, the governors and all the inhabitants of the province of Guipuscoa, viz.

"There shall be a good and firm league and truce for ten years, and a friendly correspondence by sea and land, and intercourse of merchandize between both parties; unless King Edward, or the King of Castile in behalf of the Guipuscoans, shall, on six months notice, declare they will hold this league no longer."

It seems there had been much robbing and pirating on the seas on both sides; wherefore, they now obliged all ship-masters, at setting sail, to give security for their doing no prejudice to either party. See the year 1474.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 155, King Edward IV. concluded a treaty of intercourse and commerce with Folker Reyner, Lord of the Isles of Schelling, on the coasts of Holland and Friesland, "for the mutual and peaceable carrying on of commerce between both parties."

The Portuguese make some settlements in the kingdom of Congo southward, on the west coast of Africa, which they have since greatly increased, and where they now have also many churches and clergy, who have converted most of the natives to Christianity, which, however, is intermixed, as it is said, with many of their pagan superstitions.

The Portuguese have still further improved the kingdom of Angola, which lies south of Congo. Here they are, even to this day, sovereigns along that extended coast, and far into the inland parts; the capital city thereof, named St. Paul de Loanda, in the south latitude of eight one-half degrees, is said at present to contain three thousand stone houses belonging to the Portuguese, besides a much greater number of mud houses thatched, inhabited by the natives; here they have a bishop, a cathedral church, and many other stone churches. From Congo the Portuguese carry on a great trade with negro slaves for their vast and rich Brasil colonies; and still a greater trade at St. Paul de Loanda for negroes, &c. it having a most commodious harbour for shipping.

They afterwards planted further south, on account of the negro trade in the kingdom of Benguela, latitude south ten degrees, thirty-five minutes, where, at its chief town of the same name, the Portuguese have a fort, and many Portuguese inhabitants.

1483 Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, being before possessed of four of the seven Canary Isles, they this year conquered the isle called the Grand Canary, where they found

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1483 found two petty kings contending for the possession of it, and also the other two isles; so that they now possessed all the seven isles.

In this year King Edward IV. of England departed this life: of whom Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, writes, that he granted new charters to the towns of Colchester, Windsor, and Wenlock. In these charters it is admitted, that those towns had, before this time, charters of incorporation, with mayors and other magistrates. Towns and cities in England frequently forfeited, or at least were obliged to acknowledge their having forfeited, former charters, in order to bring money into the Exchequer for the renewal of them, and very often also for the sake of emoluments to the favourite of the reigning prince. He has not given us the precise dates of those charters, which, however, may probably be found amongst the records of those towns.

About this time the noble country of Provence, together with the fine provinces of Anjou and Maine, were re-united to the crown of France by the death of René, King of Sicily, in whom the male line of Anjou failed. This was a very great addition to the dominions of France.

In this year died also the French King Louis XI. who had considerably increased the French territories and the power of that monarchy.

We must not take our character of this fifteenth century, in point of apparel, from that King's dress. Mathieu, in the History of his Life, observes, "That there was to be seen, in his time, in the house of a counsellor of state, the bed wherein that King lay, being of yellow and carnation damask, without any lace."—Bodin observes, "that, in scorn, he wore a greasy hat, and the coarsest cloth. In the chamber of accounts there was an article found of his expences, which mentions two sols for a new pair of sleeves to an old doublet, and of one denier and an half for a box of grease for his boots." Yet the same author observes, that, at a convention of the estates of France about this time, held at Tours, complaint was made, that there was not a fidler, groom of the chamber, barber, nor soldier, but wore silk; that they had collars or rings of gold on their fingers, like princes, and that every man was clad in velvet or silk. Thus this people, even so early, and in spite of the temper of their King, had the character they have ever since held, of being the most vain and foppish people in all Europe.

In the short nominal reign of King Edward V. in two months of the year 1483, we see in the twelfth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 180, that notwithstanding the statute of the eighth of King Henry VI. (prohibiting all Englishmen from resorting to any part of the King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden's dominions, save only to North Bergen in Norway,) a new licence was granted to Robert Alcock of Hull, again to sail to Iceland with a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, laden with any merchandize, not of the staple of Calais, and to import from Iceland any wares of that country, &c.—That person had obtained a similar licence in the year 1478.

There having been various depredations and violences committed on the English merchants and their ships, at Boulogne and other parts of France, and the same injuries done to those of France, at Sandwich and other ports of England, King Richard III. in this year issued a commission for restitution and satisfaction on both sides, and for maintaining the truce.—*Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 191.

In the same year, King Richard III. appointed John Gunthorp, a clergyman, to be Keeper of his Privy Seal, with a salary of twenty shillings per day, which was equal to thirty shil-

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1483 lings of modern coin, payable out of the customs of the following ports, viz.—*Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 194.

	£.	s.	d.
From Sandwich	66	13	4
Poole	60	0	0
Bristol	120	0	0
Southampton	100	0	0
Bridgwater	18	6	8

365 0 0 being 547*l.* 10*s.* of modern money.

Ibid. p. 198, King Richard III. renews the league of friendship and intercourse of commerce with Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile and Arragon, and with their Governors of Guipuscoa, Biscay, and other maritime provinces of Spain, on the same terms as we have already related.

The Duke of Norfolk, one of King Richard the Third's most zealous partizans, obtained in this first year of his reign, his royal licence to import one hundred tons of wine from France, or elsewhere, and to sell or otherwise dispose of the same, on paying the usual customs and duties.—*Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 202.

It seems, by an act of Parliament of the first year of King Richard III. cap. viii. that there had crept in, in those times, various fraudulent and tricking methods of making of woollen cloths of all kinds. That act therefore directs the proper remedies, viz.

1. That no broad cloth be put to sale, or exported, till it be fully watered.
2. The dimensions of all kinds of cloth were directed to be as follows, viz.
3. Broad cloths shall be in length twenty-four yards, (and to every yard an inch); breadth, eight quarters within the lifts.
4. Half cloths, twelve yards long, and not to exceed sixteen yards; and breadth as above.
5. Streits, twelve yards long; and breadth, one yard within the lifts.
6. Kerseys, eighteen yards long; and breadth, one yard and a nail within the lifts.
7. The Aulneger's seal of lead to be put on every of those cloths, with the King's arms on one side of the seal, and the arms of the town where made, or the name of the county on the other side.
8. No setting, drawing, nor tentering of those cloths after watering.
9. None shall set, cast, or put on the said cloths, flocks or other deceitful thing.
10. Nor any chalk on white cloths.
11. Nor shall any shearman shear or cancel any cloths, till fully watered.
12. Tenters shall not be kept within doors, but alone in open places.
13. No stranger shall buy any wool, to be sent through the Streights of Marrook, *i. e.* Morocco, or Gibraltar) by galleys, carracks, or other ships, sorted, clacked, or barked, but the wool shall be just as clipped from the sheep.
14. No cloth shall be dyed with cork or orchell.
15. The cloth and lifts shall be died of one colour.

Excepting out of this act, cloth of ray; and also cloths made in Winchester and Salisbury, usually put and joined with ray; and also plonkets, turkins, celestines, packing-whits, vellses,

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1483 cogware, worsteds, florences, bastards, kendals, sayling-ware with cremil lists, and frise ware ; so as in other respects they be fairly and legally made.

In the ninth act of that same Parliament, we perceive how far foreigners still held possession of the-foreign commerce of England, with the manner of living of those foreigners at that time in England. That act begins with observing, “ That whereas merchant-strangers of “ the nation of Italy, as Venetians, Florentines, Apulians, Sicilians, Lucaners, Catellans,” (*i. e.* Catalans, which shews they were still very bad geographers in those times) “ do, in great “ numbers, keep houses in London and other great cities and burghs, taking warehouses and “ cellars for the merchandize they import, and where they deceitfully pack, mingle, and keep “ their said merchandize till their prices greatly advance.—And they likewise buy here our na- “ tive commodities, and sell them again at their pleasure ; and do not employ a great part of “ the money coming thereof upon the commodities of this realm, but make it over sea to di- “ vers other countries, to the King’s great loss in his customs, and the impoverishment of his “ subjects : and the said Italian and other merchant-strangers be hosts, and take to them “ people of other nations, and be with them daily, and do buy and sell, and make secret bar- “ gains with them ;—And do buy, in divers places of this realm, great quantities of wool, “ woollen cloth, and other merchandize of the King’s subjects, part of which they sell again “ here.” (Horrible crimes truly !) “ And great numbers of artificers and other strangers, “ with their families, daily resort to the city of London, and other cities and towns, much “ more than they were wont to do in times past ; and instead of laborious occupations, such “ as going to plough, &c. do use the making of cloth and other easy occupations ; and do also “ bring from beyond sea great quantities of wares to fairs, markets, &c. at their pleasure, and “ sell the same by retail as well as otherwise, to the great impoverishment of the King’s sub- “ jects : neither will they take any of the King’s subjects to work with them, but only peo- “ ple born in their own country, whereby the King’s subjects fall into idleness, and be “ thieves, beggars, vagabonds, &c.—And when those foreigners have gained in this realm “ great substance, they withdraw with the same out of the realm to foreign parts, as they “ please, and there spend that substance oft-times amongst the King’s adversaries, &c.— Wherefore it was now enacted, “ I. That all Italian merchants, who are not denizens, shall “ only sell their merchandize in gross, and not by retail to the King’s subjects, within eight “ months after their importation, and in the ports they arrive at ; and, within the same time, “ shall lay out the money in English commodities, and in nowise to make over such money “ by exchange. But if they cannot sell all their wares within the said term of eight months, “ then what shall remain unsold shall be carried beyond sea again within two months more. “ II. No merchant-stranger shall be an host to another merchant-stranger, unless he be of “ the same nation.—III. Neither shall they sell or barter any wool, woollen cloth, or other “ English merchandize in the realm, which they shall have first bought here, but shall carry “ the same beyond sea through the Streights of Morocco. IV. No alien shall hereafter be a “ master-handicraftsman in England, but such of them as are skilled therein may be servants “ to English master-handicraftsmen, or else depart the realm. V. Neither shall they make any “ cloth, nor put any wool to work to make cloth. VI. Neither shall any foreign handicraft- “ man now in the realm hereafter take any but English apprentices, or other servants to work “ with him, unless it be his son or daughter. VII. Yet aliens may import books, either “ written or printed, and sell the same here by retail, and may reside within this realm for the “ exercise of printing, &c. of books.”

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Although there are some parts of this act which bear too hard on foreigners, who, very probably, were thus again abridged of some of their former privileges by the interposition of our cities and monopolising corporations, who always looked with envious eyes on the benefits which were reaped by foreign merchants residing in and trading to England; yet, in the end, it may probably have, in some degree, contributed to bring the foreign commerce, as well as the mechanical arts, more into English hands; much of both sorts being, at this time, managed by foreigners, as appears by another act of Parliament this same year, cap. xii. intitled, “Certain Merchandizes prohibited to be brought into this Realm ready wrought,” which, on the representation of the artificers of London, and other towns and villages, were thereby prohibited to be imported: viz. “Of the girdlers, point-makers, pinners, pursers, gloves, joiners, painters, card-makers, wiremongers, weavers, horners, bottle-makers, and coppersmiths; who hereby represent, that, in times past, they were wont to be greatly employed in their said crafts for the sustenance of themselves and families, and of many others of the King’s subjects;” (depending on them) “but of late, by merchant-strangers, denizens, and others, there are imported from beyond sea, and sold in this realm, as much wares as may be wrought by the above-named artificers, now like to be undone for want of occupation.”—Wherefore it was now enacted, that no merchant-stranger shall import into this realm, for sale, any manner of girdles, nor harneys wrought for girdles, points, leather laces, pouches, pins,” (pins are now first named in the statute book) “gloves, knives, hangers, taylor’s shears, scissars, and irons, cupboards, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, flock locks, keys, hinges and garnets, spurs, painted glaſſes, painted papers, painted forcers, painted images, painted cloths, beaten gold and beaten silver wrought in papers for painters, saddles, saddletrees, horse-harneys, boots, bits, stirrups, buckler-chains, latten nails with iron shanks, turners hanging candlesticks, holy water stops, chaffing dishes, hanging lavers, curtain-rings, wool-cards, roan-cards, (except clasps for garments) buckles for shoes, shears, broaches for spits, bells, hawks bells, tin and leaden spoons, wire of latten and iron, iron candlesticks, grates, horns for lanthorns, or any of the said wares wrought, pertaining to the crafts above specified, on pain of forfeiture, &c.

Curious enquirers into our vast improvements since those days will be able, by the above-specified list, as well as by the before quoted statute, cap. ix. the better to judge of and compare past and present times, in respect to commerce and manufactures, upon which the wealth and strength of nations so much depend.

Another act of Parliament this same year ascertains the measures or contents of butts or other vessels of wines and oils, viz. “A butt of Malmsey to contain one hundred and twenty-six gallons, every ton of wine to contain two hundred and fifty-two gallons; every pipe, one hundred and twenty-six gallons; every tertian (or tierce) one hundred and twenty-six gallons; every hoghead sixty-three gallons; every barrel to contain thirty-one gallons and an an half; and every rundlet to contain eighteen gallons and an half, according to the old assize and measure of the same vessels used in this realm. These vessels, with wines and oil, shall not be sold till first gauged by the King’s gaugers, on pain of forfeiting them; and the sellers of any of the said vessels of wine or oil shall be bound to make good, to the buyers thereof, whatever shall be found lacking in the measures of capacity above-mentioned, upon pain of forfeiting to the King all the wine and oils so sold.”

“We have again some ground to believe, that, in this year 1483, lands in England might be worth about ten years purchase; as, in a proclamation of King Richard the Third, in
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1483 this year, he promises a reward of one thousand pounds sterling, or one hundred pounds per annum in land, to whomsoever shall deliver up to him the Duke of Buckingham; also, one thousand marks, or one hundred marks yearly in land, for delivering to him the Marquis of Dorset, and the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury. For this reason also we may conclude, that money lent at interest, must also, at this time, have yielded at least ten per cent.

1484 In the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 213, in the year 1484, King Richard the Third, in acknowledging the great services which James, Earl of Douglas, had formerly rendered to him, and for which he had not been sufficiently rewarded, in order that he may for the future be enabled the more decently to support his dignity, he now grants him two hundred pounds yearly, or three hundred pounds of our money, during life, out of the fee-farms of Bristol, Norwich, Oxford, Derby, St. Albans, and St. Edmundsbury; but the several sums in the printed copy make all together (through mistake) but one hundred and ninety-seven pounds. This is probably the same Earl Douglas on whom King Edward IV. bestowed a pension for life of five hundred pounds yearly, in the first year of his reign, for political considerations, that Earl having been at enmity with his sovereign, King James III.

In the same year, volume, and page, “King Richard the Third, in consideration of the ruin, decay, and poverty, which his town of Hull had lately fallen into, and also on account of the great expences and services which the magistrates and people of that town had been at, and done to him, in his voyage to Scotland, when Duke of Gloucester, and on other occasions, grants them, for their relief, and for the repair of their harbour, a licence for twenty years to come, to ship and export as much merchandize, (wool and woollens excepted) as will make the customs and subsidies of exportation, and the duties on the importation of other merchandize in return, amount to sixty pounds per annum, without paying any of the said customs, subsidies, and duties during the said term.” The decay of this good town was owing to our quarrels with the Hanseatics, with whom it had great dealings.

In vol. xii. p. 228, of the *Fœdera*, King Richard III. renewed with Portugal the peace and commercial intercourse which was made with that crown by King Richard II. as appears in vol. vii. p. 525, of the *Fœdera*, in the year 1380.

Richard's usurpation, and the barbarous cruelties he practised in order to obtain the crown, made him the more earnest in entering into treaties with foreign princes and states, for the better securing himself on the throne he had usurped.

In the learned and most judicious Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's Preface to Anderson's *Thesaurus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae*, he acquaints us, “That King James III. of Scotland did, by authority of Parliament, coin pieces of gold, in this year 1484, exactly of the weight and fineness of the English rose noble, and of the value of thirty silver groats; which silver groats,” adds he, “were, by that King, in this same year, coined of equal weight and fineness with those of England; but they were to pass in Scotland for fourteen pence, and the half-groat for seven pence.”—That is, the Scottish silver money was, by this regulation, enhanced in nominal value to three and an half times the value of the same coins in England.

1485 In this last year of King Richard the Third, he confirmed to the Italian merchants of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Lucca, &c. all the privileges and immunities granted to them by King Edward the Fourth, in the twenty-second year of his reign: though these last are not to be found in the *Fœdera*.—See vol. xii. p. 255, of that work.

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The city of York being at this time much decayed and impoverished, and being bound by charters to pay to the crown an annual fee-farm rent of one hundred and sixty pounds, King Richard III. remitted sixty pounds of this yearly fee-farm rent, for the relief of that city in its public expence, and particularly for enabling it to repair its walls. He likewise further granted, that for ever after, the Mayor of that city should, *ex officio*, be the King's principal Serjeant at Arms, attended with a yearly salary of eighteen pounds five shillings, payable out of the residue of the said fee-farm.—*Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 258.

Ibid. p. 261, King Richard III. renewed the truce and intercourse of commerce with Francis Duke of Bretagne, which was to last till the year 1492.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 261, King Richard III. taking notice, “ that whereas certain merchants and others from England intend to frequent foreign parts, and chiefly Italy, with their ships and merchandize, and we being desirous to consult their peace and advantage as much as possible, and observing, from the practice of other nations, the necessity of their having a peculiar magistrate amongst them, for the determining of all disputes, &c. between merchants and others, natives of England: moreover, we understanding that the city of Pisa is a very proper place for the residence of our merchants, and being assured of the fidelity and probity of Laurentio Strozzi, a merchant of Florence,—have and do, at the request of our merchants already frequenting Pisa, and of such as are to resort thither, appoint him to be Consul and President of all our merchants at Pisa and parts adjacent, allowing him for his trouble herein the fourth part of one per cent. on all goods of Englishmen either imported to, or exported from thence.”

This appears to have been the first instance of English merchants sending ships to any part of Italy, and consequently the first appointment of an English consul in any part of that country, where other nations had preceded England in their commerce to it, as well as in the office of consul for the convenience and protection of their merchants residing there.

King Henry VII. ascending the throne, he immediately after his coronation institutes a guard of fifty archers, to attend him and his successors for ever. They are at present, and probably were then also, called, Yeomen of the Guard.—This is the first instance of any established, or permanent military guard in England; its Kings, till now, except in times of war or insurrections, contenting themselves with the guard of their proper domestics and retinue.

England having been long accustomed to the wines of Gascony, by having held that country for about three hundred years, till it was finally lost in King Henry the Sixth's reign; and as there was still a great number of ships and mariners constantly employed in that trade between England and Bourdeaux, a great part of which was in foreign bottoms, and navigated by foreigners, a statute was made in the first year of King Henry VII. cap. viii. that from thenceforth no Gascon nor Guienne wine should be imported, but only by English, Irish, or Welch men, and in their own shipping. This is the first time we find mention of Welch shipping in the statute book, as trading beyond sea. By another statute of the fourth of that King, cap. x. this Navigation Act was extended to woad of Tholouse, coming also from Gascony. Thus we see, that wise King and his Parliament clearly enough perceived the vast advantages accruing to a nation, by employing its own ships and mariners as much as possible in its commerce. And my Lord Bacon, in his Life of King Henry VII. accordingly ascribes this law to that King's care “ to make his realm potent at sea as well as by land: for, (adds he) almost all the ancient statutes incite, by all means, to bring in all sorts of commodities, having for end cheapness.

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1485 “cheapness, and not looking to the point of state, concerning the naval power.” (See, however, two preceding attempts of this kind, in the years 1381 and 1440.) The last-named act, however, plainly supposes, that the prohibition therein is only to take place where English ships and mariners may or can be had, by adding, “That no person shall freight the above-named merchandize in a stranger’s ship, to be brought into this realm, or carried forth, if he may have sufficient freight in the same port in a denizen’s ship.”

In vol. xii. p. 276, of the *Fœdera*, we find that King Henry the Seventh’s kinsman, John Earl of Oxford, had the Constableship of the Tower of London, and also the keeping of the lions and leopards there. For the former the King allows him twelve pence per day, and six pence per day for the sustenance of each of those wild beasts.

1486 Many circumstances concur and conspire, about this time, for bringing forward the grand discoveries to be very soon made, of what may be called the two new worlds, of the East and of the West Indies. An Ambassador to King John of Portugal, from the King of Benin on the Guinea coast, giving him some faint intelligence concerning the Emperor of Ethiopia, (erroneously named Prester John) whose country, however, he was not as yet able to find, although he had, in the year 1480, sent out Diaz for that end, as also for finding a way to India by sea: yet, though neither of these were as yet found, it was, however, a great point gained, that the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was, by that means, obtained, though not till the following year 1487. Moreover, Covilian, by King John’s order, sets out from Cairo in Egypt to Aden in Arabia, and from thence he sailed to the East Indies, and returned to Ethiopia, at which count he is said to have been detained, through a regard that Emperor had for him, so as never to return to Portugal, though he is related to have made the report of his reception, &c. to a Portuguese ambassador at Ethiopia, thirty years after this time. King John also, the first of any prince in Europe, brought in Astronomy to the assistance of navigation, and introduced various astronomical instruments to the knowledge of his navigators; as also tables of declination, for finding the latitude and course. Whether, as some allege, the sailors had still got it in their heads, that there was no going beyond the Cape of Good Hope, then called by them Cape Tormentoso, (or stormy) or else, which is as likely, that the Portuguese thought, from the discoveries already made, they had employment enough for some years to come, in improving them, we shall not absolutely decide; only it is certain, that Diaz returned unsuccessfully home to Portugal, and that no further discoveries, as we shall see, were made for some succeeding years.

Water-conduits brought into the streets of several English cities and towns, began to be more generally introduced in this century, as they had been long before in London. In Mr. Izacke’s Register of charitable Donations to the City of Exeter, printed in octavo, in 1736, p. 133, there is mention made of the great conduit in the High-street of that city, in the year 1486. Conduits in cities were of a later date in Scotland, where they have them still only as they were in London before the restoration of King Charles II.—that is, few or none of their houses had pipes laid into them, but the inhabitants were obliged to get the water brought home in wooden vessels, called Tankerds, to their houses, as we have seen practised at a famous well at Aldgate, so lately as the close of the reign of the late Queen Anne.

The jealous and suspicious temper of King Henry VII. of England, who knew his right to the throne was not absolutely unquestionable, made him, in this year 1486, direct a commission for enquiring into the retainers of persons outlawed, and of all retainers, by indenture,

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1486 ture or oath; also of all that gave livery, sign, or token, contrary to law.—*Fœdera*, vol. xii p. 281.

In this year also, and for much the same reason, Henry concluded a truce and intercourse of commerce for three years with Charles the Eighth of France, instead of aiding the dutchy of Bretagne, which was successfully invaded by Charles. The same year Henry made a similar truce with James the Third of Scotland, for the same number of years.—*P.* 285, *ibid.*

In the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 300, King Henry the Seventh grants a charter of safe conduct to four merchants of Florence therein named, and to all others of that country, and their factors and servants residing in England, and also to their mariners, pilots, &c. thereby granting them a licence to import in their ships whatever merchandize they pleased, and to sell the same; also to buy and export wool, cloth, tin, lead, and other merchandize, paying the usual customs and subsidies. Provided they do not export any merchandize belonging to the staple of Calais any where but to the said staple, unless to parts within the straits of Morocco.

Ibid. p. 303, King Henry VII. renews the intercourse of commerce and mutual fishery between England and Bretagne, during the joint lives of himself and Duke Francis, and for one year longer.

Ibid. p. 314, that King grants the consulship of English merchants residing at Pisa, and other parts of Italy, to Christopher Spence, at one quarter of one per cent. on all exports and imports there; just as King Richard III. had allowed to Strozzi their first consul.

Ibid. p. 317, Henry VII. grants an annuity or salary to his Poet Laureat, Bernard Andrews, of ten marks yearly, or fifteen marks in modern money.

Ibid. p. 320, King Henry VII. renews the truce and intercourse of commerce, and of mutual fishery, with Maximilian King of the Romans, and his son the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands.

Wheat, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, was this year very dear, viz. one pound four shillings, or one pound sixteen shillings modern money per quarter; i. e. three shillings per bushel, and of our money four shillings and six pence.

In the same year, the Hanseatic confederacy, according to their historian Angelius à Werdenhagen, vol. ii. part iv. p. 10, engaged in a very serious difference with the crown of France, (of which it would have been kind in that confused author to have afforded his readers some few particulars) which, however, was accommodated in the year following, through the interposition of the Kings of Denmark and Scotland.

1487 The Flemings, now in the zenith of their wealth and populousness, being engaged in a dispute with the Arch-Duke Maximilian, King of the Romans, for the guardianship of his son Philip, their Earl, great tumults arose in Ghent and Bruges. The latter city, grown immensely rich by its most extensive commerce, was in this year, 1487, so outrageous as to seize on the person of the King of the Romans, and to kill some of his principal Ministers in his sight. This violent insult brought about the ruin of Bruges: for the Emperor Frederick, father of Maximilian, thereupon blocked up Sluys, its proper haven, by the assistance of Antwerp and Amsterdam, who with jealous eyes saw the whole trade of the Low Countries center in Bruges; (says Bishop Huet, in his *Memoirs of the Dutch Trade*) whereupon, according to Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic Historian, the commerce was removed from Bruges to Bort, and from thence soon after to Antwerp. Yet Thuanus, lib. 51, of his *Historia Sui Temporis*, and Louis

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Louis Guicciardini, in his Description de Pays bas, both say, that the trade removed directly to Antwerp; wherefore we must understand from Werdenbagen, that it was only the commerce and comptoir of the Hans-towns which removed from Bruges, where they had a superb and magnificent house, for a short space to Dort, and afterwards to Antwerp, where they erected a grand Stadthouse, in which their merchants lived in a kind of a collegiate manner, for the privileges of which, the Hans-towns paid sixty thousand dollars to that city in 1502. Having had the proper powers and jurisdictions of an independent body or corporation there, as far as related to their own people; and they seem to have had the same privileges at their other three comptoirs of London, Bergen, and Novogrod. Yet Monsieur Huët, in the book above quoted, seems to say more truly, that the commerce of Bruges, even at this time, removed, in part, to Amsterdam, which then began to be very considerable in commerce, and has long since swallowed up all that of both Bruges and Antwerp. “Till this time,” continues Huët, “there was scarce a nation in Europe, how inconsiderable soever, that had not their proper mercantile magazine or storehouse at Bruges, and a company or factory residing there; as the English, French, Scots, Castilians, Portuguese; those of Arragon, Catalonia, Biscay, Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Milan, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and all the Hans-towns.”

Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, part. i. cap. 2, gives us, in some respects, a different account of Bruges losing its commerce, and the vast increase of that of Antwerp, viz.

“The fisheries and manufactures of the Netherlands increased more and more, with the traffic by sea to Bruges, which lasted to the year 1482, when Flanders had wars with the Arch-Duke Maximilian about the guardianship of his son and his dominions, which continued for ten years. Meanwhile, Sluys, the sea port of Bruges, being for the most part infested, those of Antwerp and Amsterdam, in order to draw the trade to their own cities, assisted the Duke, *i. e.* Maximilian, in his unbridled tyranny and barbarous destruction of that country, and thereby regained his favour, and attained their own ends. And seeing the Italians, by their Levant trade, had, long before, gotten the eggs of silk worms from China and Persia, and had raised such abundance of those worms and mulberry trees, that they wove many silk stuffs, and in process of time had dispersed their silk every where, and began to vent many of them at Antwerp: and that the passages to the East and West Indies came to be discovered, so that the Spaniards and Portuguese sold their spices, &c. at Antwerp; as also that the Netherlandish drapery was much of it removed to England, and the English also fixing their staple at Antwerp; these things produced many new effects.”

But with the leave of this otherwise great author, the Italians had no need to go so far as Persia for the eggs of the silk worm, and much less to China, with which country the western parts of the world had then no communication; for we have already related, under the sixth century, how the Emperor Justinian brought silk worms into Greece from the East; and that from thence, both they and the silk manufacture were brought into Italy, in succeeding times.

In vol. xii. p. 318, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that notwithstanding the difficulties which, as before hinted, the Archduke Maximilian had to struggle with at this time, he concluded a provisional treaty of commerce with our King Henry VII. “The truce between England and the Netherlands,” says Rapin on this occasion, “was so necessary for the subjects of both Princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being sufferers. But, for that

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1487 “very reason, each strove to reap some advantage from the situation of affairs, which rendered the treaty very difficult.”

1488 By a statute, cap. xi. of the third year of King Henry VII. it was enacted, that no woollen cloth should be exported, until it be barbed, rowed, and thorn, on pain of forfeiting the value, half to the crown and half to the informer. This act, it seems, was occasioned by much of our cloth having been till now exported without those operations, to the great detriment of our poor workmen, excepting, however, certain cloths called rales, vestes, sailing cloths, and other cloths sold at forty shillings or under.

By an Act of Parliament in this third year of King Henry VII. cap. vi. we find the old method of the crown's keeping offices for exchanging of money still preserved. It enacted, “That none should make any exchange without the King's licence, or make exchange or re-exchange of money to be paid within the land, but only such persons as the King shall depute thereunto, upon the like forfeitures as in former statutes.” In those times there were, as we have elsewhere observed, several offices erected in different places for exchanging of bullion, gold, silver, plate, or foreign coins, for the coins of the realm; and our Kings made an advantage of those offices; the benefit of which no Prince better understood than King Henry VII.

This act also directs, “That all unlawful chevifance,” *i. e.* loans of money on mortgages of lands, &c. on extravagant terms, “and usury shall be extirpated, and all brokers of such bargains shall be set on the pillory and put to open shame; and shall also be for half a year imprisoned, and pay twenty pounds.”

No law as yet had ascertained any rate of usury, that is, interest for money, but every one took as much as he could obtain. The church generally condemned all usury as absolutely unlawful, from a false notion, that Christians were bound by a law which prohibited Jews from taking use or usury from any Jew for money lent. Yet neither did that mistaken notion, nor even this and a former act of Parliament, effectually hinder the taking of usury; till at length, as men's minds became more enlarged, and the increase of commerce brought on additional occasions for money, usury was permitted by an act of the thirty-seventh year of King Henry VIII. The generality of rational men were long before sensible of the reasonableness of an allowance to the lender of money; and it was accordingly in universal practice, although they still went on in the old cant for form sake, to stile usury unlawful. Yet they designedly penned their laws in such general and obscure terms, on purpose that loans and mortgages should not be obstructed, nor common business retarded.

An act of the English Parliament, cap. ix. in the said third year of King Henry VII. sets forth, “That whereas, by a late ordinance of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, it was ordained, that no freeman of that city should resort to any fair or market out of London, with any manner of ware or merchandize for sale or barter, to the intent,” says this act of Parliament, “that all buyers and merchants should resort to the said city, to buy their wares and merchandize of the said citizens and freemen aforesaid, because of,” *i. e.* for the advancement of, “their singular lucre and avail. In consideration of the hurt likely to grow of and by the premises, it is hereby enacted, that every freeman of London may,” notwithstanding that city's said ordinance, “freely resort to all fairs and markets in England with their wares and merchandize. And the said ordinance of the Common Council of London is hereby annulled and made void.”

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In Scotland, the Parliament was so narrow in its notions of commerce, in behalf of the towns corporate alone, as to enact, “ That all ships, as well of subjects as of strangers, shall resort to the King’s free burghs,” since called royal burghs, “ to make their merchandize; and that the merchant strangers shall buy no merchandize but at such free burghs. Neither shall they,” *i. e.* merchant-strangers, “ go to the Isle of Lewes to buy fish, but shall buy them in burghs, ready salted, packed, &c.” This law bore very hard indeed on foreigners, and bore a strong resemblance to the ordinance made in those days by the crown of Denmark, prohibiting other nations from fishing at Iceland, and obliging them to resort for such fish, &c. to the port of North Bergen in Norway. There were several other very impolitic laws made in Scotland in these times: such as, “ that none dwelling out of these burghs should use merchandize, nor tap or sell wine, nor wax, silk, spices, woad, &c. nor staple wares,” *i. e.* wool, skins, and leather. “ Yet burghesses in burghs of Regality and Barony might export their own manufacture, or such goods as they purchased in fairs.”

In this same year, the first of King James IV. the Scottish Parliament “ enacted a gold penny to be coined of the weight and fineness of the English rose noble, and a penny of silver to be equal to the old English groat; ten of which to make an ounce of silver, and each of them to go for fourteen-pence;” that is, for three one-half times the nominal value of the English groat. “ And the said penny of gold to be current for thirty of the said groats. Another gold penny was to be current for twenty groats, and a third for ten of these groats.”

It is scarcely necessary to observe, in this place, that the word penny, both of gold and silver, means any piece of money, without being restrained to its original signification, taken from England, of one pennyweight troyweight, or twenty-four grains.

The said act further enjoins, “ That for encouraging the importation of bullion from foreign parts, merchants shall, for each ferplaith,” in Sir James Stuart’s Abridgment of the Scottish acts of Parliament, under the word merchants, we find that three ferplaiths of wool weighed two hundred and twenty-four stone, at sixteen pounds to the stone, “ of wool exported, for each last of salmon, and for each four hundred yards of cloth, bring home four ounces of burnt silver; for each last of hides, six ounces, and for each last of herrings, two ounces; and the like for all other goods which pay custom to the King. For which bullion, these merchants were to receive of the warden of the King’s mint twelve shillings in the said new coins for every ounce of silver.” Now fourteen Scottish pence, as above, being at this time equal to four English pence, the merchants had out of the mint the value of three shillings and five-pence and one-seventh English for an ounce of imported bullion.

In vol. xii. p. 335, of the *Fœdera*, there is a charter of King Henry VII. of England, in behalf of the Italian merchants of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Lucca, setting forth, “ that whereas, in the first year of his reign, the Parliament granted him as follows, *viz.*

I. “ For every ton of wines imported by natives, three shillings, by foreigners, six shillings.

II. “ One shilling per pound, *ad valorem*, on other merchandize by natives. By foreigners two shillings, both on exports and imports.

III. “ For wool exported, per sack, by natives, one pound thirteen shillings and four-pence, by foreigners, three pounds six shillings and eight-pence, and per two hundred and forty woolsels, the like.

1488 • IV. “ For every last of leather, three pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, and double that sum for foreigners.”

Now the King, at the humble supplication of these four Italian states, grants to them and to all other Italian merchants, that they shall pay no more than two pounds three shillings and four-pence per sack for subsidy on wool, and one pound three shillings and three-pence for its custom; and only twelve-pence for every twenty shillings value in tin for its subsidy, and three-pence more for its custom. This, however, to last only for three years for their wool and tin.

This grant, if rightly copied, contains no new favour to the Italians with respect to wool, but is nine-pence more favourable to them on every twenty shillings in the article of tin.

The great progress which King Charles VIII. of France made in his intended conquest of Bretagne, at length appears in some measure to have opened the eyes of King Henry VII. of England. For, in this year, vol. xii. p. 355, of the *Fœdera*, we find him issuing his mandates to the several sheriffs of counties, for them to summon all Earls, Barons, Knights, &c. before them, in order for their giving an account of the number of archers which they could furnish properly equipped, and to get them mustered, for his intended expedition against France in favour of Bretagne; which, however, was not effectually performed.

In the same year King Henry VII. concluded, at Dort, a perpetual peace, friendship, and confederacy, with the Archduke Maximilian and his son Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands; but this treaty had no peculiar relation to commerce, and related purely to their reciprocal safety and joint assistance against King Charles VIII. of France, then overpowering Bretagne. *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 361.

1489 In this fourth year of King Henry VII. of England, a statute, cap. viii. "enacts a penalty of forty shillings for every yard of the finest scarlet or other grained cloth sold above sixteen shillings, or of any other coloured cloth above eleven shillings. And," cap. ix. "no hatter or capper shall sell any hat above the price of twenty-pence for the best, nor any cap above two shillings and eight-pence for the best." In this statute a cap, such, I suppose, as are seen in old pictures on the heads of persons of rank, is supposed to be a more valuable or fashionable covering for the head than a hat, then probably worn only by meaner people. This is the second time we meet with the word hat in the statute book.

Scarlet dying was very dear, before the discovery of Mexico by the Spaniards, which introduced a greater plenty of cochineal into Europe, than they had before from Syria, Arabia, and Persia. There were in old times several other ingredients for dying of scarlet. Monsieur Pezron, in his *Antiquities of Nations*, observes, "that the Latins used the word *coccum*, to signify scarlet dye, and also the grain with which it was dyed; that they also called it *hyginum*; both which words are Greek as well as Latin, and it was thus they called the red grain which grew on a kind of holly-oak, and was used for dying of scarlet. Pausanias," continues he, "tells us, that the Gauls, settled in Galatia, found certain small worms on those shrubs which served to dye scarlet; which Tertullian calls *rubor galaticus*, i. e. the red colour of Galatia." Cochineal is now well known to be a lady bird, which draws its substance from a shrub having a reddish sap, of which the author of this work gave ocular proof about the year 1734, to some physicians who went down with him into the South Sea Company's warehouses to view the greatest quantity of that precious drug that possibly had ever till then been seen in England at any one time. Cochineal is also used by painters, and likewise in medicine; and its high price still makes scarlet considerably dearer than any other colours in which it is not employed. In London, and in other great cities beyond sea, scarlet dying

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1489 dying is a business distinct from all other dying business, and is esteemed a more eminent and lucrative profession.

From another act of Parliament of this same year, cap. xxii. it appears, that all the gold lace and gold thread then used in England, came from Venice, Florence, and Genoa. That act was made to prevent frauds, and to prohibit the importers of that commodity from selling for a pound weight what doth not contain full twelve ounces; and that the inside of such gold lace and thread, be of equal greatness of thread, and in goodness of colour to the outward shew thereof. Italy likewise, in those days, supplied England, and indeed all other parts, with gold, silver and silk stuffs and velvets: for neither France nor Spain had as yet raised raw silk, nor did either of those kingdoms, at this time, possess a manufacture of this material.

As and about this time, according to my Lord Verulam's History of the Life of King Henry VII. and many other historians, "inclosures became more frequent in England, whereby quantities of arable land, which could not be manured without much people and families, were turned into pasture, being thereby easily managed by a few herdsmen, and tenancies for years, lives, and at will," whereon much of the yeomanry lived, "were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and, by consequence, of towns, churches, tythes, &c. as also a diminution of subsidies and taxes. Wherefore an act of Parliament was, in this fourth of Henry VII. made, cap. xix. that all houses of husbandry that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever, with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied by them." This is that Lord's account of the substance of the act itself, though it be not now printed in the statute book, there being only therein its title, viz. "the penalty for decaying of houses of husbandry, or not laying of convenient land for the maintenance of the same." The condition of England then, seems to have been, in this respect, too much like the state of Ireland in our own days. Vide also statutes first and second of the thirty-ninth of Queen Elizabeth, and the twenty-eighth act of the twenty-first year of King James I. in which acts, alterations are made suitable to those times. Our readers will not expect us to exhibit a minute account of all the changes from time to time made in statutes respecting commerce and husbandry, manufactures, &c. it being sufficient to relate the general state of things at the respective periods in which they happened.

Although, under the year 1487, we have related that Bruges, in that year, began first to suffer a declension of its vast commerce; yet it may be here necessary to observe, that it is with great and very opulent cities, as with large overgrown empires, their declension, like their increase, is usually very gradual. Thus we find the great reputation of Bruges for riches, ~~still~~ ^{economy, &c.} still preserved, in the year 1489, and even in such credit in foreign parts, that an act of Parliament passed this year in Scotland, the title whereof was, "Of Goldsmiths;" being for the regulation of wrought gold and silver plate in that kingdom, whereby it directs the goldsmiths of Scotland to make their silver plate of the fineness of the new works of silver of Bruges.

In vol. xii. p. 362, of the *Fœdera*, we see a new convention between King Henry VII. and Anne Duchess of Bretagne. Whereby Henry stipulates in general terms, first, "To assist her with all his might, in case she should be invaded by any enemy. Secondly, to send her six thousand men-at-arms, for recovering the places which France had lately taken from her." But Henry, ever mindful of himself, took care that five hundred of those auxiliaries should garrison two of her fortified towns, by way of pledge for the money which
would

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1489 would become due to him for the said troops. Thirdly, “ Anne herself likewise stipulates, that she would not marry without Henry’s consent.” He was probably afraid of what soon after happened, but his avarice never would permit him to give this Princess an effectual support.

In the same year, *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 374, a treaty of perpetual peace, commerce, and alliance, was concluded between King Henry VII. and King John of Denmark and Norway: whereby,

I. All former injuries, violences, and captures on both sides, were utterly to be buried in oblivion.

II. Liberty is allowed for the merchants and mariners, with their ships and merchandize, mutually to trade to the ports of both countries, with the privileges stipulated in former treaties.

III. The ships of either party wrecked, shall be assisted to refit, and to save and carry away all their merchandize without molestation.

Notwithstanding what we have, in this year, remarked of King Henry the Seventh of England’s too great propensity to avarice, and, as a consequence thereof, to timidity; yet justice ought to be done to him in any respect wherein he served the interests of his kingdom. It is but too true, that when he came to the crown, the English woollen manufacture was become more languid than in former reigns. And as he had carefully observed, that the great riches acquired by the Netherlands was occasioned by their supply of wool from England, their own being of little value; he is therefore generally said, about this time, to have re-instituted and improved the woollen manufacture of England, by drawing over some of the best Netherland clothmakers, as King Edward III. had done about one hundred and fifty years before; thereby laying a second foundation of the great woollen manufacture which has so long been the glory of England, and the envy of other nations: particularly in Yorkshire, at Leeds, Wakefield, and Halifax; places well supplied with water, fuel, and cheap provisions. But the time was not yet come, nor did it happen till a century later, in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, that England completely possessed all the various branches of the finest woollen manufacture; as will be related in its proper place.

About this time were first brought into England, geographical or cosmographical maps and sea charts, by Bartholomew Columbus, brother of Christopher, the ever-famous discoverer of the new world called America; who having in vain addressed the Court of Portugal to support his proposal of discovering that western world, and having next applied for that end to the Court of Spain, in the mean time dispatched his brother Bartholomew to King Henry VII. of England, in the year 1485, to make the same proposal to him. But Bartholomew having been taken by pirates, was detained a considerable time before he got to England; and when he arrived there, was kept in a long and tedious suspense by that over cautious Prince Henry VII. in the mean time he lived at London in a poor way, by making and selling of sea charts, which were till then entirely unknown there. In the year 1489, he also printed and dedicated to King Henry VII. a map of the world: but King Henry was too sparing of his money to launch out into great expence on such proposals for new and uncertain discoveries; yet it is generally believed, that he at length listened to the proposals of Columbus. But Bartholomew on his return to his brother Christopher, to report his success, heard, at Paris, that he had already made the discovery; and before he had got to Seville, his brother was actually failed on his second voyage to the West Indies.

England

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1489

England has, in general, been, at all times, greatly superior to Scotland in maritime strength; yet for once the latter got the better of the former, though more by stratagem than by power. Stephen Bull, an able commander of an English squadron, coming on the Scottish coast to make reprisals for the damage done by Sir Andrew Wood, commander of King James Fourth's fleet, to King Henry Seventh's ships, not long before taken and destroyed by him; they now met near the isle of May in the Frith of Forth, and being by storms carried along the coast of Fife, the English ships being taller and longer than those of Scotland, were drawn on the shallow sands near the mouth of the river Tay, where, being stuck fast, they were all obliged to yield to Sir Andrew Wood. King James, at this time, built several large ships of war, which, however, turned to very little effect.

1490

In the twelfth volume, p. 381, of the *Fœdera*, we meet with a memorable treaty of peace and commerce between King Henry VII. and King John of Denmark and Norway; wherein, beside the articles of the foregoing year, we see the following more important ones, viz.

I. The English may freely resort to fish at and trade to Iceland, paying the customary duties and tolls. Provided, that at the end of every seven years they shall be obliged to ask, and, when asked, shall obtain, of the King of Denmark and his successors for ever, a licence for resorting to Iceland.

II. This obligation was remitted to the English by King Frederic II. in the year 1585.

III. The English may for ever hereafter freely trade to the islands of Scandia; that is, the isles in the Sound, (Ptolemy calls the four principal isles there, *Scandiæ Insulæ quatuor*, about the middle of the second century) Zealand, Draghoë, and all other parts of the kingdom of Denmark; where they may likewise buy or otherwise justly acquire fish of all kinds, and may dispose thereof at pleasure; paying the usual tolls, &c.

IV. If any English ships be, by storm or other danger, driven into the freight or passage called the Belt, they may freely pass that way, provided they pay the same tolls at Nyborg as are due for passing the Sound, at the castle of Cronenburg, notwithstanding any law of Denmark against entering into the said passage of the Belt.

There are properly two passages so named, the one called the Great Belt, and the other the Little Belt. We have already seen, that so early as 1368, a toll for passing the Sound was then in general use to be paid by foreign nations sailing into or coming from the Baltic Sea. The original ground for this toll demanded by Denmark, was, first, that crown's having erected a castle on each side of the passage called the Sound; Kronenburg, near the town of Helsingore, on the Zealand shore, and Helsingburg, on the opposite shore of Schonen, for the protection of ships from pirates, then numerous in those parts; and secondly, on account of the light houses erected in and near that freight by the crown of Denmark, for the direction of shipping in dark nights: in consideration whereof, all ships passing that way agreed to pay a toll. For those lights were so useful, that scarce any ship would venture through the other principal passage called the Great Belt, where also the Danes afterwards erected a fort and stationed a guard ship, for obliging all ships passing that way to pay the customary toll. The Emperor Charles V. by treaty with Denmark, ascertained a fixed toll in behalf of his Netherland subjects, who even then had great dealings in the Baltic, viz. two rose nobles for every ship not exceeding two hundred tons burden, and three rose nobles for all above two hundred tons. Yet the Vandalic Hans-towns had much heavier tolls laid on their shipping, as was the case with the Hollanders afterwards; till they settled it likewise by a treaty, in 1647: the English treaties with Denmark, respecting this toll, are grounded on this agreement of the Hollanders.

Hollanders. Whatever exorbitant exactions the Danes had formerly made on foreign nations on account of this toll, they seem now to have dropped them; and therefore that crown's revenue from this source is, in some sort, reduced almost to a certainty, which many have judged not to exceed one hundred and thirty thousand dollars yearly, upon an average.

IV. For the prevention of injustice, violence, rapine, and murder on both sides, all ships departing for either country, shall give security to double their value to the magistrates of the ports they sail from, for their peaceable demeanor toward the people and in the country of the other contracting party, whither they are bound.

V. The English may freely possess and enjoy all their lands, places, and tenements at Bergen in Norway, at Lunden and Landskroon in Schonen, and in the isle of Zealand; also in Loyfa in Sweden, and other parts of the Danish King's territories: and they may freely repair the same, and alienate them at pleasure.

VI. The English residing at Bergen, and other parts of the Danish monarchy, shall be at full liberty, according to custom, to erect themselves into societies, and elect Governors or Aldermen amongst themselves for governing all the English there, and for determining all controversies amongst themselves. And if any Englishman there shall refuse to submit to the determinations of those Governors or Aldermen, he or they shall forfeit all the English privileges there.

VII. An Englishman dying intestate in Denmark, the nearest of kin may administer to his effects; and in his absence, the said Governor or Alderman of the English may do it for him.

VIII. The English bringing packs of woollen cloth or other merchandize into the Danish territories, may freely unpack, sell, or exchange the same at pleasure, without the presence of a Danish officer. And the said merchants may, in the ports of Copenhagen, Malmoe, and Landskroon, appoint their agent and factors for their benefit when absent, who may sell their cloth either in entire cloths, or by retail.

IX. The English residing or being in Denmark, shall not be arrested nor sued for any debt for which they are neither principals nor bail, nor for any transgression done by others. And even in cases where they are principal, neither their persons nor goods shall be arrested or kept, provided they give security to stand to justice.

X. Pirates and others warring at sea, of what nation soever, shall not be received into the ports of either of the contracting parties; nor shall be aided with money, arms, victuals, &c. against either of the contracting parties, or to the damage of the merchants, &c. under the penalty of recovering all such damage from the party protecting the said pirates, and double the value from the sellers to, or suppliers of, the said pirates.

And if the said sea-robbers attempt to sell any of the goods they may have taken on the seas, from either party, in the ports of the other party, these goods shall be seized and sequestered for the benefit of the persons from whom they were taken, proof being duly made thereof according to the maritime laws.

XI. This present treaty is not to derogate from any of the privileges and immunities granted by former treaties to the English in the Danish territories.

XII. Contraveners of this treaty, on either side, shall be compelled by the King of the country where the wrong is done, to restore what shall be wrongfully taken away, &c. or shall otherwise make good to the injured person the loss he had sustained, together with interest, (*pro damno, uno cum interesse*) for the same.

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1. It is not our purpose to transcribe at full length every commercial treaty between England and foreign nations, which treaties are long since already published in several volumes, but only the substance of what appeared to be the most essential; yet this treaty containing several curious particulars, and being the fullest of any we have till now met with in the northern commerce, we judged it material to give a large abstract of it, as we shall do some others with several foreign nations, in this and succeeding reigns.

2. We hope our note on the third article of the above treaty, is sufficiently explanatory of the famous Danish toll in the Sound.

3. The fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, and tenth articles, shew what care was necessary to be taken in those less polished times, for the securing of property from violence and injustice. And the fifth, sixth, and eighth articles, prove also the very considerable commerce England then had in the Danish territories, and particularly for the disposal of our woollen cloth.

4. It also justly deserves a remark, that throughout this treaty, there is not the least mention of any peculiar privileges for Danish subjects in England; but the whole seems calculated for the English residing in or trading to the Danish dominions. So that it appears as if there were then few or no Danish subjects residing in England; and also that we carried on all our trade to those territories entirely on our own bottoms.

Such another treaty between England and the Prior of the Liberties, and Standard-bearer of Justice of the people of Florence, we have, under this same year, at p. 390, of the twelfth volume of the *Fœdera*; being the first formal treaty of commerce to be found in the *Fœdera* with that republic, and was to last for six years.

I. The subjects of King Henry VII. of England, may freely resort with their ships and merchandize, by sea and land, and traffic at the city of Florence, and all other places of that republic, and may export from thence all goods not prohibited, &c. wheresoever they please.

II. The Florentines shall suffer no English wool to be brought into their country, but such only as shall be brought thither by English subjects in their own ships. The English to make oath that they will annually import to Pisa, as much wool as the Florentines and other parts of Italy, Venice only excepted, can use or work up: that is to say, as much wool as used formerly to be imported by the Italians themselves, into those parts of Italy one year with another. Which wool shall be lodged in the city of Pisa, where the factory residence of the English shall be, and where they shall enjoy all the privileges and liberties which either the Pisans themselves, or the citizens of Florence do now, or shall hereafter possess.

III. The English there shall be free from all personal offices and burdens, exactions, tributes, tolls, gabels, &c. and even from those which, on account of their commerce, might or ought otherwise to be exacted from them; the excises, gabels, &c. on wines, corn, and other provisions (unless for the use of their ships when repairing) excepted. Excepting also the tolls, gabels, and tributes paid in the city of Florence.

IV. The English residing at Pisa may form themselves into one society or body, and may elect one or more of their number to be their master or syndic, and to make laws amongst themselves for their good government, and to be determined by the judgment of the said syndic, &c. in all matters relating to themselves. (This clause is a confirmation of what King Richard III. had done, as we have seen, in the year 1485.) But in civil actions, or money disputes, between one of them and a Florentine, the Podestas of Pisa, jointly with the said

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1496 matter or syndic of the English, shall determine: and in criminal cases, the Podestas shall solely determine.

V. The republic of Florence further promises, that in all conventions and stipulations which she shall make with other potentates for commercial privileges, she will, to her utmost strive to have the English included therein.

VI. On the other hand, the King of England shall prohibit all others who are not his subjects, of what nation soever they may be, from exporting wool from his dominions to any other parts, (of Italy, we presume) excepting to the Venetians; to whom, in every voyage they shall make to England, that is, once in a year, it shall be permitted to them to export six hundred sacks of wool in their galleys, and no more, for the use and employment of the city and dominions of Venice, and not otherwise.

Provided, that in case the subjects of England either cannot or will not supply the above-mentioned quantity of wool for the parts already named; or in case their King shall at any time judge it not expedient for his own people to do it, then it may be done by others not his subjects, and also, in part, by his own subjects.

By this treaty it appears, First, that the Florentines were an artful people in the business of negotiation, and understood their own commercial interests extremely well; having, in this manner, engrossed, for their own use, all the wool of England to be carried into the Mediterranean, excepting six hundred sacks for the Venetians.

Secondly, we see how much our wool was coveted, and in a manner deemed absolutely necessary for the very great woollen manufacture of Florence as well as of Venice.

Thirdly, we perceive how much already the navigation was coming to be in our favour by the second article; whereas formerly, and even till near about this time, Florence, Venice, Genoa, and all other Italian cities, brought from England all the wool, lead, tin, &c. altogether in their own shipping; and there was no such thing as an English ship to be heard of in that part of the world.

In the same twelfth volume, p. 394, of the *Fœdera*, we find an acknowledgment of the ministers of the Duchess of Bretagne, that King Henry VII. had performed his engagements for transporting six thousand men-at-arms to her assistance. And that, as he had already the town and castle of Comarceau in pledge, her ministers hereby engage to put into Henry's hands the town and castle of Morlaix, until his expences be refunded, and also to exchange those places, if he desires it, for others hereafter to be taken from the French King. But this feeble assistance, we shall soon see, was too little to support that Princess against the whole power of the French King.

In the same volume, p. 307, King Henry VII. concluded an alliance with Maximilian King of the Romans, acting on the behalf of his infant son Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, and also in favour of the Duchess of Bretagne, for preventing their being overborne by France, who secretly instigated the Netherland cities against him; those of Bruges having actually seized on Maximilian's person, after killing some of his principal officers, and made him swear that he would pardon all their offences.

In this same year, (*ibid*, p. 411.) King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, were brought into that alliance; at the same time that those Spanish monarchs concluded a treaty for a marriage of their daughter Catherine with Arthur Prince of Wales, thereby stipulating to pay two hundred thousand crowns, valued at four shillings and twopence each, being forty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, as
their

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1490 their daughter's marriage portion. Had this alliance been sincerely executed, France undoubtedly might have been brought to restore the unfortunate Duchies of Bricagne to all her dominions, which indeed was the professed end of it: but Henry in vain imagined, that the bare making of this alliance would frighten King Charles VIII. of France into a compliance, without putting him to the expence of going heartily to war.

There was now likewise a commercial treaty concluded between England and the said Spanish monarchs, vol. xii. p. 419, of the *Fœdera*, whereby it is stipulated,—

I. “ That both nations might freely resort to and trade with each other; paying the customary duties, and enjoying their wonted privileges, as they stood prior to the last thirty years.”

II. “ To prevent sea-robberies and piracies on both sides, the master or owner of every ship shall, before sailing from the port of lading, give security, to double the value of the said ship, for their peaceable demeanour.”

III. “ All letters of marque and reprisals were to be recalled on both sides: but if justice shall hereafter be denied, on complaint of injuries done, new ones may be issued.”

About this time, the bishop of Padua, in Italy, taking compassion on the necessities of the poor, from whom the usurers of those parts exacted most exorbitant interest for the loans of small sums to them, although, like the modern pawn-brokers in London, they always retained a pledge to the full value of the sum borrowed, set up a small bank in that city for the convenience of lending money upon pawns, at so moderate an interest, as should not oppress the poor, while it supported the fund: and this bank he named *Mons Pietatis*, a Mount of Piety, yet, from the Lombards being then, and long before, the greatest usurers, next to the Jews, it had the appellation of a Lombard house. This charitable scheme of that bishop, led many other parts of Europe, but more especially in Italy, into the same good purpose; as particularly at Rome, and other cities. And after many idle scruples started and got over, about the lawfulness of taking interest, the nations who reformed from popery, began to erect such charitable banks; though in England there was none of a public sort erected by charter till the reign of Queen Anne, 1708; which, however, by negligent, corrupt, and wicked management, is long since sunk to nothing.

1491 Although the usual place for the annual assembly of the deputies of the Hanseatic League was Lubeck, that city having always had pre-eminence from the beginning beyond all other Hans-towns, for reasons already assigned; yet, on extraordinary occasions, when the exigency of affairs required it, they have sometimes met at various other towns; as at Straelsund, in the year 1370; at Rostock, in 1398; at Hamburg, in 1410; sometimes also at Munster and Lünenburg. And the Hans-towns being, in the year 1491, at variance with England, according to their historian *Werdenhagen*, vol. II. pars iv. cap. 10. and also with the Flemings, they, at that time, held a solemn assembly at Antwerp of the whole Hanseatic confederacy with great pomp, in order to adjust matters with England, that so, says that author, they might be the better enabled to deal with the pirates, who, under colour of this war, did infinite prejudice to their commerce in all parts. Our author does not tell us the grounds of this war with England, and our own historians are as silent: and, be it what it may, he only tells us, that the assembly broke up without being able to agree with the English, demands on both sides running high. Neither could the great disputes between the Hollanders and Hamburgers be now settled, though several efforts were made to produce a reconciliation. Bruges also sent its deputies to this assembly, to pray to be restored to their former favour, in hopes to have

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1491 the Hans-comptoir replaced there; but they could not obtain it. The English, Hollanders, and other Netherlanders, having by this time made great advances into foreign commerce, the Hanseatic cities looked on the shipping of those countries, so frequently resorting to the ports in the Baltic, with a very jealous eye; and many disputes arose between them, which are now of little importance to be remembered.

King Henry VII. of England, very unhappily for his people, and for his own royal posterity, now committed a most fatal oversight, in neglecting effectually to support Anne, the maiden Duchess of Bretagne, against the power of King Charles VIII. of France.

It is now only necessary to observe, that although by his treaties with that Princess, and his alliances and engagements with other neighbouring Princes, equally jealous of the growing power of France, he had engaged to support the independence of Bretagne, in the support of which measure he was joined by the united voice of his people, even then, when probably they did not so clearly foresee all the mischiefs which the loss of that noble duchy would draw after it; yet, trusting to his own wisdom, he imagined that the bare entering into alliances, as already observed, would intimidate the French King from pursuing his conquests in Britany; (much like his great-grandson, King James the First's proceedings, in relation to his son-in-law's being driven out of the Palatinate) and ever grudging any considerable expence of money for effectually supporting that Princess, he suffered her to throw herself into the arms of King Charles VIII. who having proposed his own marriage with her, thereby in some measure silenced the jealousy which the rest of the Princes of Europe would have more openly entertained, had Charles made a violent conquest of her whole dominions. It is almost unnecessary to observe the great benefit which Bretagne had ever produced to England in its disputes with France, and of the vast importance of it ever since to that monarchy, which our own sad experience sufficiently testifies: more especially, as almost the only good ports for the royal navy of France, on the ocean, are in that duchy: and were we to name only the single, but truly noble port of Brest, its most advantageous situation for annoying England, and receiving the whole navy of France, that alone is sufficient to demonstrate the immense benefit accruing to France, and the irreparable loss to England, which King Henry the Seventh's avarice occasioned. Three sides of that fruitful, populous, and extensive duchy are washed by the ocean; from which circumstance it was rendered much more practicable to be protected by England, in whose neighbourhood it may be said to lie, and with which kingdom it had, for many centuries, an intimate alliance, correspondence, and commerce. My Lord Herbert, in his History of King Henry VIII. justly remarks, "That the uniting of this duchy to France, and of the Netherlands to the house of Austria, as they both added great strength to our two most to be suspected neighbours; so they proved a great weakening of us, by depriving us of two of our best and most useful confederates." And this surely may teach us the true wisdom of ever strenuously supporting a weaker ally against the attempts of a more potent adversary. The Duchess of Bretagne testified a truly patriotic zeal for preserving the independence of her country, and did not yield to the proposals of King Charles VIII. even although they were to make her Queen of so potent a monarchy, until she saw herself abandoned by all her natural allies, and more especially by King Henry VII. who, all historians agree, was alone able to have preserved her independent, so much and so obviously for his lasting interest, as well as glory; had not his short-sighted and sordid avarice, as will ever be the case, got the better of all other considerations, though ever so important and interesting.

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1492

The Christian monarchs of Spain had before this time gradually conquered all the Moorish Kingdoms of that extensive country, excepting only that of Granada, which comprehending a large extent of territory next the Mediterranean shore, still maintained its independence. But the whole Christian monarchy of Spain having lately been united by the marriage of Ferdinand King of Arragon, to Isabella Queen and heirs of Castile, &c. those two monarchs now determined the total expulsion of the Moors from Spain. They at length conquered the kingdom of Granada; the capital city of the same name however held out a tedious siege, after Malaga and other cities had surrendered: and, when taken, in the year 1492, is said to have had still remaining two hundred thousand inhabitants. King Henry VII. of England, a near ally of those Spanish Princes, had *Te Deum* sung at St. Paul's cathedral in London, on occasion of that conquest, and caused the Cardinal of Canterbury to declare to the nobility and people then present, "That Granada was a city of such fame, as to contain one hundred and fifty thousand houses of name, and seventy thousand fighting men." Which account, however, was probably exaggerated, as well as inconsistent. The conquest of this last Mahometan monarchy in Spain, cost King Ferdinand six years time; and when their King Bobadilla was forced to surrender, he is said to have stipulated, that his people should retain their own laws, liberties, religion, and effects; and that even the Jews amongst them should enjoy the same privileges; but he himself retired to Barbary, where he remained till his death. His palace in Granada was of an huge extent, and its lofty arched state-rooms were supported by one hundred columns of alabaster. What still remains of the Moorish edifices in many parts of Spain, is a clear proof that they were an ingenious and industrious, but voluptuous people. If Ferdinand had actually stipulated with King Bobadilla for liberty of conscience for his Moorish subjects, &c. as probably might be the case, he, as perfidiously as cruelly and impolitically determined, by the instigation of his bigotted clergy, to drive all those people out of Spain who would not profess themselves to be Christians. Many of the Moors, however, rather than temporize, went over to the opposite Barbary shore, to Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. amongst those of their own Mahometan persuasion: so that large tracts of country in Spain were utterly deserted, and which, for want of people, remain deserts to this day, with the melancholy prospects, almost every where to be seen, of ruined cities, castles, mosques, &c. As a compensation, however, Ferdinand I. obtained the title of Catholic from the Pope; which his successors still retain.

From this settlement of no fewer than seventeen thousand families of the Spanish Moors on the Barbary shores, we may date the rise of the piratical states of Barbary: for partly from necessity, and partly to be revenged of their mortal foes the Spaniards, they, from this time, fitted out small squadrons of cruising piratical vessels. At first they seized only on all the Spanish ships they could meet with, frequently also landing on the Spanish coasts, and carrying off much booty, and many people, of whom they made slaves; which piratical practice soon became very gainful to the Moors, after the Spaniards began to bring home the riches of America. This insolence of a parcel of desperate banditti, afterwards provoked the Emperor Charles V. to undertake his grand but unsuccessful attempt against Tunis; though as Spain had got early possession of Oran, and some other places on their coast, it put the Moors into no small consternation; which obliged them to call into their aid the famous Turkish pirate Barbarossa; who, with his successes against Spain, made himself master of the government of Algiers, as his brother Haradin afterwards did of Tunis, and another Levantine Turk did of Tripoli. Their successes against Spain, made them afterwards bold enough to make free with

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the ships of other Christian nations sailing in the Mediterranean. Those first Turkish pirates, in the beginning, put themselves under the protection of the Grand Seignior, who for some time pretended to the superior sovereignty of all the coast of Barbary; and the chief magistrate of each of those three states, called the Dey, whom their soldiery usually elected, was in those times deemed but a bathaw, or at best but a viceroy of the Ottoman empire. They have since, however, aimed at, and actually obtained, through the assistance of their own military people, a great degree of independence of the Porte, more especially at Algiers; though Tunis and Tripoli, as lying nearer to Egypt, has, or lately had, a greater degree of deference for the Grand Seignior.

Upon this same year we may further remark, from the well-known Map of Commerce of Mr. Lewis Roberts, that it was about this time when the English trade to Morocco first commenced, or rather was of any consequence; for we have already seen that we carried on some trade thither so early as the year 1413. And although by the wars between Morocco and Fez that trade was smothered, as our author expresses himself, yet out of this trade to Barbary, sprung the English Levant or Turkey Company; though not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

In this same year King Ferdinand, on becoming master of Granada, to the further impoverishing and depopulating of Spain, drove the Jews out of that kingdom, as he had already expelled the Moors.

Menasse Ben Israel, in his address to Cromwell, the Lord Protector, printed in the year 1665, in behalf of the Jews being re-admitted to live in England, gives the following account of the expulsion of his nation from Spain:—He says, “The Jews had lived in Spain from the time of the Babylonian and Roman captivities,” that is, since they were transplanted from Palestine by the Emperor Adrian.—“That they were at this time very rich in houses and goods. We read in the chronicles of Spain, that” at this banishing of the Jews, “the lords complained that their cities and towns were destroyed and disinhabited,” his own words, “and had they believed” that is, suspected, “any such thing, they would have opposed the King’s decree, and would never have given their consent to it. The Catholic King,” continues this Jew, “was blamed by all Christian Princes, and especially by the Senate of Venice, for having banished a nation so profitable to the public and particular good, without any kind of pretence; and the Parliament of Paris did extremely wonder at such a determination. Many of the banished Jews went into Portugal, as being so nearly adjoining; but there being an alliance concluded between Spain and Portugal, in the year 1497, the Jews, at King Ferdinand’s request, were banished out of Portugal. But this being against the will of Emanuel, King of Portugal, he resolved to oblige them to become Christians, promising,” on that condition we presume he means, “never to molest them, neither in criminal matters, nor in the loss of their goods, and exempted them from many burthens and tributes. But his successors broke through their privileges, out of a violent zeal against them. King Emanuel, however, did most cruelly order all their children under fourteen years of age to be taken from their parents, in order to be made Christians; many of whose parents, rather than suffer such a sight as this, threw their children into wells; others killed themselves. Afterwards he compelled all the Jews to profess Christianity. Can such violences,” continues he, “work any good impression on men? Or what law, either human or divine, can bear that the souls of men, which the Most High hath created free, should be forced to believe what they believe not, and to love what they hate? This cruelty

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1492 “ was censured by many Princes and learned men.” He concludes by observing, “ That
 “ most of the banished Jews passed into the Levant, and were embraced by the Ottoman fa-
 “ mily,” that is, were tolerated in Turkey; “ others settled in Florence, in the Pope’s terri-
 “ tories, and in other parts of Italy, and also in Germany.”

The whole number of Jews expelled Spain in the year 1492, was said to have amounted to two hundred thousand families; and reckoning only five to each family, they must have amounted to a million of souls. An immense loss, indeed, to any country;—and when considered jointly with the expulsion of the Moors from that kingdom, it can be no wonder to any to find Spain so thin of people at this day, more especially when we consider the very great number of Spaniards soon after sent to plant America. We may add, that the Jews in Spain being very rich, on the first notice of their intended expulsion, found means to convey into the countries whither they designed to retire, all their money and richest effects. Yet numbers of Jews who loved their ease and their native soil, with the enjoyment of their riches, better than the freedom of their consciences, were content to be baptized, and to feign a profession of Christianity, and have thereby, in process of time, mixed their blood with most of their great families of Spain. So that the principal end of the court, as well as of the clergy of Spain, viz. the obtaining the immense wealth of the Jews, was by those means very much frustrated, and that country consequently drained of both riches and people to a great degree, never again to return thither.

King Ferdinand, after his conquest of Granada, and some of his successors, have been at a vast expence of blood and treasure in conquering several towns on the Barbary shore, some of which Spain holds at this day, with much trouble and expence, and very little benefit; which will ever be the case until they can make inland conquests, and fix a permanent land dominion there, and be likewise able to extirpate the pirates of that coast.

In an act of the English Parliament in the seventh year of Henry VII. cap. 8. we have the following particulars, viz. “ That every butt of Malmsey wine shall contain one hundred and
 “ twenty-six gallons; for which butt, all merchant-strangers importing the same, shall pay
 “ eighteen shillings for custom, beside the old custom: and no such butt shall be sold for
 “ above four pounds,” that is, about sevenpence halfpenny per gallon, or somewhat under the rate of twopence per quart. “ Which new imposition,” says this expired statute, “ shall
 “ be in force until the Venetians shall abate their imposition of four ducats at Candy.” That is, we presume, four ducats per English cloth. This therefore was a judicious act, for the effectually counterbalancing that imposition of the Venetians.

We have, from common history, a great number of instances to be produced for confuting the vulgar tradition, that beer, as a malt liquor, and as distinguished from the softer liquor named ale; was not known in England till the reign of King Henry VIII. one instance being already produced from Scotland, under the year 1482. But one irrefragable proof of it we shall take from the so often quoted twelfth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 471; where, in this same year, 1492, we find a licence from King Henry VII. to a Fleming therein named, to export fifty tons of ale, called beer, (*quingaginta dolia servitiæ vocatæ bere*). In the same volume, p. 485, and the very same year 1492, we have another equally authentic proof of it, viz. That one of the said King’s attendants into France was Petrus Vanek, a beer-brewer of Greenwich in Kent: yet it may probably be true, that beer, brewed with hops, was not known in England till after this time, when the first use of hops was brought into England: yet they certainly had other materials, before hops were known, for the making of the liquor they before
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that time called beer, as wormwood, and other plants, which answered, in a good measure, the end of hops, by preserving of malt-liquors for a considerable space, either for sea or land-service.

In the above-quoted page 471, we see how merchant-ships were used to be manned, &c. in those times, viz. It is in a licence from King Henry VII. to two French merchants to send into England a French ship of the burthen of one hundred and forty tons, to be laden with wines, linen, or woollen cloth, of their own or of any other country, (Gascon wine and wood only except) having a master, mate, sixty mariners, and two pages, for one year certain, there to sell their said wares, and to lade tin, or any other merchandize, not being of the staple of Calais, (*i. e.* not being wool or woollen goods) and to export the same; and that they may repeat that voyage so long as their said term shall last, they paying the usual customs, &c. any law, statute, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Hanseatic Confederacy seems to have been in this year 1492, in high spirits; when, at their annual general assembly at Lubeck, seventy-two cities were represented by their deputies, who now entered into a closer league for the defence of the freedom of their commerce, renewing also all their old confederacies. The Danith court, and other neighbouring states, had, for a long time past, had disputes with them concerning mercantile points; so that these vigorous engagements were thought necessary for restoring and preserving their tranquillity.—Yet we have seen, that no more than only sixty-four cities were ever, at any one time, proper members thereof by regular annual contributions; so that the rest of those seventy-two cities might only be allies of the general confederacy in behalf of the freedom of commerce.—See the year 1370.

In this same year 1492, *ibid.* p. 477, we see the daily pay of the Earl of Kent's posse of soldiers furnished to King Henry VII. for one whole year, for his intended, or rather pretended, war against France, viz.

1. They were allowed sixpence each for every twenty miles journey from their habitation to Portsmouth.

2. Every man-at-arms, having with him his custrel and page, (that is, two men to attend him, one shilling and sixpence, per day.

3. Every launce, ninepence per day.

4. Every archer, either on horseback or on foot, sixpence per day.

Yet, in this same year, p. 490, &c. of vol. xii. of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VII. lying with his army before Boulogne in Picardy, but not being duly seconded by Maximilian, King of the Romans, according to his engagements, was easily persuaded by King Charles VIII. of France to conclude a peace with him, and to think no more of Bretagne, now irrecoverably joined to France, for the alluring sum of seven hundred and forty-five thousand gold crowns, of thirty-five sols each: five of which crowns being equal to one pound sterling, made the whole amount to one hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds sterling. (Now one hundred and seventy-five sols, or eight livres fifteen sols, being hereby made equal to one pound sterling, by that proportion a French livre, now worth little more than ten pence sterling, was then worth somewhat above two shillings and three farthings sterling; although, instead of the old proportion of four livres to one pound sterling, a livre was now become less than half that value.) For which sum Henry relinquished all that was due to him for the assistance he had sent to the Dukes of Bretagne, now Queen of France, as also for all the debts due by France itself, by virtue of a treaty with King Edward IV. &c. which sum was to be paid by

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Notwithstanding what we have just now related, as well as elsewhere, concerning King Henry the Seventh's extreme love of money, we ought nevertheless to do him the justice of acknowledging many good laws that were made in his reign, for the advancement and regulation of commerce; one of which was enacted in this fine year 1492, cap. ix. for regulating of weights and measures, which is the more memorable, as that regulation remains in force at this day.

"Whereby, models of both weights and measures, in brass, were to be sent to, and directed to be kept in every city and great town, as carefully as their treasure, according to which, all weights and measures in every county were to be made, and then to be sealed and marked by the Mayor or other chief officer." And, to take in all this subject at once, by an act of the eleventh of this King, cap. iv. "The names of all the said cities and towns are exhibited. And that eight bushels of corn, raised and stricken, shall be accounted a quarter; fourteen pounds weight shall be deemed a stone of wool; and twenty-six stone be deemed a sack of wool," as we have seen directed by King Edward III. under the year 1342, being three hundred and fifty four pounds weight.

Moreover, by a statute of the following, or twelfth year of that King, cap. v. "A bushel was directed to contain eight gallons of wheat, and every such gallon to weigh eight pounds troy weight, every such pound (*i. e.* troy weight) to contain twelve ounces, and every such ounce to weigh twenty sterlings, or twenty penny-weights, and every sterling or penny shall weigh thirty-two grains of wheat taken from the middle of the ear."

All these regulations had been ordained in preceding reigns, (though not all by acts of Parliament) but were not so well observed before as they have been since the enacting of the three last recited laws.

"It was" says Bishop Fleetwood in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, "a good law of King Edgar, that there should be the same money, the same weight, and the same measures throughout the kingdom; but it was never well observed. What can be more vexatious, both to men of reading and of practice, than to find, that when they go out of one county into another, they must learn a new language, or cannot buy or sell any thing? An acre is not an acre, nor a bushel a bushel, if you travel but ten miles; a pound is not a pound, if you go from a goldsmith to a grocer; nor a gallon a gallon, if you go from the alehouse to the tavern. What purpose does this variety serve, or what necessity is there, which the difference of price would not better answer and supply?"

Surely these remarks, which might be carried even further than the Bishop has done, will, some time or other, be deemed of importance enough for the legislature to take it into serious consideration.

It was in this same year, that an act of Parliament passed in England, in the seventh of Henry VII. cap. iii. the title of which alone is printed in the statute-books, viz. "That they who go with the King in his wars may make feoffments of their lands to the use of their wives, without licence; and they shall have their own liveries, and authority to dispose of the wardship of their heirs." This statute my Lord Bacon terms, "The setting the gate open and wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war." This act was confirmed by statute fourth of the third year of King Henry VIII. in the year 1512.

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We now approach the most important epocha of commercial history, as well as of nautical and geographical discoveries, since the overthrow of the western Roman empire, not only by the discovery of a new world westward, (a world which, as far as we yet certainly know, may possibly be found to be little inferior to the entire old one, whether considered in regard to its extent, or to its fertility; and which, in point of riches extracted from the bowels of the earth, has certainly hitherto surpassed it;) but likewise, and as it were at, or very near the same point of time, a wonderful new discovery of a vast extent of coast and country of the richest and most populous part of our old world, till now almost entirely unknown to us of Europe, any further than by the obscure and general relations of the conquests of Alexander the Great two thousand years ago, and the yet more dark and romantic accounts of certain Monkish travellers more lately eastward; both which, however, related but to a small part, over-land, of the immense track now explored by our naval adventurers: which discoveries, as well westward as eastward, as they at first filled our old world with wonder and admiration, so they have since supplied it with a prodigious increase of riches, and of many new and excellent materials, for the immense additional commerce, thereby accruing to Europe.

It is far from our intention to transcribe all the trite relations which have been so often published in every country of Europe on this subject, nor even to be particularly minute on all the supposed motives or inducements which led Christopher Colon, commonly called Columbus, a Genoese by birth, to so great an undertaking, who, hearing of the fame of the Portuguese discoveries on the west coast of Africa far southward, and being a person of skill in maritime and cosmographical matters, and a sailor by profession, came from the Azores Isles, and settled at Lisbon, to try his fortune, by proposing new discoveries westward on the Atlantic ocean. The most general opinion of authors is, that he framed this scheme chiefly from his own cosmographical reasonings concerning the structure, form, dimensions, &c. of the terraqueous globe, the probable proportion of land and water thereon, and such other conjectural helps; yet others, with greater probability, tell us, of his having had various real facts for his guides to this new western world. "Some" says Dr. Sharp, in his note on p. 176 of Baron Hölberg's Introduction to Universal History, "think that America had, before this time, been actually discovered by one Martin Behaim, a German of good family, about the year 1460, sent out with a ship for the discovery of land in the western ocean; and that, having found Fyal, one of the Azores, he peopled it, and passed a considerable part of his life there. In 1486 he discovered Brasil, &c. and that Magellan seeing afterwards, in the palace of the King of Portugal, a map of those parts made by Behaim; this gave him the light to his discovery of the streights of his name." A mariner, whom Columbus met with at the Azores Isles, had acquainted him, that being once driven by storm four hundred and fifty leagues west of Cape St. Vincent, he there found floating a piece of timber, curiously wrought by a human hand, and, as he conjectured, without any iron tool, which he fancied must have come from some place further westward.—Others, driven also far westward, told him of canoes found floating on that sea, which held two gallons of water between each knot.—Canoes, and dead men, with strange countenances and complexions, were found floating on those seas, or were sometimes driven on shore at the Azores by strong westerly winds; also strange trees were driven thither, such as never grew on those islands.—Others told him of having been driven on the coast of a land far west of Ireland, supposed since to have been Newfoundland.—It seems also, that a certain Portuguese vessel, in the year 1484, had been driven so far west as
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1492 some part of America, where they suffered much hardship; and that, out of fifteen persons, only five returned alive to the Azores, where Columbus then lived, and one of them, being the pilot of that vessel, died at his house; from whose discourse, as well as from his charts and journal, he discovered enough to demonstrate, that there was a great continent, far westward, and that, even in case he should not meet with it, he knew, from the position of Asia on the globe, that, by sailing westward, he should at least arrive at some part of that region, or perhaps, he might conjecture Asia itself to be that same land whither those sailors were driven.

Savary, in his *Dictionnaire Universelle du Commerce*, under the word, Codfish, says, that the Biscayners (on their whale fishery) had discovered the Cod-banks near Newfoundland, about one hundred years before Columbus's time, and that Columbus had intelligence of that discovery from a Biscayner.

Many other vague reports were current in those times, concerning lands and islands lying far west from the Madeiras and the Canaries, of which Herrera, the Spanish historian of America, gives an account; but Columbus had better guides, as we have already related. His greatest immediate difficulty seemed to be, First, How to find the means to enable him to make the attempt, he himself being but a poor and obscure person; and, Secondly, Effectually to convince the then generally ignorant world of the high probability of success in the pursuit.—It was natural enough for him, first of all to propose it to his native land of Genoa; but the Senate of that republic is said to have treated it with ridicule. He next addressed himself to John II. King of Portugal, who, it is said, kept him in suspense, until he had privately sent out a ship on that very discovery, which returned unsuccessful, when his proposal was rejected. From thence he applied to the Court of Spain, where he solicited for eight years together before he succeeded; and during such solicitation, we have seen, under the year 1489, he had sent his Brother Bartholomew on the same errand to the Court of England. After many ignorant objections to his proposal by the Spanish courtiers, he at length was supplied with three ships, manned with ninety men, with which, in August 1492, he sets out from Palos in Andalusia, and in thirty-three days landed in one of the Lucay or Bahama isles, which he named St. Salvadore, in about twenty-six degrees of north latitude, at present known to the English by the name of Cat Island; (and by us claimed as unplanted, and in the neighbourhood of New Providence) having sailed nine hundred and fifty leagues, or two thousand eight hundred and fifty miles directly westward from the Canaries. He sailed from thence to other islands, and at last discovered the extensive island of Cuba; at none of which did he find the riches he expected, there being neither gold, manufactures, nor product found among the poor naked savages; neither had they any of our tame poultry, oxen, sheep, goats, swine, horses, asses, camels, elephants, cats, nor dogs, (excepting a dumb un-barking creature, resembling our dogs.) Neither had they any lemons, oranges, pomegranates, quinces, figs, olives, melons, vines, nor sugar-canes; neither apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, currants, gooseberries, rice, nor any other corn but maize; on which, and on cassia and other wild roots, and on fish, they usually fed, and occasionally on worms and other vermin bred in old rotten trees; neither knew they the comforts of fire-light, either by oil, wax, or tallow candles, nor had they any iron instruments. Yet, such are the almost marvellous effects of commerce and navigation, joined to a southern climate, those very isles are, in our days, plentifully stocked with all these conveniences and luxuries, (the vine only excepted, which does not usually thrive so near the equator,) which have been long since naturalized to their climate. It is true, that on the middle continent of America, which was not disco-

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1492 vered till the former part of the next century, the Spaniards found the natives of Mexico and Peru much more civilized than any other part of America, whether islands or continent: they had built better houses and temples,—they made also a sort of cotton cloth, and had wooden swords and spears, hardened by fire, and pointed with flint.—And although they had no iron, yet in Peru they had copper, tools, instruments, and vessels. Herrera, the Spanish historian of America, expressly affirms, “ That neither on the continent, nor isles of the West Indies,” the name the Spaniards usually give to all America, “ were there either silk, wine, sugar, olives, wheat, barley, or pulse, all which,” adds Herrera, “ and many other things, have been transplanted thither from Spain.” Their own sole original productions were tobacco, indigo, cochineal, cotton, ginger, cocoa, piemento, with several useful drugs and woods for dying, furniture, physic, ship and house building. Our British colonists have since found plenty of ironstone, as also copper and lead mines. And it is from these two countries of Spain and Portugal, that Europe has been supplied with that immense quantity of treasure which has so much enriched and improved it: from Peru and Mexico, as also from some West India islands, Europe has been supplied with great quantities of excellent materials for dying, (and above all, with that incomparable one of cochineal, hitherto peculiar only to Mexico) drugs, gums, colours, and minerals for painters, preserved fruits of their own growth, ginger, Jamaica pepper, called piemento, tobacco, furs, skins, and many excellent timbers; all of which were originally in those countries, but which have, by the cultivation of the Europeans, been since improved in quality, and much increased in quantity. So that, upon the whole, it may be said, that, even abstracting from the gold and silver of America, there has really been a greater accession of rich and useful materials for commerce introduced into it by the Europeans, their great improvements of American productions jointly considered, than all America afforded, before it was known to Europe; all which, through the benignity of the climate, and the fertility of the virgin soil of America, have long since repaid, and do still continue to supply Europe, with immense usury. This, it is true, was also the case with respect to many of the colonies settled in ancient times by the Arabians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, though perhaps not in such an eminent degree as in the case of the plantation of America.

To conclude this first voyage of Columbus: he called, on his return, at the great and fine island of Hispaniola, corruptly so named, instead of what he then called it, L’Espaniola, as it bore a stronger resemblance to Spain than any island he had yet seen, where he bartered with the natives, bits of glass, small hawks bells, and such other trifles, for plates of virgin gold, which they wore as ornaments, beaten into shape with a stone, and were made without melting or refining the ore, of which they were totally ignorant. Here he lost his best ship: and having left there forty-nine of his men in a wooden fort, he returned to Spain, full of glory, having been no longer than six months and an half in making these discoveries, from his setting out to his return.

That the discovery of America could not have been much longer or later hid from the Europeans, seems at least probable, as the use of the magnetic needle in navigation was, towards the close of this century, come into general, if not universal practice; more especially after the Portuguese had proceeded so far southward in their discoveries on the western shores of Africa, which, lying so near to Brasil, would, by any strong easterly wind, have brought them on that coast, as was actually the case in the year 1500. There is also one part of our old continent, which lies yet nearer to America than the most westerly part of Africa does to Brasil.

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1492 *Brasil*, viz. the north part of Norway-Lapland, opposite to New Greenland, which last country is now known to be a part of the American continent: but the island of Iceland, known and peopled from Norway many centuries prior to the discovery in question, is yet nearer to another somewhat more southern part of America.

Thus have we endeavoured, as briefly as was consistent with perspicuity, to exhibit the original grounds and actual accomplishment of the first discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

1493 Loaded with honours, titles, and applause, that great man set out, in the year 1493, on his second voyage to Hispaniola, which island continued to be the principal colony of Spain in America, until Cortes conquered the kingdom of Mexico, in 1519. Thither Columbus now carried one thousand five hundred men in seventeen ships, with provisions and ammunition in abundance, also seeds of various kinds,—breeds of horses, cows, hogs, &c. implements of husbandry, and for working of silver and gold mines,—commodities for barter, and many other necessary things: and, as his forty-nine men with their fort were destroyed, he now built several new forts, and founded the present capital city of that island, which he named St. Domingo, but the numbers he brought with him at this time excited a jealousy in the minds of the Indian caciques or princes, which engaged him in a bloody war with the numerous natives, a third part of whom were, it seems, destroyed by the Spaniards in the space of three or four years. By a tax of gold dust, to be gathered by the natives out of their rivers and brooks, he amassed a great deal of treasure, which he sent home to his Catholic Majesty; and he returned to Spain in 1496, to answer the accusations raised against him by the Spanish settlers at Hispaniola; which island, however, had not hitherto made Spain gainers upon the whole, by reason of the very expensive embarkations to it, and by the maintenance of garrisons, &c. The Pope, Alexander VI. upon application from King Ferdinand the Catholic, did, in this same year 1493, grant or confirm to him the sovereignty of this new world; and to prevent disputes between Spain and Portugal, he particularly confirmed to the Spanish crown all the countries which they already had, or which they afterward should discover, westward of a certain imaginary line drawn from Pole to Pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verd isles: but the King of Portugal, John II. object- ing to that division, it was this same year agreed between the two crowns, that this romantic line of division should, (according to Herrera, &c.) be removed two hundred and seventy leagues further west; and that all which might be discovered east of the said two hundred and seventy leagues should belong to Portugal, and all west of it to Spain; those two nations thus modestly claiming an exclusive right to both the Indies, and thereby effectually barring the rest of Christendom from all future hopes of making any new discoveries, east, west, south, or north, in the whole habitable world!

May we not, in this place as well as in any other, further enquire, whether, (as some would allege) America was ever known to the ancients? Doubtless we may, though to no effectual purpose, since all the notices handed down to us are extremely vague and inconclusive. First, Whether from a quotation of Pliny's from Cornelius Nepos, viz. that the King of the Suevi, a German nation, presented to the Roman consul of Gaul certain western Indians, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Germany. Now, if the country of Terra di Labrador, or else that of Newfoundland, were so early peopled, it is but barely possible that some of the natives might, in their canoes, be driven so far eastward as the coast of Germany, more especially as the savages in those countries still eat raw fish and flesh, and might therefore possibly

1493 sustain themselves so long a time at sea as such a voyage would occupy; yet, from any other part of America, it seems hardly credible. Secondly, It is also said, that when Hanno and Hannibal had acquainted the Senate of Carthage of their having discovered a large island far west from the old continent, supposed by some to have been America, that Senate suppressed the discovery, lest their people should flock thither, as was usual of old, and thereby depopulate the Carthaginian state; a thing not very probable, any more than Plato's Atlantis Insula, elsewhere mentioned.

In this second voyage, Columbus visited the considerable isle of St. John de Porto Rico, where was plenty of timber, but no European grain, their bread being chiefly made of the Cassava root: there were said to have been wild grapes, but they never made wine of them; they had also piemento and cotton. The Spaniards are said to have destroyed most of the natives, viz. some hundred thousands, very few now being left in that fine isle, of late much neglected by Spain, although its situation be extremely happy, between Hispaniola on the west, the Virgin and Carribbee isles on the east, and *terra firma* southward; and its productions, natural and uncultivated, are said to be equal to any of the other isles, were they cultivated with equal care and attention.

From this year 1493, when the importation of any considerable quantity of treasure from America to Spain first took place, to the year 1724, Usteriz, an eminent Spanish author, asserts, that the gold and silver brought home amounted to five thousand millions of dollars, or pieces of eight, being above twenty-one millions and an half yearly on a medium, which is equal to upwards of five millions sterling: yet as all this treasure necessarily goes out every year to other European nations, for the manufactures and produce of those nations, with which Spain and its Indies are supplied in immense quantities, some have been of opinion, that it would have been happier for Spain, if she had never planted in America, without she had, at the same time, cultivated manufactures of all kinds; by which means, she might have not only kept much of her American treasure within herself for the support of those manufactures, but also those manufactures would, by a necessary increase of people, have contributed to make up the loss of the native Spaniards transplanted in great numbers to America.

Authors compute, that soon after the planting of Mexico and Peru, the money of Europe became doubled in quantity, in respect to what it was before; wherefore the rates or prices of all things increased also in a twofold proportion in Europe: which augmentation of the prices of things in Europe proportionably decreased the profits of Spain by her American colonies. Baron Montesquieu is of opinion, that, in about little more than two hundred years, the specie or money of Europe has been doubled five times; and that it is now, to what it was before the Indian treasure came amongst us as thirty-two is to one. Yet this computation will probably seem much exaggerated to many, who know that a very great part of the silver annually brought from America has been every year transported to the East Indies, from whence no part of it ever returns to Europe; neither do the advanced prices of provisions, &c. at this time, bear any near proportion to that author's supposition. Before this grand discovery, the courts of Princes in Europe had not the lustre of modern times, though more crowded with attendants, who, however, were sustained at a much smaller charge than could be done in our days.—But when Spain poured into Europe those American treasures, Europe soon put on a new face; for Spain having little produce and less manufacture of her own, could by no means keep those treasures to herself, but was under the necessity of dispersing them all over the insatiable nations of Europe, to pay for their own wants at home, and more especially for almost

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1493 most the whole of their cargoes for America; so that it soon appeared, that the far greater part of the treasures of America centered in the manufacturing and trading countries of Europe. What would have been the case, had England closed with the proposal of Bartholomew Columbus to her King, Henry VII. is scarcely worth enquiry, though certainly the condition of England was then, as well as since, very different from that of Spain. England was then even very far advanced in the woollen manufacture, together with a large produce of her own, and might have found various other means, which Spain has not, for retaining a great part of the American treasures to herself, and thereby have drawn more people to settle with her than her American colonies would have taken from her, by means of her free constitution, &c.

The Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, having made peace with France, seemed less anxious to keep due measures, in various respects, with Henry VII. King of England; such as the Duchess Dowager's sheltering and encouraging the impostor Perkin Warbeck, &c. This provoked the latter to break off all commerce with the Netherlands, and to banish the Flemings out of England; whereupon, the Archduke banished the English out of Flanders, which carried all the English trade directly to Calais: but this could not hold long, the trade being, as we have already more than once observed, of equal convenience and necessity to both parties.

This suspension of a direct commerce with the Netherlands, gave the German Steelyard merchants a very great advantage, by their importing from their own Hans-towns, great quantities of Flemish merchandize into England, to the considerable detriment of the company of English Merchant-Adventurers, who were used to import such commodities directly from the Netherlands; whereupon the London journeymen, apprentices, and mob or populace attacked and rifled their warehouses in the Steelyard; though the rioters were soon suppressed, and duly punished.

The manner or fashion of making presents to ambassadors in those times, was different from the modern more elegant, though probably more expensive mode of paying those political compliments. In the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 516, we find the ambassadors of Denmark, at their audience of leave of King Henry VII. were ordered the following presents, viz. To the Chancellor of Denmark, one hundred pounds.—To the Doctor, forty pounds.—To the Chancellor's brother, twenty pounds.—To the Herald, ten pounds.

The same year, (*ibid.* *Fœdera*, p. 517) the alliance between England and Spain was renewed; and the marriage contract, made three years before, between Arthur Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Catherine, with her portion of two hundred thousand crowns, was now also confirmed.

An act of the Scottish Parliament, in this same year 1493, directs that ships and busses for the fishery be built in all sea ports, so as none of them be under twenty tons burden; and that they shall be provided with nets, &c. And that the magistrates of those towns shall compel all idle persons to serve in those vessels.

494 The Hanseatic historian, Angelius à Werdenhagen, vol. ii. part 4, p. 10., acquaints us, that the then powerful Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, having, with a great force, invested and distressed the city of Brunswick, the Hanseatic league so effectually supported that famous member of their confederacy, that they effected an amicable composition between both parties, in the year 1494.

In the same year, according to Sir James Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, p. 29, the Irish statutes were first written in English; whereas, the laws of former Parliaments were in the old French tongue, and digested into rolls.

In the same year the Scottish Parliament also made a law, to oblige all workmen and tradesmen to submit to the regulations of the civil magistrates, with regard to the rates or prices of things sold by them, more especially of things relating to eatables and drinkables. Another law of the same Scottish Parliament of this year obliged all frecholders to put their eldest son, to school, to learn Latin, and next, for three years, to study philosophy and law.

Towards the close of this century, the excellent science of *Algebraical Arithmetic*, began first to be known in Europe; a science which has proved extremely useful in many parts of the mathematics, and in all calculations for interest, annuities for lives and terms, reversion, discounts, &c. The earliest printed author on it was one Lucas de Burgo, an Italian friar, printed at Venice in the year 1494. It is said, an Arabian, named Geber, was the inventor of this noble art about the year 950; though some think that the Persians, Indians, and Chinese, had it much earlier; whilst others again ascribe its invention to the Greeks, as far back as Plato's time. What is more to our present purpose, is the great probability that the algebraic art proved the introduction of the art of merchants accounts by double entry, commonly called Italian book-keeping, the latter being grounded on the principles of the former; y^t, in the next century, we shall give the probable allegations of a learned author, of the much higher antiquity of double-entry accounts.

In vol. xii. p. 553, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VII. for the accommodation of such of his English subjects as should trade to Italy with their ships and merchandize, appoints Benedict and Laurence Bomuci jointly and separately to be consuls and presidents of the English merchants at Pisa and the places adjacent in Italy, upon the same terms or allowance with former consuls, viz. one-fourth part of a ducat upon every hundred ducats.

The price of wheat this year, taken from the *Chronicon Preciosum*, was so cheap as four shillings, or six shillings of modern money, per quarter in England; and if all other necessaries had been equally cheap, then the rate of living must have been about six or seven times as cheap as in our days; which, however, was not altogether the case, being still about four times as cheap as in our days, wines, salt, hay, &c. being proportionably cheap. By an indenture of the ninth of King Henry VII. a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was coined into twenty-two pounds ten shillings by tale, or forty-five nobles of ten shillings each, and so for half and quarter nobles, or sixty-seven one-half of the pieces impressed with angels, of six shillings and eight pence each; also a pound of silver was coined into thirty-seven shillings and six pence.

1495 Don Juan, the heir of the crown of Castile, dying in this year, the kingdom being greatly afflicted for the loss of him, did, from the highest to the lowest, cloath themselves in white serge; which, says Herrera, was the last time that white mourning was used in Spain.

King Emanuel of Portugal, about this time, banished all the Jews and Moors out of Portugal by a prefixed time, or else to be perpetual slaves. The Moors immediately withdrew into Africa; but from the Jews he took all their children under fifteen years old, and baptized them; and the old ones were so perpetually harrassed, persecuted, and purposely obstructed in their journey out of that country, that, to avoid the perpetual slavery intended, they outwardly consented to be baptized, but inwardly retained their own religion, and therewith, as may well be imagined, an irreconcilable hatred to their persecutors—(Puffendorff's Introduction to the History of Europe.)—From this wicked persecution is descended some of the blood of Portugal at this day.

This year was auspicious to the British empire, by a treaty being concluded for a marriage between King James IV. of Scotland and the Lady Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. King

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1496 of England, which laid the foundation of an happy union of the two kingdoms; yet the dowry and portion were not adjusted till the year 1500, nor the consummation till 1504. *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 573.

We have an eminent and equally authentic proof of the cheapness of living in this year, given us by Mr. Madox, in his *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 110, by which we see, the Lady Anne, daughter of King Edward IV. and sister to Elizabeth, King Henry Seventh's Queen, who was married to the Lord Howard, eldest son of the Earl of Surrey, had an allowance of twenty shillings per week, for her exhibition, sustentation, and convenient diet of meat and drink; also, for two gentlewomen, one woman-child, one gentleman, one yeoman, and three grooms, in all eight persons, fifty-one pounds eleven shillings and eight-pence per annum, for their wages, diets, and cloathing by the year, and for the maintenance of seven horses yearly sixteen pounds nine shillings and four-pence, *i. e.* for each horse two pounds seven shillings and an halfpenny yearly; money being still one and one-half times as weighty as our modern silver coin.

Nor is it a less evident proof of the cheapness of living at this time, that, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, wheat was the same year sold for three shillings and four-pence per quarter, and white herrings three shillings and four-pence per barrel. The total of this Princess's yearly allowance in modern money being but one hundred and eighty pounds one shilling and six-pence, and wheat being at three shillings and four-pence, or only five shillings of our money, it was about seven times as cheap as at present, so that she could then have lived as well as on one thousand two hundred and sixty pounds ten shillings and six-pence of our modern money, or ten times as cheap as at present, had all other necessaries borne an equal proportion of price.

After many mutual complaints and differences, and a long suspension of mutual commerce between England and the Netherlands, "during which," says Lord St. Albans, "the merchant-adventurers, being a strong company at that time, and well underfet with rich men, held out bravely, taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent," a new and solemn treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance was concluded between King Henry VII. of England and the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, which, for its excellence and importance, was dignified by the Netherlands with the name of *Intercursus Magnus*, says Lord St. Albans, "both because it is more com-pleat than any preceding ones, and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the twenty-first year of the King, 1506, which they called *Intercursus Malus*." See the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 578. It was in substance as follows:

"I. Mutual liberty allowed on both sides to trade to each others dominions, without asking for licence or passport. To carry all manner of merchandize, whether wool, leather, victuals, arms, horses, jewels, or any other wares, either by land or water, from Calais, England, and Ireland, to the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Mechlin, and so *vice versa*, from these provinces to Calais, England, and Ireland; and that both parties may freely resort to and unlade at all the customary ports, and relade, and thence freely depart.

"II. Merchants, mariners, &c. may, on both sides, carry weapons of defence in their ships, and bring them on shore to their lodgings, where they shall leave their swords, daggers, &c. till they go on board again.

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“ III. The fishers on both sides may freely fish on the seas, without any safe conduct asked; and when driven into each others ports, by tempest or other necessity, they shall be safe there, and have free liberty to depart at pleasure, paying the customary dues.

“ IV. Pirates, and ships of the enemy of either party, shall not be permitted to rob, or otherwise injure the subjects of either party in their respective havens and countries; nor to land nor sell there the goods or ships taken from either party.

“ V. And to the end that captures of ships, persons, and goods may hereafter cease between both parties, it is agreed, that security, to double the value of ship and goods, be given by ship-masters setting out on a voyage, that they shall not commit any piracy or robbery on the subjects of the other party.

“ VI. The ships of either party, putting into the ports of the other party, through storm, enemies, &c. shall remain there safely, and may depart again freely; but they shall not open nor unlade their merchandize, without a visible necessity, and without the presence and consent of the Custom-house officers.

“ VII. The merchants, mariners, &c. of both parties shall not import into the other party's country the goods of an enemy to that party.

“ VIII. If it shall happen, that a ship of either of the contracting parties be wrecked on the shores of the other party, and that notwithstanding there shall not be found therein alive either man, woman, cat, dog, or cock,” this respects and is an exception from the common sea laws relating to wrecks, “ yet the goods in the said ship shall be preserved, and laid up for a year and a day, by the proper officers of the place; within which time the proper owners may come and make out their claim, and receive the said goods, paying the requisite expences for recovering and keeping the same.

“ IX. The merchants of both parties shall have and enjoy proper houses for themselves and their merchandize, in the several towns and cities of the other party, with the same privileges and immunities as have been customary before the last fifty years; and shall, in all respects, be as kindly treated as any other foreign nation residing there.

“ X. The officers in either country, appointed for searching for contraband goods, shall perform it civilly, without spoiling them, or breaking the chests, barrels, packs, or sacks, under pain of one month's imprisonment. And when the searchers shall have opened them, they shall assist in the shutting and mending of them, &c. Nor shall they compel the owners to sell or dispose of the same against their own inclinations.

“ XI. If the English residing in the Netherlands shall suspect a debtor there to intend an elopement, he may oblige the said debtor to give security there for his paying the debt; and the like benefit the Netherlanders shall enjoy in England.

“ XII. Upon any damage or violence done to the subjects of either of the contracting parties, the damaged party shall not immediately take out letters of marque or reprisals, nor arrest either the person or goods of the accused party; but they shall first warn and summon him before his respective Prince, who alone ought to give redress to the injured party.

“ XIII. All letters of marque and reprisals shall be called in, and shall remain suspended on both sides, unless it shall be otherwise determined by a future congress of both parties.

“ XIV. And as it was forbidden to the English and others to enter the castle of Sluys in Flanders; it is now stipulated, that in case, through ignorance, or any other cause not appearing to be fraudulent, any merchants, or other subjects of the King of England, shall
“ happen

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1496 “ happen to enter the gate of the said castle, they shall not, merely for that cause, be injured
 “ in their persons nor goods.

“ XV. The English shall freely bring bullion of gold and of silver through the Netherlands
 “ from other countries, in order to carry the same into England; provided they bring certi-
 “ ficates from the proper officers of those other countries, of the quantity of the said bullion
 “ so bought or otherwise lawfully acquired.

“ XVI. None but the public and anciently known and received weights shall be used in
 “ either country.

“ XVII. For conservators of this peace and intercourse of commerce, there were appointed
 “ by King Henry VII. on the part of England, sundry Lords therein named, and likewise
 “ the Mayors and Aldermen of the cities and towns following, viz. of London, York, Bristol,
 “ Winchester, Canterbury, Rochester, Southampton, Sandwich, (Zandwic) Dover, Lynn,
 “ Dartmouth, Plymouth, Hull, Winchelsea, Boston, Yarmouth, and Berwick; who also bound
 “ themselves to the Archduke Philip, under the obligation of all their goods, present and
 “ future, to endeavour to the utmost of their power, that their sovereign, King Henry VII.
 “ shall faithfully keep it inviolable in all its parts. And on the part of the Archduke there
 “ were likewise bound several Lords of his countries, and also the Burgomasters of the fol-
 “ lowing cities and towns, viz. Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Dunkirk, Newport, Antwerp, Ber-
 “ gen-op-zoom, Doort, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Zirikzee, Terveer, Mech-
 “ lin, and Briel; to see the said peace and intercourse of commerce faithfully kept.

“ Signed at London 24th February, 1495-6, ratified April 1496.

“ Whereupon,” says Lord St. Albans, in his History of King Henry VII. “ the English
 “ merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with process-
 “ sion and joy.”

The reader, who knows the histories of those times, will, we apprehend, plainly perceive the reasons for the Netherlanders styling this treaty the *Intercursus Magnus*; as it is, indeed, a very distinct and ample one for the prevention of all depredations and wrongs on either side, as well as for a free and undisturbed fishery and commerce.

We need not here remark, that the ancient way of cautionary conservators, both of nobility and cities, for the keeping of such treaties, is long since laid aside between Princes and States, as not answering any valuable end: yet, in treating with the Hans-towns, and other popular governments, such conservators might have possibly added some force to their treaties. For this very treaty is declared to be made not only between the sovereigns of both countries but also between the vassals, cities, and subjects; and that those alone who shall do any injury should be punished, and none others, the peace, nevertheless, remaining in full force. And this treaty was not only signed by the Plenipotentiaries of both Princes, but was likewise signed and sealed by the Burgomasters of the cities of the Netherlands above-mentioned; all which is thereby declared to be for the greater security of amity and commerce.

We are now come (vol. xii. p. 505, of the *Fœdera*) to the first attempt made by England towards the discovery of unknown coasts and new countries. King Henry VII. perceiving his error, in not listening, in time to the proposal of Columbus, thought to retrieve it, by
 “ his grant of the fifth of March, 1496, to John Cabot, or Gabota, as some write it, a citizen
 “ of Venice, then settled at Bristol, and to his sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancto, of all
 “ power and authority to navigate all the parts, countries, and bays of the eastern, western,
 “ and northern seas, under our banners, flags, and ensigns, with five ships, and such and so

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“ many mariners and men as they shall judge proper, at their own sole costs and charges, to find out, discover, and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions, or provinces of Gentiles or Infidels, in whatever part of the world they may be situated, which have hitherto been unknown to all Christians;” here King Henry, it is plain, pays no sort of regard to the imaginary line of division agreed on between Spain and Portugal; “ with power to them, or any of them, to affix or set up our said banners or ensigns in any town, castle, island, or continent of the countries so to be discovered by them. And such of the said towns, castles, or islands so found out and subdued by them, to occupy and possess, as our vassals, governors, lieutenant, and deputies, the dominion, title, and jurisdiction thereof and of the *terra firma* or continent so found out remaining to us; provided,” says this wary King, “ that out of all the profits, emoluments, advantages, gains, and produce arising from this navigation or expedition, the said Cabot and sons shall be obliged to pay us, for each voyage they shall so make, on their return to our port of Bristol, to which port they are hereby absolutely bound to steer, after all needful costs and charges are deducted, one sixth part of the whole capital gain, either in merchandize or in money.—The said Cabots to be free from all customs on the goods they shall so import.—The lands they shall so discover and subdue shall not be frequented nor visited by any others of our subjects, without the licence of Cabot and sons, under forfeiture, &c.”

Here was a sufficient charter to the Cabots for taking possession of all the continent of North America, had they had resolution and means sufficient for planting what they the following year discovered; or rather had this King had spirit and generosity enough to have supported such a plantation at his own expence, which, to the nation's irreparable loss he did not; whereby the English would not only have been the first discoverers, but would have got before all other nations in these important advantages, and been the first planters of the American continent. “ They set out,” says Lord St. Albans, “ in one Bristol ship, and three from London, laden with gross and slight wares, and went as far as the north side of Terra di Labrador, in sixty-seven one-half degrees of latitude.”

Captain Fox, in his book called the North-West Fox, printed in the year 1635, says, “ he took the way towards Iceland from beyond the Cape of Labrador, until he found himself in fifty-eight degrees and better; thence he sailed southward along the shores of America, as far as the isle of Cuba; and so returned back to England;” where King Henry VII. being engaged in a war with Scotland, he found no encouragement to continue his enterprizes in the new world; so that Sebastian, the most active and ingenious of the Cabots, entered into the King of Spain's service, and was instrumental in other American discoveries. Hakluyt, in the dedication of the second volume of his voyages to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1599, asserts, with justice, that not only the principal Spanish writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, Francis Lopez de Gomora, and the most learned Venetian John Baptista Ramusio, as also the French geographers, as Popiliniere, &c. do all acknowledge, with one consent, that all the mighty tract of land, from sixty-seven degrees northward to the latitude of Florida, was first discovered by England, as above. The President De Thou, or Thuanus, in *initio* lib. xlv. speaking of the first discovery of Florida, about the beginning of the next century, which the Spaniards absolutely claim to themselves, has this expression, viz. “ But what is more certain, and which very many affirm, long before this time, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian navigator or sea captain, not unskilled in astronomy, under the authority of King Henry VII. of England, and in emulation of Columbus, whose
“ fame

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1496 "same at that time was spread abroad, did, in the year 1496, first of any arrive in this province." Herrera likewise, in his general history of America, says of Cabot's before-named expedition, "That he advanced as far as sixty-eight degrees of north latitude, and finding the cold very intense, even in July, he durst not proceed any further; but that he gave a better account of all those parts than any other had done." How weak then are the pretensions of France to the prior discovery of North America, by alleging that one John Verazzan, a Florentine, employed by their King Francis I. was the first discoverer of those coasts, when that King did not come to the crown till above nineteen years after our Cabot's discovery of the whole coast of North America, from sixty-eight degrees north down to the south end of Florida? So that, from beyond Hudson's Bay, (into which Bay also Cabot then sailed, and gave English names to several places therein) southward to Florida, the whole compass of North America, on the eastern coast thereof, does, by all the right that prior discovery can give, belong to the crown of Great Britain; excepting, however, what our monarchs have, by subsequent treaties with other European powers, given up or ceded. These authentic authors form a cloud of evidence, greater than which cannot perhaps be paralleled in history; and even Columbus himself saw not the continent of America till the year 1497: yet, as various new interests, claims, and encroachments have been made since the times in which they flourished, the nations to which they belonged would not probably be sorry that these testimonies were buried in eternal oblivion. The principal object of the above attempt of Cabot's from England was said, by the writers of and near those times, to have been to discover a north west passage to the Indies or Spice Islands, or to Cathaia, as they then termed a country since known to be China, whither some travellers had gone over land in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Cabot having sailed as far north as sixty-seven one-half degrees, the land which he first saw was the country between the mouth of the river of Canada and Hudson's Streight, and which he therefore named *Prima Vista*, or first discovered, which name it soon lost, and next got the name of *Cortereal's* from a Portuguese, who, from Lisbon, fell in with that coast, in the year 1500, calling also the north part of it *Esotiland*. After the French had settled in Canada, they freely called the whole country New France. Lastly, the English discoverers on the north parts of that country, deep into the Bay of Hudson, called it New Britain; though the Portuguese, in some of their maps, call it Terra di Labrador: its only product hitherto being peltry, furs, and feathers.

The first statute or law made in England, giving any particular directions concerning impotent beggars, was, in the eleventh year of King Henry VII. cap. ii. in this same year 1496; it directs, "That every beggar, not able to work, shall resort to the hundred where he last dwelt, is best known, or was born; and shall there remain, upon pain of being set in the stocks three days and three nights, with only bread and water, and then shall be put out of town." A poor relief this for this impotent people! Yet as there were monasteries and nunneries every where, who had good incomes and warm kitchens, the poor had then a much better chance, than if they were now to be referred only to such precarious relief.

Foreigners residing in England, having frequently been made denizens by letters patent from the King, whereby they had the substantial benefit of paying no higher customs, &c. than natural born subjects, they greatly abused that privilege, by colouring the merchandize of other foreigners or merchant-strangers, or entering their merchandize at the Custom-houses as their own proper goods.

To obviate this fraud, a law was made in this same year, cap. xiv. being the eleventh of Henry VII. "That all merchant-strangers, made denizens by letters patent or otherwise, shall

1496 "shall hereafter pay such customs and subsidies for their goods and merchandize, inward and outward, as they should have paid, if such denization had never been granted them."

In this same year 1496, or the beginning of the following year, Columbus arrived at the port of Venezuela; but not being immediately certain that it was a part of the continent of South America, and Americus Vespucius going soon after on that coast, he, says Herrera, artfully gained the glory of the discovery of the continent; although, when Columbus came again on that coast, he made it appear that it was the same he had before discovered.

An act of Parliament, cap. iv. of the eleventh of King Henry VII. gives directions for the making of weights and measures, as a public standard all over England, to be taken from those in the Exchequer, and lodged in the principal cities and towns; from which standards other weights and measures were to be made, sealed, and marked for private use. Those cities and towns were the shire towns, and most frequented places in each county, and therefore unnecessary to be here particularized; being the same as at this time.

1497 The Portuguese, since the discovery of Africa as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, seem to have contented themselves for a few years with the discoveries already made; till, in the year 1497, their King Emanuel at length determined to push his enquiries further. He therefore sent out Vasco de Gama with three ships and a tender, who, in five months time, got to the north east of that famous promontory; and at Mozambique, where they spoke Arabic, he got a Moorish pilot for Quiloa and Mombaza on the same coast, where he found large ships from Arabia and India; and here he found the Moors possessed of sea charts, quadrants, and even of the compass; and at Melinda he met with a Guzzarat pilot for Calicut in India, which he found to be a large and populous place, where there were above one thousand five hundred sail of ships, ill built, and worse supplied with proper tackling, &c. for long voyages, the use of the compass being as yet unknown there. At this place a great trade was carried on in spices and other Indian merchandize; he also found there some Moorish merchants and one Italian: from thence he returned back to Melinda, and so home in about twenty-six months to Lisbon. Thus a new and astonishing theatre for commerce was opened for Portugal to act on; which we shall see they for a long time improved to good purpose, till riches brought on pride, prodigality, and effeminacy amongst its people, so that a door was opened for other nations, gradually to strip them of their large possessions and trade to India.

We have an act of Parliament, of the twelfth year of King Henry VII. in the year 1497, cap. vi. entitled, "Every Englishman shall have free recourse to certain foreign parts, without exaction to be taken by any English fraternity;" which very much helps to clear up the disputes that took up so many pages of pamphlets, and even of entire books, from this time onward for near two hundred years, between the separate merchant-adventurers; a merchant-adventurer, in those times, signified one that ventured or adventured his merchandize into foreign parts, or traders, from many or most parts of England on one side, and a select company of merchants, which had existed for two hundred years prior to this time, viz. from the year 1296, as we have seen under that year. This last-named company began, about these times, to give themselves the pompous title of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers of England, though they were not dignified by royal charter with this title till the year 1505. The preamble to this statute, of which we here give the substance, sets forth, by way of petition to the House of Commons, from the merchant-adventurers residing in divers parts of England out of the city of London, "That whereas they," i. e. the merchant-adventurers of other parts of England out of London, "trade beyond sea with their goods and merchandize, as well into Spain, Portugal, Bretagne, Ireland, Normandy, France, Seville, Venice, Dantzick,

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“Dantzick, Friesland, and many other parts,” the old acts of Parliament are often very inaccurate in their recital of foreign countries, “there to buy and sell, and make their exchanges, according to the laws and customs of those parts; every one trading as seems most to his advantage, without exaction, fine, imposition, or contribution, to be had or taken of them, or of any of them, to, for, or by any English person or persons.” And in like sort they, before this time, have had, used, and of right ought to have and use the like commerce into the coasts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other adjacent parts under the obedience of the Archduke of Burgundy, in which places are usually kept the universal marts, or fairs, four times in the year, to which marts all Englishmen, and divers other nations, in time past, have used to resort, there to sell their own commodities, and freely to buy such merchandize as they had occasion for; till now of late, that the fellowship of the mercers,”—See the year 1226,—“and other merchants and adventurers, dwelling and being free within the city of London, by confederacy amongst themselves, for their own singular profit, contrary to every Englishman’s liberty, and to the liberty of the said mart there,” (*i. e.* in the Duke of Burgundy’s territories, which is, that every person, of what nation soever, should have free liberty there to buy and sell at their pleasure,) “have, contrary to all law, reason, charity, right and conscience, made an ordinance amongst themselves, to the prejudice of all other Englishmen, that no Englishman, resorting to the said mart, shall either buy or sell any merchandize there, unless he shall have first compounded and made fine with the said fellowship of merchants of London, at their pleasure, upon pain of forfeiture to the said fellowship of such their said merchandize. Which fine, imposition, and exaction, at the beginning, when first taken, was demanded by colour of the fraternity of St. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury; at which time the said fine was but of the value of an old noble sterling:” *i. e.* six shillings and eight-pence of the then money, “and so, by colour of such feigned holiness, it hath been suffered to be taken of a few years past. It was afterwards increased to one hundred shillings Flemish; but now the said fellowship of London takes of every Englishman or young merchant being there, at his first coming, forty pounds sterling for a fine, to suffer him to buy and sell his own proper goods. By reason whereof, all merchants not of the said fellowship do withdraw themselves from the said marts, whereby the woollen cloth of this realm, which is one of the greatest commodities of the same, as well as sundry other English commodities, are not sold nor got off as in times past, but are, for want of sale thereof, in divers parts where such cloths are made, conveyed to London, and there sold at an under-valued price, even below what they cost the makers. Moreover, the merchandize of those foreign parts imported by the said fellowship, is sold to your complainants and other subjects, at so dear and high a rate or price, that the buyers cannot live thereupon; by reason whereof, all the cities and towns of the realm are fallen into great poverty, ruin, and decay,” here also is great inaccuracy, “and the King’s customs and subsidies and the navy of the land greatly decreased.”—It was therefore now enacted, “that every Englishman from henceforth shall and may freely resort to the said coasts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other parts adjoining, under the obedience of the Archduke; and at the marts or fairs there sell their merchandize, and buy and make exchange freely, without exaction, fine, imposition, or contribution taken or received of any of them by the said fraternity or fellowship, excepting only the sum of ten marks,” or six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, “sterling, on pain of forfeiting twenty pounds sterling for every time they take more, and shall also forfeit to the party so imposed on, ten times so much as contrary to this act is taken of him.”

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By this memorable law we are, I. In general, informed of the extent of the foreign commerce of the English merchants at this time.

II. We are acquainted with the gradual steps of the society of London merchant-adventurers, for increasing their freedom fines from six shillings and eight-pence to forty pounds sterling.

Lastly, the former great freedom fines are now, by act of Parliament, fixed at six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. Nevertheless, as this fine was hereby permitted to be demanded and taken by the said London society of merchant-adventurers, who soon after assumed the appellation of the merchant-adventurers of England, it was thereby in effect established by law, although the fine was thus limited, which, in some measure, clashes with the preamble of this statute.

The twelfth volume, p. 654, of the *Fœdera*, gives us a supplemental treaty of commerce between our King Henry VII. and the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, whereby it was stipulated,

“ I. That the new duty of one florin on every English woollen cloth, and also whatever other new imposition had been laid thereon, was now absolutely annulled; any English cloth was hereby freely permitted to be imported and sold in all the Archduke's countries,” Flanders only excepted, “ free of the said duty of one florin, and of all other new impositions.” This exception for Flanders was made in behalf of the vast woollen manufacture of that province.

“ II. And in case, at any time, the Archduke, or his successors, shall again lay on the said duty of one florin on English cloth, or any other new imposition, then it shall be free for the King of England either to keep or to break this and all former treaties or intercourses of commerce with the Netherlands.

“ III. As to the duty of one mark per sack of wool, which the Netherlands are obliged to pay at the staple of Calais, that point shall be duly considered of at the ensuing diet or congress, to be held at Bruges, between the two contracting parties.”

In the same year 1497, Spain makes a conquest of the town of Melilla on the Barbary Shore, being the first footing the Spaniards got on that coast. This humour of Spain for conquests on the Barbary side of the Mediterranean sea has occasioned long and uninterrupted wars between that kingdom and the Barbary Moors, down to the present times. They have since gained some other ports on that shore, as Oran, Mazalquivir, Ceuta, &c. But as they have never been able to make any permanent inland conquests in Barbary, so as to have any territory and dominion behind those conquered sea ports, they have ever been obliged to be on the constant watch in those towns, for fear of surprize, or a sudden attack from the Moors on the land side; so that those conquests have ever been very expensive to Spain, without any other solid benefit, than their being a bridle on the Moors driven thither from Spain, and might, of course, prevent their future invasion of that kingdom. Indeed this appears to have been a principal motive to the invading the Moorish possessions.

With regard to the price or rate of corn this year, 1497, it is very remarkable, that wheat was so very dear as one pound, or one pound ten shillings of modern money, per quarter; whilst, at the same time, oats were only two shillings per quarter.

1498

In the twelfth volume, p. 690, &c. of the *Fœdera*, we find, under this same year, a ratification and confirmation, by King Louis XII. of France, of a treaty made by his father Charles VIII. with King Henry VII. of England, wherein it had been stipulated, that ship-masters, or owners of ships, should give security, to double the value of ship and cargo, not to commit piracy, nor to molest the subjects of the other party; of this the ship-master was hereby to make oath: and various other stipulations were now made, for preventing of pirates from

1498 from selling their spoils in the ports of either party, &c. All which stipulations between England and other nations plainly shew, that in those times there must have been much robbing and violence on the seas, even whilst a general peace existed between the respective nations.

In this same year, we see, in p. 701 of vol. xii. of the *Fœdera*, a treaty between King Henry VII. of England, and the arch-prefect, proconsuls, consuls, &c. of the city and territory of Riga, in Livonia, "whereby,

" I. The mutual intercourse of commerce was renewed.

" II. The English, trading to Riga and its territory, were to pay no manner of custom, duty, or toll whatever.

" III. But Riga traders, with their ships and merchandize brought from Riga, coming to England, were to pay the same duties, &c. as the merchants of the Teutonic Hans-towns do; and for merchandize from other parts, the same duties as other merchant-strangers pay.

" IV. Lastly, Riga hereby remits all former claims of money due to her from England, or for which England was any way engaged to the Master General and Knights of the Cross of Prussia; particularly the sum of ten thousand six hundred and thirty-seven gold nobles, (two shillings and twopence each) the written obligation for which is hereby promised to be delivered up into the hands of the master of the society of English merchants residing at Antwerp or Bruges."

Although such a treaty may seem too insignificant to deserve particular notice, considering the present system of things; yet who knows how soon it may prove a matter of information either to statesmen or merchants?

The *Chronicon Preciosum*, which quotes Stowe, informs us, that hay was this year eight shillings per load; but that it had usually been about five shillings per load: yet the year following, it was at ten shillings and twelve shillings per load. This seems nearly to correspond with the proportion of wheat, &c. in those days, to the same in our own times, viz. still nearly as about one to five; for by the preceding plentiful seasons, says Stowe, under the year 1499, wheat was so low as four shillings, or six shillings of our money, per quarter, hay-salt, two shillings per quarter, and a ton of Gascon wine at two pounds: so that, supposing, very probably, the mean or moderate price of wheat to be now eight shillings per quarter, or twelve shillings of modern money, this brings it to the proportion of three and one-third to one, in our days, forty shillings per quarter being, if every other necessary were as cheap, about the moderate price of wheat in our time.

1499 It seems to have been about the middle, or perhaps nearer to the beginning of this century, (see the year 1429) that the Scots began to have a considerable fishery for exportation to foreign markets, which their Parliaments continued for some time to encourage by several well judged laws, although their corporation towns were still disposed to confine it to themselves. The forty-ninth act of the fourth Parliament of King James IV. in the year 1499, "takes notice of the vast riches still lost to Scotland for want of a sufficient number of convenient ships and busses to be employed in the fishery. Wherefore, on account of the great advantage which thereby might be had, and to cause idle men and vagabonds to labour for their livings, for the common profit and universal welfare of the realm, his Majesty," King James IV. "and estates of Parliament appoint, that fishing-ships and busses of twenty tons burthen, or upwards, be made in all free port towns of the realm, in proportion to their ability."

A. D.

1499

Such regulations brought their fishery, and consequently their naval strength, as well as several other improvements, to a considerable height; but their after ill-judged laws of restraint and prohibition threw all things into a retrograde state. For, by the ninety-eighth act of the seventh Parliament of King James V. in the year 1540, they enacted, "That none shall send any white-fish beyond-sea; but that strangers be permitted to come and buy them of merchants and freemen of burghs, with ready gold and silver, or merchandize." And the sixtieth act of the fourth Parliament of James VI. "enjoins all fishers of herring, or other white-fish, to bring their said fish to free ports, there to be sold, first in common to all subjects, and afterwards the remainder to freemen; that the lieges," or the King's own subjects, "may be first served; and that if abundance remain, they may be salted and exported by free-burgesses, under forfeiture of ship and goods." How much wiser would those law-makers have been, had they permitted the fish to be immediately exported by any persons whatever, as, it seems, had formerly been practised, and without any particular regard either to free-ports or freemen? Thus the Scots now entirely lost to the Netherlanders their former exportation of fish, which imprudence was first begun by the restraining bye-laws of what they call their royal burghs, about seventy years before, which they now at length got confirmed by Parliament.

In the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 711, King Henry VII. now concluded a commercial treaty or intercourse with the Arch-Duke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands; in substance as follows, viz.

"I. That for twelve years to come, a duty of only half a mark, instead of one mark, as hitherto, shall be paid by the Netherlanders, on every sack of wool sold to them at the staple at Calais; unless it shall at any time happen, that there may be a great mortality amongst the sheep in England, of which certificates, properly vouched upon oath, from England shall be produced; in which case the whole duty of a mark shall be taken."

"II. On the other side, the Arch-Duke remits, in favour of the English merchants, the one florin per English woollen cloth imported into the Netherlands.

"III. The English shall not, as formerly, be obliged to bring all their woollen cloth to the staple of Antwerp or Bruges, and no where else, there to be sealed before removed; but they shall now be at full liberty to carry their cloth, and to sell it in every part of the Arch-Duke's dominions, Flanders alone excepted.

"IV. The chief of the English merchants at the fairs of Antwerp and Bruges, called the court-master, shall not, as formerly, fix a set price on the merchandize they are to buy at those fairs."

The other articles relate to the well packing of wool in England, wherein we find the mayor and constables of the staple at Westminster for the south parts of England, and the like officers at the staple at Boston for the north parts of England, were to be the judges and certifiers of the package of wool to be brought to the staple at Calais. Other articles related to, the recovery of debts in both countries, and to the effects of persons dying intestate, &c.— All which, the half-mark per sack of wool excepted, were to remain in force during the joint lives of both contracting parties, and one year after the death of the first.

Americus Vespucius, a Florentine, in the service of Spain, now sailed from Port St. Maries, in Andalusia, and made some little discovery on the coast of Paria, in South America; and as this was by Spain deemed the first discovery of the continent, that whole country has taken its name from him, who did very little towards any material discoveries, and undoubt-

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edly was not the first discoverer of that continent, as we have clearly proved under the year 1496.

1500 King Emanuel of Portugal, encouraged by the success of the first voyage to East India, sends out Cabral, with thirteen ships and twelve hundred men, for making a settlement there; but, in their way, a violent storm drove them on the coast of Brazil, of which he immediately advertised his King, by a vessel sent home on purpose; and here he left two Portuguese to explore that country. Thus, as has been already observed, it could not have been possible for America to have remained long undiscovered, after the Portuguese had made their navigations so far towards the south. Every one knows that this noble province has ever since proved an almost inexhaustible fund of riches to Portugal; and that all parts of Europe, who have any commerce with that kingdom, do, in some measure, reap the benefits of this fortuitous discovery. They lost several of their ships in another storm near the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at the town of Sofala, on the south-east coast of Africa, of which they took possession, and fortified it, with only six ships. They then possessed themselves of the island of Mozambique on that coast, where they built and fortified, and where also they refitted; and went from thence to Quiloa and Melinda, further north-eastward on that coast. Travellers observe, that there is such plenty of gold along part of the coast of Africa, that it is justly supposed to have been the Ophir of Solomon: besides, this coast affords silk, ambergrease, ivory, and slaves; and Mozambique has ever since proved a seasonable port for the Portuguese ships to refresh and refit, in their voyages to and from India. From thence Cabral sailed to Calicut; and having contracted friendship with the Kings of Cochin and Cananor, they at length returned home, laden with the richest Indian merchandize, to Lisbon, at this time crowded with commerce. Portugal was now, indeed, in its meridian glory; so that it was said the golden age was revived in the reign of this King Emanuel; which prosperous state continued to the year 1578, when the fatal death of their romantic King Don Sebastian, turned their fortune very much to the reverse, and it has never yet recovered that most prosperous situation which it enjoyed before that period.

The success of Spain, in discovering of America, occasioned, in or about this time, several attempts from different countries for further discoveries. One Cortereal discovered a continental coast, in upwards of fifty degrees of north latitude, south of the entrance into the since called Hudson's Bay, which country the English afterward named New Britain, and the French endeavoured to have included in New France; but in the earliest maps it is called Cortereal's. Other voyages of discovery were, at different times, made from France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark on that bleak shore, from whence the various names of Estotiland, Terra di Labrador, Esquimaux, &c. are given to it, or to some part of it, by the maps of different nations; but finding no kind of wealth but what they could get nearer home, viz. by the fishery, nor a passage that way to India, they all seemed to give up any further inclination for such an inhospitable coast.

There is a story recorded by some authors, that one Zomi, whom others call Zeni, a Venetian, sailed so far north as this coast in the year 1390, concerning which he related abundance of fables; and that this coast was again discovered by a Polonese, named Scolus, or Scolves, in the year 1477; but as neither of those discoveries are well vouched, nor generally believed, we have paid no regard to them under these two periods.

We have, under this same year, another record, in vol. xii. p. 741, of the *Fœdera*, concerning the marriage contract between Arthur Prince of Wales and the Infanta Catherine of Spain, which had been the object of a former treaty, and was now again confirmed.

In the said record also, there is a renewal of the intercourse of commerce between England and Spain, wherein there is nothing particular, but a clause in those days much used in treaties of commerce, (not much to the credit of that age) viz. "That the ship-masters of both nation should thenceforward give security, on their setting sail for foreign parts, in double the value of ship and cargo, not to commit depredations, nor any kind of violence nor injustice, against any of the subjects of the other contracting party." It was hereby also in general stipulated, "That special care should be taken of the merchandize of ships wrecked on the shores of either party, to be saved and kept for the right owners."

The last record which we shall exhibit from the twelfth volume of the *Trædera*, p. 787, is the indenture of the marriage, contracted in the year 1495, between King James IV. of Scotland, and Lady Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of King Henry VII. of England, which marks the difference between the intrinsic values of the coins of both nations, still bearing the same denominations, viz.

"I. King James agrees to settle on the Lady Margaret lands and manors therein named, in Scotland, to the yearly value of two thousand pounds sterling money, which sum," says this record, makes in Scotland, at this time, six thousand pounds current money."

"II. He stipulates, moreover, that besides his supporting the expence of the Queen's household, her cloaths, and other personal expence becoming her dignity, he shall pay her annually, during her life, one thousand pounds Scottish money," (that is, three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling then containing as much silver and half as much more as in our days, and which still could purchase three or four times as much of all necessaries, or would go so many times as far as the same sum could do now) "for her own private and separate use, which sum of three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence," says the record, "makes just five hundred marks of English money."

"III. King Henry gives to King James, as the Lady Margaret's marriage-portion, thirty thousand gold nobles, called angel-nobles, each worth twenty groats, or six shillings and eightpence sterling, being ten thousand pounds sterling; of which sum one-third part was to be paid down on the day of marriage, in the year 1503, another third in 1504, and the last third in the year 1505."

Upon this occasion my Lord St. Albans, in his History of King Henry VII. remarks, "That King Henry, submitting the consideration of this match to his council, some of them, the King being present, put the case, that if God should take the King's two sons without issue, then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replied, that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less."

Which judicious consideration, had it been well understood by all the English nation in former times, would have effectually prevented their unaccountable zeal and exultation, for supporting their Kings in their wild attempts for the conquest of France, than which, had they succeeded, nothing could have proved more fatal to England!

